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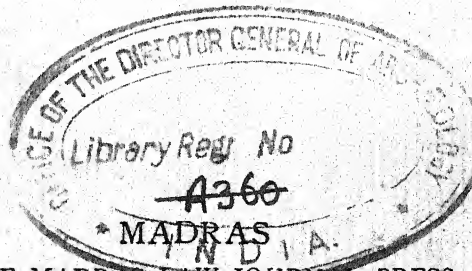
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## HUMOUR IN THE KUMĀRASAMBHAVA UNVEILED.

BY

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वररुचिरीश्वरदत्तः श्यामिलकः शूद्रकश्च चत्वारः ।

एते भाणान् बभणुः का शक्तिः कालिदासस्य ॥ (चतुर्भाषी)

An ancient critic seems to have been struck very much by the deficiency of humour in Kālidāsa; humour, such as he found in the Bhāṇas of Vararuci, Īśvaradatta, Śyāmilaka or Śūdraka. This critic seems to have been very much impressed by the subtle and delicate observation of life, the refined and ironical touch and gentle gaiety that pervade the Bhāṇas of the said four authors. Kālidāsa, so far as we know, has written no Bhāṇas or Prahāsanas, but at the same time, there is nowhere in his Nāṭakas that sombre seriousness which we find in Bhavabhūti. Kālidāsa's works are irradiated with a divine light. His genius has transmuted everything into fairy hues. But still we ask where humour comes in. His Vidūṣakas are more conventional than original creations of his genius. Let us therefore inquire whether Kālidāsa was really destitute of Hāsyā-Rasa.

Though Hāsyā-Rasa appears to be a familiar enough thing, most of us if asked about its exact psychology are likely to feel like the Vidūṣaka in the Bhagavadajjukīya who said "I am said to represent humour but I do not know what humour is." One of the latest books on English humour adopts this as the best definition *viz.*, humour is "thinking in fun while feeling in earnest." This means that the true humourist must be able to live in such a deep intimacy with real feeling and emotions that he finds it difficult and distasteful to reveal them and if he should think of them at all he is quite likely to do a great deal of thinking in fun. The Hāsyā-Rasa of Indian poetics is a much wider conception than the humour of the western critics, with its many varieties of wit, irony, sarcasm, satire, parody, etc. We will first turn to the Nāṭya-Śāstra of Bharata.

Bharata, treating Śṛṅgāra as the strongest and most fundamental of human emotions, relates Hāsyā to it by pointing out that Hāsyā makes light of this emotion and thus derives its character of 'Hāsyā'. Thus Hāsyā seems to stand at the opposite pole of Śṛṅgāra. This conception, no doubt, is faithfully embodied in the Bhāṇas of Vararuci, etc. Especially the Bhāṇa, Pāda-tāḍitaka, of Śyāmilaka, really reaches a lofty height of delicate humour in this direction.

Abhinavaguptācārya, in commenting on the passage of Bharata, points out that 'incongruity' is the soul of humour. And as incongruity is not any peculiar feature of Śṛṅgāra alone, it is permissible to relate Hāsyā to the other Rasas as well. When Mārīca, in fear of Rāma, turns hermit, dwells in an Āśrama and explains Rāmasvarūpa to Rāvaṇa, we have the parody of Śānti itself. As Abhinavagupta goes on to observe, Hāsyā-Rasa unwinds, so to speak, the intensity and concentration that characterise the other Rasas and makes them *Ābhāsa* i. e., dilutes them. But this *Ābhāsa* is *Lalitābhāsa*, as the Bhāvaprakāśa puts it. Thus the enjoyment in humour springs from this *Lalitābhāsa*, that is to say, this delightful unwinding relaxation.

The Bhāvaprakāśa also gives us the idea, *viz.*, "You laughed because you loved." Thus sympathy and not antipathy was the secret of humour, though the English critics are not agreed as to the attitude of the humourist to his comic characters being one of complete amity. There is no doubt that the Indian conception displays a profounder psychological insight than the English one in every way.

It must at once be conceded that the passages in Kālidāsa's works which we can recall as provoking laughter even in a moderate degree are few and far between and can almost be counted on the fingers.

There is only one scene in his works, and that in the greatest of them all, *viz.*, the Kumārasambhava. Here, in the eighth canto, we can not but laugh and the poet, we feel, must have laughed, if at least, for once. But this one laughing seems to compensate for the lack of laughter in other places in his works. Applying the test of Abhinavagupta, we have to find out how the incongruity arises and for this purpose we have to examine the whole poem.

### HUMOUR IN THE KUMĀRASAMBHAVA UNVEILED 3

In the first canto the poet paints the sublime in the Himālayas and introduces us to the heroism of Satī, who, unable to brook the insult offered by her father, Dakṣa, burns herself in the fire generated by her own Yogic powers. She is reborn as the daughter of Himavān and is the very perfection of maidenly beauty, grace and charm. Nārada who is conceived as a kind of deity of humour does good to the world through what appears as mischief. Mischief is a form of humour. If we want to understand the humour of the Kumārasambhava, we have to look at it through the eyes of Nārada, who, after meeting Umā at the very outset and inspiring her with the divine desire of marrying Śiva, vanishes altogether from our view, but he is there hiding behind the curtain and we can hear his laughter at every stage. Nārada probed into the future and knew what was to happen in the end. He watched behind the curtain chuckling within himself as he went on looking at scene after scene. That Śiva should have quietly accepted Pārvatī to serve him and never foreseen the danger to himself is the point of the humour in the first canto. Śiva believed thoroughly in himself and his mastery over the passions. He fancied he was invulnerable to woman's beauty though it came embodied in the transcendental perfection of Pārvatī. But behind the curtain, Nārada chuckles. We may almost overhear him exclaiming. "Old man ! persist in your delusions. Soon wilt thou become a slave to her whom thou thinkest but Prakṛti's doll."

In the second canto the gods go to Brahmā and his answer to their supplication, especially his use of the expression '*Umārūpa*,' is very significant. For Umā is as yet not a name of Pārvatī, but she will be getting that name only when her mother will dissuade her from *tapas*, for which she will later on be retiring, to win the heart of Śiva. His answer really means that Pārvatī by her *tapas* will attract Śiva, as magnet the iron, and that the gods may look ahead in that direction. But the gods understood not the words of Brahmā and set themselves to unite the two as if their striving would be of any avail in the matter. Again Nārada must have chuckled to think that the gods should meddle in what was no business of theirs without knowing the consequences.

In the third canto, which is the sublimest part of the whole poem, we have Manmatha and Mādhava striving to awaken Śiva to a sense of Pārvatī's beauty. The poet's genius is at its highest

point and we are introduced into the innermost sanctuary of peace, the soul's citadel, where Śiva has entrenched himself, and the attempt of Manmatha is most ludicrous and preposterous. Manmatha was burnt to ashes and Śiva is victorious for the moment. But behind the curtain can be heard Nārada exclaiming 'Manmatha is dead; long live Manmatha'. The third eye of Śiva which reduced him to ashes will soon open again but not in fire. The seriousness of the Yogin and the conquest of passion are suggested by the poet in passages of the loftiest grandeur and from the point of view of humour the emotion which was afterwards to be unwound is at the highest point.

The whole of the fourth canto is filled with the lamentations of Rati bewailing the loss of Manmatha. But when her wailing is about to be translated into a dire deed, a voice comes to her, saying that when Umā marries Śiva her husband would come back to life. Whose is this voice if not Nārada's?

Though this message is apparently one of consolation still it is full of humour and suggestive of the coming events. The tension of the situation grows from canto to canto and humour is still veiled and is apparent only to the detached soul of Nārada.

Umā dons the robes of the hermit and retires into the forest to perform *tapas*. Śiva at last is conquered by her austerity, where her charms have failed to prevail, and He goes out of his own accord to meet her. The humour has almost delivered itself out and Śiva himself in disguise as Brahmacārin describes Śiva as a worthless fool. He at last throws off his disguise and declares himself to be the slave of Umā. We can hear Nārada behind the scenes exclaiming "you were out to secure Umā and only wanted some pretext or other." Śiva would hardly wait for Umā to get her father's permission and it is Umā herself that forbids him and Śiva has to submit, no doubt, with woe-be-gone face.

We have already come to the sixth canto now. In this canto, the Ṛṣis are sent to Himavān to formally solicit the hand of the bride. The date for the marriage is fixed and Śiva is so eager that he finds it very difficult to wait even for the few days that preceded the marriage-date. It is now the poet's turn to laugh and he laughs in the following stanza :

पशुपतिरपि तान्यहानि कृच्छ्र-

दगमयदद्रिसुतासमागमोत्कः ।



कमपरमवशं न विप्रकुर्यु-

विभुमपि यदमी स्पृशन्ति भावाः ॥

The seventh canto is almost pure humour. It bubbles with fun and frolic. Kālidāsa has loved to depict Śiva in his character of the son-in-law. We have no doubt that the soul of Kālidāsa loved to linger upon the son-in-law aspect of Śiva. To him the mirth and humour of the situation were as much worth describing as the sublimity of the Yogin which is presented to us in the third canto. Śiva bedecks himself duly as befits the bride-groom ; his snakes and serpents, he transforms into fragrant garlands and bracelets; the Vibhūti becomes sandal paste; the eye in the forehead becomes the *tilaka*; in fact, everything that, before, was revolting and horrible is metamorphosed into things of beauty. (This is exactly the alchemy that Kālidāsa wants to depict in this epic viz. the transmutation of earth into heaven). He must have looked proud and we can almost overhear the taunts levelled at him and we can almost see him smiling foolishly and becoming the son-in-law butt. He goes through every rite of marriage. He prostrates before elders and Brahmā is at his wit's end as to what blessing to bestow. He must have been puzzled and tickled at the Yogin that was, having transformed himself into a tiptop son-in-law. Such is the humour of the gods. Manmatha is now introduced to meet Śiva face to face and he must have blushed to see the dreaded god in his new role supplicating him for some of those very shafts that formerly provoked the third eye.

The humour becomes much more exuberant in the eighth canto, in fact too exuberant for the critics. The honeymoon of Śiva, Kālidāsa could not pass over. He describes with loving detail and does not omit its many humourous situations. Śiva becomes the ideal bridegroom, for he satisfied the heart of his mother-in-law, Menakā. We all know that when a Hindu son-in-law is approved by his mother-in-law, the son-in-law is regarded as having grown perfect in folly. Śiva by satisfying Menakā's heart is thus presented to us as perfect in folly. When Śiva leaves Pārvatī to perform Sandhyā, Pārvatī manifests her jealousy and taunts him for preferring Sandhyā to herself. The humour of all this would be very apparent if the whole thing were acted before us.

Considering the poem as a whole, the humour is at first extremely subtle and delicate. It begins in very low tones and is

almost inaudible. At this stage, the sublimity and spiritual grandeur almost entirely throw the humour into the background. It is apparent only to the detached soul of Nārada. Little by little, this sublimity and seriousness are transformed; the humour grows louder and louder and in the seventh and the eighth canto becomes almost obstreperous. From the heights of the Himālayas where eternal silence reigns, we are led step by step into the very nuptial chamber of God. This transition by its polar paradoxes and situations is bound to be attended with peals of laughter. Kālidāsa has achieved almost a miracle in wedding humour with sanctity. We are made to laugh at the sacred even while it remains as sacred as ever before. Kālidāsa walks undoubtedly at the edge of the precipice in this respect. Humour and seriousness are generally considered as poles apart, and in trying to depict God as a kind of supreme and glorified fool towards the end of the poem, Kālidāsa taxes his own genius to the utmost. It is his glory that he has preserved the divine character of Śiva and Pārvatī even while making us laugh.

Laughter at the stage at which it is evoked in the Kumārasambhava is itself a form of beatitude and becomes sacred.

The Bhāgavata narrates the stories of several people who attained to God through various kinds of emotions such as, *krodha*, *bhaya* etc. But it does not tell us of anybody who laughed himself into the presence of God. Kālidāsa in the Kumārasambhava makes us ascend a peak of vision where laughter itself may become the gateway to the Supreme. Come to the top of Kailāsa, the poet seems to say and laugh to your heart's content. The gods are fools and so are we and let us together laugh and dance in folly's dance. It is from this point of view that we can answer the criticism of some critics who regard the eighth canto as a blot on the poem. All critics agree that the eighth canto is the work of Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa was anything but a prude. His soul loved everything in the world and at the same time he was far removed from the seriousness or moroseness of the dry ascetic. His object seems to have been to tear the mask of prudishness from off the faces of men. He has depicted the loftiest beauty in the maiden 'Umā.' He has depicted the soul of the Yogin in Śiva. He has depicted the conquest of that soul over mere physical beauty. He has given to us the great message of renunciation as the secret of undying love. After doing all this, he seems to throw open the nuptial

chamber of Śiva and let us peep in. The critics exclaim with horror 'oh this is awful.' But Kālidāsa would say, "What you see in the nuptial chamber is as much a part of God as what you saw in the forest. I have redeemed the dross from it and if you have understood me, you can look into the nuptial chamber and regard it with as much veneration as everything else that I have depicted."

The seventh canto of the Kumārasambhava parallels in some respects the seventh canto of the Raghuvamśa where the wedding of Aja with Indumatī is described. But at the same time the contrast is very striking. In the Raghuvamśa the wedding follows the glorious Svayaṁvara of Indumatī. In the Kumārasambhava, in place of the Svayaṁvara, we have the austerities of Umā. Similarly the eighth canto of the Kumārasambhava, describing the amours of Śiva, parallels the nineteenth canto of the Raghuvamśa describing the voluptuousness of Agnivarṇa. The Śṛṅgāra described in the Raghuvamśa is of earth, earthly; but the one in the Kumārasambhava is purified and sublimated. Kālidāsa in his Kumārasambhava pushed back earth into secret heaven and spilled all secret heaven upon earth.

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## ARJUNA'S PENANCE OR BHAGĪRATHA'S ?

BY

VICTOR GOLOUBEV

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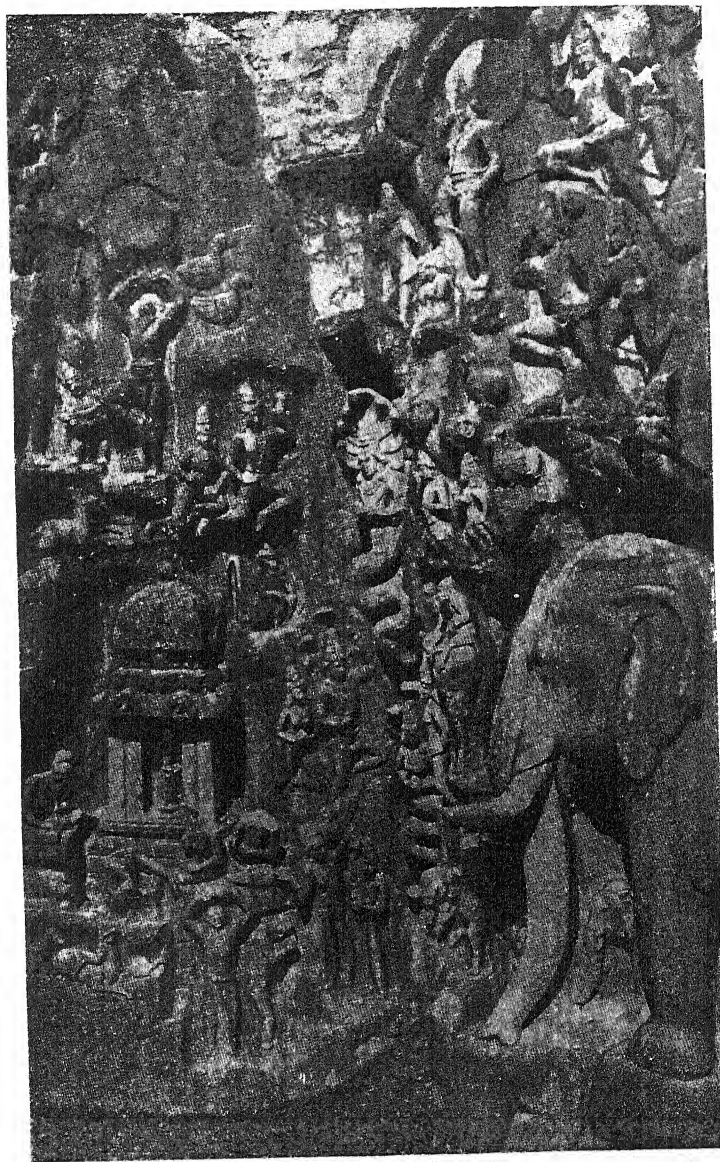
The following translation of the annexure to the report of a general meeting of the Societe Asiatique, held on the 18th June, 1914, published in the *Journal Asiatique* 1914, (Vol. IV, pp. 209-12), will enable scholars who have no access to the French original to see the exact steps in the new interpretation of a celebrated work of art. This interpretation was first proposed by Prof. Goloubew and is now being generally accepted, though some scholars still prefer the older interpretation.

*"Arjuna's cliff at Māvalipuram and the descent of the  
Ganges on earth, according to the Rāmāyaṇa and  
the Mahābhārata.*

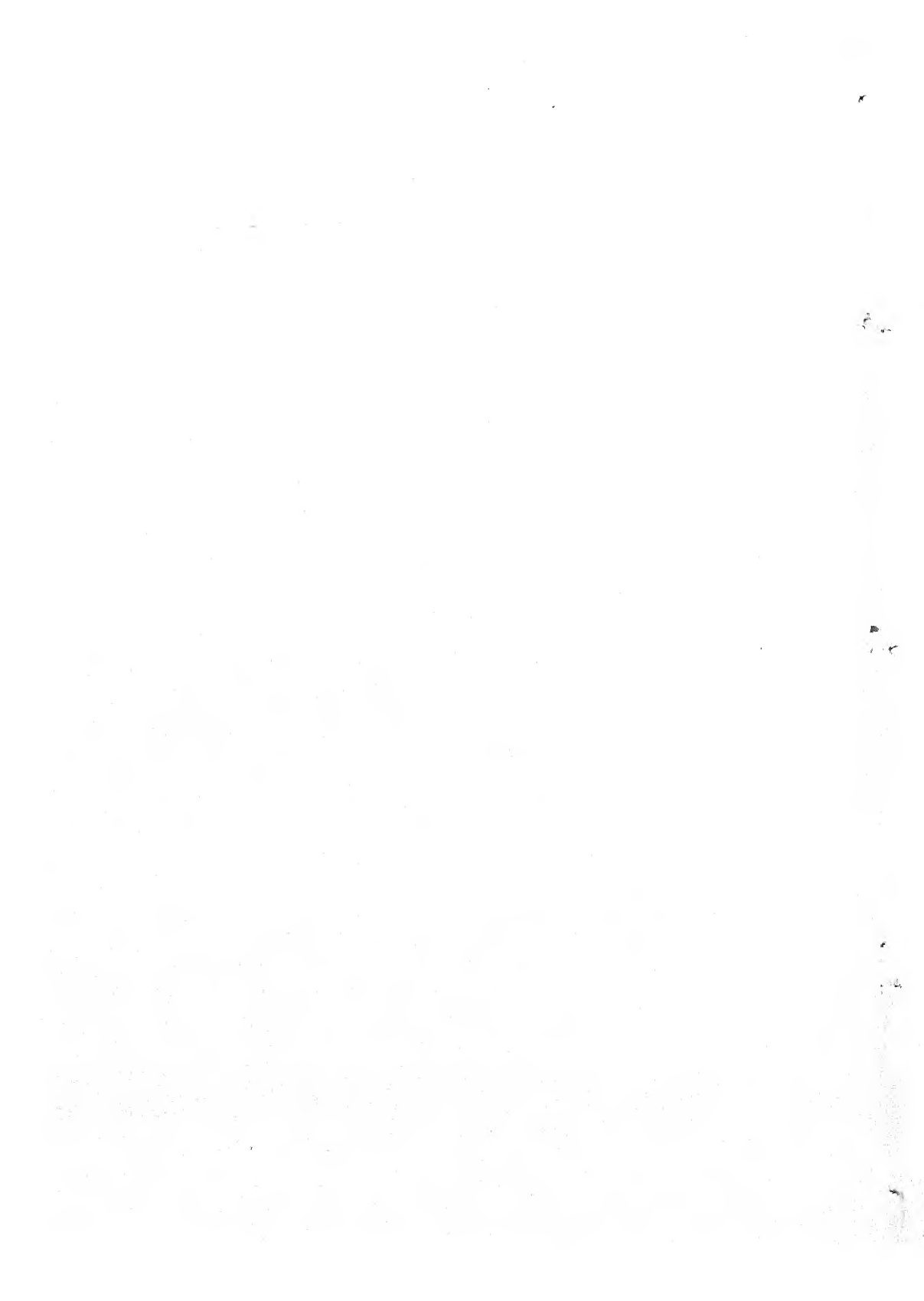
Among the many problems that the temples and the sculptured rocks of Māvalipuram set to us, figures that of deciding the subject which is found related in detail on the cliff said to be that of Arjuna. The high-relief which it shows is among the most important in India alike for richness of the composition and for perfection of technique.

The length of the rock is about 27 metres on a height of 9. A deep fissure separates it in two parts. The southern side ends in a temple of the purest Pallava Style.

The high-relief in question comprises nearly a hundred and fifty persons or animals, adapted in a marvellous fashion to the rock which serves as the landscape. Prominently visible, close to a god, who is easily recognised to be Śiva, is sculptured a penitent in the distinct attitude of mortification. He supports himself on one leg, the hands joined above his head; he has a long beard, and long hair; the brahmanical thread descends cross-wise from his left shoulder. For many years, we believed we saw in this ascetic, the Pāṇḍava Arjuna at the moment when



Mahābalipuram—Bhagīratha's penance.



he imposed on himself his long trial in order to obtain the invincible arms of Indra. Nevertheless, this interpretation was never considered to be definitive. It did not explain the general sense of the composition of which the centre is found indubitably marked by the medial fissure of the rock. The Nāgas sculptured in the depth of this fissure led Fergusson to believe that it was a case of serpent-worship. In agreement with our colleague M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, and after having studied the problem minutely, I believe I can submit to you, gentlemen, a new solution, equally founded on a text of the Mahābhārata. The subject should be, according to our opinion, the "Descent of the Gaṅgā on the earth."

The point of departure of our interpretation was the incontestable fact that the fissure of the rock simulates a river. At the time of the monsoon, and before the opening was closed by the attentions of the Archaeological survey, the rain water fell in a cascade bathing the bodies of the Nāgas and the end of the trunk which is extended by the magnificent elephant sculptured to the right. All the persons and all the animals are seen to turn towards this river. It is thus evident that here is a capital fact, of cosmic importance. Now a similar fact is related to us in the Mahābhārata as well as in the Rāmāyaṇa ; the king Bhagīratha, after a penance of a thousand years, secured from Śiva<sup>1</sup> the descent on earth of the celestial Gaṅgā. This is the precise moment that we find represented to us here.

It is easy to follow detail by detail, the narrative of the great epic poems, to recognise the two heavenly proofs of the grandiose event, the prodigious fall of the Gaṅgā in the lower world, the Nāgas indicating the route of the impetuous flow, the anchorites surrendering themselves to joy, and the great saints who mutter prayers in a low voice. As to the storm of the poem, the artist of Māvalipuram has left it to the care of Nature itself which, during the North-East monsoon, surrounds the rock with its clouds and its lightnings.

It is interesting to note that, in a temple (cave) near the high-relief, the Pallava sculptors have represented on the inner

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1. More literally: 'obtained from Śiva that he made to descend on the earth the celestial Gaṅgā'.

wall the divine shepherd Kṛṣṇa supporting in the air the formidable burden of mount Govardhana and thus sheltering against the celestial cataracts the shepherds and the flocks of Nanda. It is not certainly by chance that, side by side, we find the two supreme divinities of Hinduism, in an action of which the aim is to protect humanity from the inclemencies of the tempest and from the dangers of drought.

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## A PROBLEM OF DRAVIDIC PHONOLOGY—

TAMIL MEDIAL -Y-, -ś- AND KANNADA -S-.

BY

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In his *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages* (2nd ed., pages 153, 158, 215) Caldwell poses an interesting but complicated problem of Dravidic phonology: "On comparing Canarese with Tamil, we often find *s* where we should have expected *y*- e.g., *hesar*, *pesar* Can. 'a name' instead of *peyar*, Tam. It seems unsafe, however, to assume that in these cases *y* was the original and *s* the corruption. It may as well be that *s*- was the original and *y* the corruption. The Tamil *peyar* may therefore be a softened form of the Canarese *pesar*, and what renders this more likely is that the Tamil *peyar* itself is still further softened into *pēr*. In high Tamil, as in Malayālam, the softened form is often preferred by the poets as more elegant. It may possibly therefore be more ancient—e.g., *paim*, green, is in both languages more poetical than *paśum*. All that is certain with regard to such cases is, that *y* and *ś* often change places. The existence, however, of a dialectic change from *ś* to *y*, as apparent especially in the southern districts, is clearly proved by the change Sanskrit derivatives have undergone" (p. 153). "*y* changes into *ś*. It has been shown that *ch*, *ś* and *j* are softened into *y* in Tamil. Notwithstanding this, and in direct opposition to it, we find in colloquial Tamil, especially in that of the southern districts, a tendency also to harden *y* into *ś*. Where *ś* ought to be, it is pronounced as *y*, and where *y* ought to be, it is pronounced as *ś*—e.g., *paśi*, hunger, is mispronounced by the vulgar *payi*; whilst *vayaṛu*, the belly, is transformed into *vaśaṛu*. This change of *y* to *ś* is not confined to the south, though it is more frequently met with there. Even in Madras, *payangal*, boys, is pronounced *paśangal*, and *ayal*, near, is not only pronounced but written *aśal*. The change of *y* into *ś* and again conversely of *ś* into *y*, might seem to be owing to some peculiar perversity, but doubtless there is a cause for the

change in each case, and hence it is not always easy to determine which is the original and which the corruption. Where *y* is used euphonically to prevent hiatus, it does not change to *ś*." (p. 158). "I should be prepared to admit that in these and similar instances, *y* may possibly be older than *ś*." (p. 215)

Caldwell has left the problem unsolved in his book; and it still remains without an adequate and satisfactory explanation. The question, however, is of the utmost importance in the reconstruction of Dravidic bases and the discussion of their inter-relationships. A proper approach to this question has to be made with reference not merely to the southern speeches (where, however, the problem stares us in the face) but also to the central and north Dravidian dialects which, if carefully examined, might shed significant light on this matter.

I give below a list of relevant words which raise the issue.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF COGNATE DRAVIDIAN WORDS INVOLVING THE PROBLEM OF -y-, ś-, s.

Tam. literary.	Tam. colloquial.	Malayalam.	Telugu.	Kannada.	Tulu.	Kūi.	Gōṇḍi.	Kurukh.	Malto.	Brāhūi.
<i>ayal</i> (neighbourhood); <i>aśai</i> (to move); <i>ayar</i> -(to be drowsy).	<i>aśal</i> .  <i>aśar-di</i> (fatigue).	<i>ay-avu</i> (movement); <i>ayakk-</i> (to send).	<i>aśi-y-ūḍ-</i> (to move)	<i>a y-</i> (to move); <i>ay-du</i> (to approach); <i>asi</i> (to move); <i>ayil-</i> (to be drowsy); <i>asur-</i> (to be fatigued). <i>ey</i> (to shoot arrow); <i>eyi</i> (porcupine). <i>esaka</i> (shine)	<i>ey</i> .  <i>kasa</i> (brackish); <i>kaiṭṭa</i> (bit-ter).	<i>e-mba</i> (to separate)	<i>kai-t-</i> (to be astrigent).	? <i>asr</i> (to tremble).		
<i>ey</i> -(to shoot arrow).		<i>ey</i> .	<i>ē y-</i> (to fling).							
<i>iyaiṅgu</i> (to appear). <i>kay</i> -(to be bitter).	<i>kaśa-</i> .	<i>kay-</i> .								
<i>ēy</i> -(to be joined, suited).				<i>esag-</i> (to be attached).						

Tam. literary.	Tam. colloquial.	Malayalam.	Telugu.	Kannada.	Tulu.	Küi.	Göndi.	Kurukh.	Malto.	Brähüi.
<i>śey</i> (field).		<i>cey</i> .	<i>cē-nu</i> .	<i>k a y</i> , <i>k e y</i> (field); <i>kesaru</i> (wet field).	<i>key</i> (stand- ing crop); <i>k e s a r u</i> (mud in a wet field).			? <i>x a j j</i> (earth, mud).		<i>bei</i> (green grass fit for graz- ing).
<i>pay</i> - (green, tender). <i>payaru</i> (gre- en gram);	<i>paś</i> -	<i>pay</i> -, <i>paś</i> - <i>payaru</i> .	<i>pa s u r u</i> (green); <i>p a i r u</i> (corn).	<i>pasi</i> (green- ness); <i>payaru</i> (green corn); <i>pasar</i> (green gram); <i>pasule</i> (child).	<i>p a j i</i> (green); <i>p a i r u</i> (green corn); <i>p a i y a</i> (child); <i>pasi</i> (boy)					
<i>payal</i> (boy).	<i>paśal</i> .						<i>paiya</i> (calf).			
<i>pāy</i> -(to sp- read).		<i>pāy</i> .	<i>pāy</i> .	<i>pāy</i> (to sp- read) <i>pase</i> (mat).	<i>pāy</i> , <i>pajæ</i> (mat).	<i>pās-pa</i> (to cause to spread).				

Tam. literary.	Tam. colloquial.	Malayalam.	Telugu.	Kannada.	Tulu.	Küi.	Göndi.	Kurukh.	Malto.	Brähüi.
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} v\bar{e}- \text{ (to be)} \\ \text{hot).} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} veyyil(\text{sun-} \\ \text{shine).} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} uy- \text{ (to take} \\ \text{away).} \end{array} \right\}$		<i>vēy-</i>	<i>vē-</i>	<i>bey-</i> (to be hot); <i>bisil</i> (sunshine)	<i>bēy-</i> (to be boiled).  <i>oyi-</i> (to take away); <i>ujjalū</i> (swing). <i>usuru.</i>	<i>vē-va.</i>  <i>ō-</i> (to take away.)	<i>vē-</i>  <i>oi-</i> (to take away)	<i>bī-i-</i>  <i>ui-</i>		<i>bis-</i> (to be cooked); <i>bās-</i> (to be hot).
<i>uyir</i> (life.)	<i>uśir.</i>	<i>uyir.</i>	<i>usuru.</i>	<i>usuru.</i>				<i>ujj-</i> (to live). <i>xāy</i> (to be hot) <i>bāi.</i>		<i>cf. ust</i> (heart). <i>cf. xāxar</i> (fire). <i>bā</i> (mouth).
<i>kāy-</i> (to be hot). <i>vāy</i> (mouth)		<i>kāy-</i>  <i>vāy.</i>	<i>kāy-</i>  <i>vāy.</i>	<i>kāy</i> (to be hot). <i>bāy</i> , but <i>cf. bāsul</i> scar caused by a blow).	<i>kāy.</i>  <i>bāy.</i>	<i>kā-nda.</i>  <i>vāy.</i>	<i>kās.</i>  <i>vāy.</i>	<i>qāy.</i>		
<i>kāy</i> (fruit).		<i>kāya.</i>	<i>kāya</i> , but <i>ka s u r</i> (tender fruit).		<i>kāyi.</i>	<i>kā-n.</i>	<i>kaiā</i> (fruit).	<i>xañja.</i>	<i>q a ñ j</i> (fruit).	

Tam. literature.	Tam. colloquial.	Malayalam.	Telugu.	Kannada.	Tulu.	Küi.	Gōṇḍi.	Kurukh.	Malto.	Brāhūi.
<i>vayiru, vayanu</i> (belly).	<i>vaṣaṇu.</i>	<i>vayanu.</i>		<i>basir</i> <i>basar</i> (belly)	<i>bañji.</i>	<i>bandi.</i>		<i>piñj</i> (to be called.)		? <i>pin.</i>
<i>peyar</i> (name)		<i>peyar.</i>	<i>pēru.</i>	<i>pesar</i> (name) <i>hesar</i>						
<i>māy-</i> (to be changed).		<i>māy-</i>	<i>māy</i> (to be destroyed).	<i>māy</i> , but <i>masul</i> (to disappear)	<i>māy</i> (to be removed).					
<i>koy</i> (to reap)		<i>koy-</i>	<i>koy-</i> (to cut).	<i>koy-</i>	<i>koy-</i>	<i>kō-va.</i>	<i>koy-</i>	<i>xoy-</i>	<i>qoy-</i>	
<i>tēy-</i> (to be rubbed).	<i>tē ś a l</i> (rubbing)	<i>tēy-</i>	<i>tē.</i>	<i>tēy.</i>	<i>tēy.</i>	<i>tēja</i> (to be wiped).				
<i>śey-</i> (to do).		<i>cēy-</i>	<i>cēy.</i>	<i>kēy, gēy.</i>	<i>kēy, gēy-</i>	<i>ki-, gi-</i>	<i>k a y</i> (hand); <i>ki</i> to do).			
<i>mey, may</i> (body); <i>me-, mi-</i> (above).		<i>mey-</i>	<i>cf. meyyu</i> (to graze)	<i>may, mey.</i>	<i>mey.</i>		<i>mey</i> (to graze).	<i>me-d</i> (body).		<i>me, mi</i> (above).

cf. also the following :—

Telugu stems *cēs-*, *cēst-* beside the base *cēy-* (to do).

„ *līs-*, *līst-* „ *līy-*

Tōḍa *āṣnum* (though it to be so) beside Tam. *āyinum*; be-  
side

„ *āyinor* (if it be so) „ „ *ānāl*.

[Tōḍa *o* (I.P.A. *ɔ*) corresponds to *a-* of other dialects, and  
Tōḍa *-r* stands for *-l*.]

Iruḷa *mespikka* (to feed), beside Tamil *meyppi-*.

*Significant points in the above instances.*

(a) First we have to note that *-y-* occurs with greater or lesser frequency in most dialects, including Brāhūi of the north -cf. *bey* (green grass fit for grazing). Even in Kūi *kō-va* (to cut), *nō-va* (to be pained), *vē-va* (to be boiled), one can reasonably postulate an older *-y-* which has now disappeared in connection with the formative particle *-va* used characteristically in Kūi in connection with verbs like these.

(b) *-ś-* of the Tamil colloquial, *-s-* of Kannaḍa and Telugu and *-j-* of Tuḷu are found mostly in connection with *derivatives* formed with characteristic Dravidian affixes :

Kannaḍa	<i>paṣaru</i>	(green gram)—	formative <i>-ar</i>
	<i>paṣuḷe</i>	(child) —	„ <i>-uḷ</i>
	<i>pasi</i>	(hunger) —	„ <i>-i</i>
	<i>pase</i>	(mat) —	„ <i>-e</i> (= Tam. <i>ai</i> )
	<i>bisil</i>	(sunshine) —	„ <i>-il</i>
	<i>basir</i>	(belly) —	„ <i>-ir</i>
	<i>pesar</i>	(name) —	„ <i>-ar</i>
	<i>kasa</i>	(astringent) —	adj. „ <i>a</i>
Telugu	<i>paṣaru</i>	(green corn) —	„ formative <i>-ar</i>
	<i>kasuru</i>	(unripe fruit) —	„
Tuḷu	<i>pajæ</i>	(mat) —	„ <i>-æ</i> (=
			Kann. <i>-e</i> and Tam. <i>-ai</i> )
	<i>paji</i>	(green) —	„ <i>-i</i>
	<i>kasa</i>	(brackish) —	adj. „ <i>-a</i>

It will be observed (i) that in connection with most of these instances with *-s-* or *-j-*, these speeches possess cognate forms with *-y-* in only a few of the derivatives, but in *all* those instances which we might call the 'primaries'; and, further, (ii) that

*no* -s- or -j occurs in the 'primaries', but only -y wherever it is found to occur.<sup>1</sup>

The following are other illustrations in modern Tamil with -ś- instead of literary -y- in derivatives :

LITERARY	—	COLLOQUIAL
<i>muyal</i> (hare)	—	<i>muśal</i>
<i>iyai</i> (to agree)	—	<i>iśai</i>
<i>puyal</i> (storm)	—	<i>puśal</i>
<i>kayaṅg</i> - (to be squeezed);		<i>kaśaṅg-</i> ;
<i>ayaṛu</i> (mud)	—	<i>aśaru</i>

(c) So far as the central and northern speeches are concerned, the following points may be singled out —

(i) -y occurs in the 'primaries' freely in many dialects : *cf.* *kāy-* (to be hot) of the south with Kurukh *xāy-*, Malto *qāy-*; *koy-* (to cut, reap) with Gōṇḍi *koy-* and Kurukh *xoy-*; *vāy*, *bāy* (mouth) with Gaṇḍi *vāy*, Kurukh *bāy*; *kāy* (fruit) with Gōṇḍi *kāiā*; *cf.* further Gōṇḍi *nāy* (dog), *poi-* (to flower), *miy-* (to emerge from), *etc.*

(ii) Gōṇḍi *kās-* (to be hot) Kūi *kaju* (hand) and Brāhūi *bis-* (to be cooked) remain to be explained with reference to -y- of their respective cognates in the south.

-j- of Kūi *kaju* (hand) and *tēja* (to be wiped,) corresponds to -y- of so many dialects that we cannot help postulating here a change of -y- to -j- ; *cf.* Kūi *āja* (woman) with southern *āyi* (woman) and *cf.* Tuḷu *pajā* (mat) with *pāy-* (to spread). -s- of Gōṇḍi *kās-* and Brāhūi *bis-* also may, in view of the fact that the cognates of most other dialects show only -y-, also be considered to be modifications of -y-.

To suppose that -s- here represents the original condition of Dravidian is to ignore (i) the value of the presumption arising from the actual existence of -y- in cognates in most dialects of Dravidian, (ii) the significance of the process underlying the production of -s- or -j- in *derivatives* of Kannaḍa, Telugu and Tuḷu, and (iii) the significance of the absence of -s in numerous other forms at least in the central and northern speeches, where we ought (according to this supposition) to expect -s.

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1. So far as Tamil is concerned, the forms with medial -ś- (corresponding to -y-) are mostly found only in the colloquial or in comparatively modern literary texts. Among all our instances, the only exceptions to this rule are *paśa-* (to be green, to lose lustre) and *aśai-* (to move, stir) which are found in the oldest literary works.



The probabilities, therefore, all point to the fact that *-s-* of Gōṇḍi *kās-* (to be hot) and Brāhūi *bis-* (to be cooked) is secondarily derived from *-y-*.

*The question of the adaptation of I.A. -s-, -j- as -y- in Tamil.*

(a) One of the arguments indicated by Caldwell in the citation given above and used by others to show that *-y-* may be secondary to *-ś-* or *-s-* is that old Tamil adapted I.A. *-ś-*, *-j-* as *-y-* in a few instances like the following :—

IA	<i>ākāśa</i>	—	Old Tam.	<i>ākāyam</i>
,,	<i>deśa</i>	—	,,	<i>tēyam</i>
,,	<i>śmaśāna</i>	—	,,	<i>mayānam</i>
,,	<i>rājā</i>	—	,,	<i>araśan, arayan</i>

We have to bear in mind that this change has not affected all such adaptations, nor is it in these forms absolute, as we have alternants in old Tamil with *-ś-* instead of *-y-*.

Further, the validity of this argument to prove the secondary character of all instances of native *-y-* in Dravidian is extremely doubtful in view of our review of the occurrence of *-y-* in most Dravidian dialects outside Tamil. And in Tamil itself, IA. *-ś-* may have been adapted as *-y-* on account of the predominance and strength of *-y-* in literary Tamil as distinguished from the colloquial *-ś-*.

(b) In certain dialects of Indo-European, and Indo-Āryan, an original *-s-* has been known to have changed to the aspirate *-h-*, then to *zero*, and then *-y-*. This has led some scholars to postulate this kind of change in Dravidian also. The error, involved in this presumption, of attributing to one language-family a change which is quite common in another, will evidence itself when we consider the probabilities with reference to the actual conditions in Dravidian taken as a whole. The postulate of an original *-s-* like this cannot *satisfactorily* be made in the case of any one of the instances in our list; on the other hand, it is possible for us to account for the sibilants wherever they occur in the above list as having been modifications of *-y-*.<sup>1</sup>

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1. (a) The question may arise here whether the origin of this *-y-* could be traced further *back*. The data at our disposal do not warrant anything conclusive; but one may query if in those primary bases where *-y-* is preceded by front vowels it may not have originally cropped up as an off-glide.

(b) Further, correspondences like the following might raise the question of an original *-g-* :

*Phonetic aspects of the change -y-> -ś-> -s-.*

(i) Tamil -y- in actual utterance is a semi-voiced palato-alveolar fricative which easily changes into the sibilant ś by the introduction of a greater current of breath. In Tamil, ś appears generally speaking, completely unvoiced owing to the association of the stronger breath-current in the production of the sibilant. The actual process of change can be noted distinctly when Tamil speakers of the older generation use, side by side in pairs, words like lit. *muyal* (hare) and coll. *muśal*, preferring always the latter in emphatic enunciation.

The voiced variety of ś [*i. e. z*] is not met with in Dravidian; in certain dialects like Tulu this voiced *z* changes into the voiced affricate *j*.

(ii) The dental sibilant -s- in medial positions is exclusive in Kannaḍa; the palatal -ś- is nowhere seen. Palatal -ś- of Sanskrit words is in the old dialect always adapted as -s :- *cf.*

IA.	—	Kann. adaptation
<i>daśa</i>	—	<i>dasa</i>
<i>aśoka</i>	—	<i>asōka</i>
<i>āśā</i>	—	<i>āsa</i>
<i>pāśa</i>	—	<i>pāsa</i>

So far as native words are concerned, -s- (corresponding to -y- of 'primaries' in Kannaḍa itself and in other dialects) is found only in *derivatives*. This is also true of Tamil colloquial -ś-. What is the significance of this difference? I feel inclined to take the view that, since -y- when preceded and followed by vowels in derivatives has a tendency to lose its consonantal value (*cf.* Tam. colloquial *pēr* 'name' with *peyar* 'name', *viyar* 'to perspire' with *vēr*), the attempt to stress its individuality in the medial syllable leads to the incorporation of a stronger breath-current and therefore to the change of the fricative -y- to -ś- in Tamil colloquial and to -s- in Kannaḍa (through an intermediate \*-ś- stage).

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South Dr. *ā-g-* (to become) — Gōṇḍi *āi-*

Kannaḍa *bāgil* (door) — Tam. *vāyil* — *vāśal*

Tulu *muger* (hare) — Tam. *muyal* — coll. Tam. *muśal*

Tulu *begaru* (sweat) — Kann. *bevaru* — Tam. *viyar* — Mal. *viśar*

Tam. *mogaru* (curds), *mōru* (butter-milk) Kann. *mosaru*.

Here too, nothing conclusive can be said, as -g-, instead of being original, may be inorganic, as in Tel. *aruguru*. etc.

*Conclusion.*

Summing up, we find that

(i) the occurrence of -y- in 'primaries' in almost all dialects of Dravidian evidences its antiquity ;

(ii) Tamil -ś- corresponding to -y- is found generally only in the colloquial or in modern texts and *not* commonly in the oldest literary dialect ;

(iii) -ś- of modern Tamil and -s- of Kannaḍa and Telugu and -j- of Tuḷu (all of them corresponding to -y-) are found in *derivatives only* ;

(iv) the process of change of -y- to -ś- in Tamil colloquial could be noted even today in the parlance of speakers of the older generation when they use forms with -ś- in emphatic enunciation; and possibly the development of -s- (through \*-ś-) in Kannaḍa and Telugu was therefore, ultimately due to the incorporation of a strong breath-current to mark off the individuality of the medial syllable of derivatives.

One is therefore led to suggest that in these instances -y- may be original and -ś-, -j- and -s- secondary.

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# THE STORY OF NĀBHĀNEDIṢṬHA AND ITS JURISPRUDENTIAL BEARINGS.

BY

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The story of Nābhānediṣṭha is as old as the days of the Yajurveda (Taittirīya Saṁhitā) and is thus told :—

मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजत्, स नाभानेदिष्टं ब्रह्मचर्ये वसन्तं  
निरभजत्, स आगच्छत्, सोऽब्रवीत्, कथा मा निरभागिति । न त्वा निरभाक्ष-  
मित्यब्रवीत् । अङ्गिरस इमे सत्तमासते, ते सुवर्गं लोकं न प्रजानन्ति, तेभ्य  
इदं ब्राह्मणं ब्रूहि, ते सुवर्गं लोकं यन्तो य एषां पशवस्ताऽस्ते दास्य-  
न्तीति । तदेभ्योऽब्रवीत्, ते सुवर्गं लोकं यन्तो य एषां पशव आसन्, तानस्मा  
अददुः । तं पशुभिश्चरन्तं यज्ञवास्तौ रुद्र आगच्छत्, सोऽब्रवीत् । मम वा  
इमे पशव इत्यदुर्वै मह्यमिमानित्यब्रवीत्, न वै तस्य ईशत इत्यब्रवीत् यद्यज्ञ-  
वास्तौ हीयते, मम वै तदिति । तस्माद्यज्ञवास्तु नाभ्यवेत्यः सोऽब्रवीत् यज्ञे  
माऽऽभजाय ते पशून्, नाभिमःस्य इति । तस्मा एनं मन्थिनः सःस्त्रावमजुहोत्,  
ततो वै तस्य रुद्रः पशूनाभ्यमन्यत इति ।

(तैत्तिरीयसंहिता, ३-१-९.)

Rendered into English, it would mean, “Manu partitioned his estate amongst his sons. He left out of account, Nābhānediṣṭha who was dwelling as a student (with his preceptor). He returned home and asked “why did you disinherit me?” Manu replied saying “I have not left you out of the heritage. These Aṅgirasas here are performing a sacrifice. They do not well know the means of attaining to Suvarga. Repeat unto them, this Brāhmaṇa. And as they depart heavenwards, they will bestow on you all their cattle.” So he said. And they also bestowed on him, all the cattle that belonged to them, as they started for Suvarga. And as he was marching along with the cattle, Rudra came up to him and met him on the sacrificial grounds. And he said unto him

“They bestowed these on me saying they were mine. These cattle are therefore mine !” “You are not their owner” said the other. “Whatever is left over on the sacrificial ground, that is by right mine. Therefore should one not trespass on the sacrificial ground.” Then did Nābhānediṣṭha reply “Allow me my lord ! the fruits of the sacrifice, if by any means you do not desire these cattle.” And to that end, he took the ghee offering from the churning vessel and performed a full “*Samsrava*” offering, wherefrom, pleased, Lord Rudra ceased to care for the cattle.”

(Taitt. Samhitā. 3.1.9.)

This same tale occurs again in a more embellished form but with a tame moral in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of the R̥g-Veda. It runs as follows :—

नाभानेदिष्टं वै मानवं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन्तं भ्रातरो निरभजन् । सोऽ-  
ब्रवीदेत्य किं मह्यमभाक्तेत्येतमेव निष्ठावमववादितारमित्यब्रुवंस्तस्माद्वाप्येतर्हि  
पितरं पुत्रं निष्ठावोऽववादितेत्येवाचक्षते । स पितरमेत्याब्रवीत्त्वां ह वाव मह्यं  
ताताभाक्षुरिति । तं पिताऽब्रवीन्मा पुत्रक तदादृथा अङ्गिरसो वा इमे स्वर्गाय  
लोकाय सत्रमासते, ते षष्ठं षष्ठमेवाहरागल्य मुह्यन्ति, तानेते सूक्ते षष्ठेऽ-  
हनि शंसय, तेषां यत्सहस्रं सत्रपरिवेषणं तत्ते स्वर्यन्तो दास्यन्तीति ।  
तथेति । तानुपैत्यतिगृभ्णीत मानवं सुमेधस इति । तमब्रुवन् किङ्कामो वद-  
सीति । इदमेव वः षष्ठमहः प्रज्ञापयानि इत्यब्रवीत् । अथ यद्र एतत्सहस्रं सत्रपरि-  
वेषणं तन्मे स्वर्यन्तो दत्तेति । तथेति । तानेते सूक्ते षष्ठेऽहन्शंसयत् । ततो  
वै ते प्र यज्ञमाजानन् प्र स्वर्गं लोकम् ।...तं स्वर्यन्तोऽब्रुवन्नेतत्ते ब्राह्मण  
सहस्रमिति । तदेनं समाकुर्वाणं पुरुषः कृष्णशवास्युत्तरत उपोत्थोयाब्रवीन्मम  
वा इदं मम वै वास्तुहमिति । सोऽब्रवीन्मह्यं वा इदमदुरिति । तमब्रवीत्तद्वै  
नौ तवैव पितरि प्रश्न इति । स पितरमैत्तं पिताब्रवीन्ननु ते पुत्रकाद् ३  
दित्यदुरेव म इत्यब्रवीत्, तत्तु मे पुरुषः कृष्णशवास्युत्तरत उपोदतिष्ठन्मम  
वा इदं मम वै वास्तुहमित्यादितेति । तं पिताब्रवीत्तस्यैव पुत्रक तत्तत्तु  
स तुभ्यं दास्यतीति । स पुनरेत्याब्रवीत्तव ह वाव किल भगव इदमिति  
मे पिताऽऽहेति । सोऽब्रवीत्तदहं तुभ्यमेव ददामि य एव सत्यमवादीरिति ।

(ऐतरेयब्राह्मणम्, २२—९.)

In English, the story would run as follows :—

“The brothers left out without a share, Nābhānediṣṭha, the son of Manu who was dwelling as a student with his preceptor,

He came unto them and asked 'Why have you excluded me from the partition?' They said 'Ask him. He knows the law and can determine the division.' Therefore is it that even now, children call their father 'the knower of the law and the determiner of the division.' He repaired to his father and said 'my sire ! They have allotted you to my share.' His father addressed him thus 'my son ! Heed them not ! These Aṅgirasas here perform a sacrifice for reaching the heavenly world. As often as they reach the sixth day, they go wrong. Repeat unto them these two hymns on the sixth day. And the thousand things they have got ready for the sacrifice, they will offer unto you, when they depart heavenwards.' And Nābhānediṣṭha agreed to it saying 'So be it !'

He then approached them and said "Receive me, the son of Manu, O wise ones !" They asked him "What do you desire, that you address us thus !" "Even this—I will instruct you in the matter of the sixth day's ritual," said he. And he also stipulated "These thousand things that you have got down here together for the sacrifice, these you shall bestow on me, when you proceed to heaven." They agreed and to them he repeated on the sixth day, the two hymns. From that they understood the sacrifice and saw the heavens.

As they were departing for the heavenly world, they said to him "These thousand things are yours. O Brahmin !" And as he was gathering them up, a certain person clad in dark garments rose up in front of him and accosted him thus "These are mine ! The sacrificial leavings belong to me." He replied "They surely bestowed it on me." "Then indeed" said the other "let this our question be determined by your father". He then went to his father. Manu asked him "Surely, my child ! they gave you (wealth)". "They indeed rewarded me" said he "But then, a certain person, clad in dirty garments rose up towards the north in front of me, and took back everything saying 'All this is mine ! All the sacrificial leavings are mine.' " The parent told him "My child ! It is even his. But he will present them to you." He went back and said "My lord ! My sire declares that all this indeed belongs to you." He then announced "Then will I bestow it all on thee, who hast thus spoken the truth."

(Aitareya. Brāhm. XXII.9.)

Idle though the tale might seem, it yet contains with its narration a world of information regarding the law of Hindu

inheritance, showing how some of the leading doctrines in Hindu Law, which are honoured even in these days, had their germs laid down firmly during the Vedic period.

The account tells us how Manu divided up his estate amongst his sons. This without more, gives birth to three distinct principles in the Hindu Law of Inheritance and partition *viz.* (i) that a father can effect a division of the estate in his own lifetime (ii) that the sons became entitled by their mere birth to a definite share of the estate (iii) and that inasmuch as the division is mentioned without further qualifying expressions, the division was equal. The last of these is emphatically maintained by Bodhāyana, who has it मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजदिति श्रुतिः । समश्चः सर्वेषामविशेषात् ॥ ब्रौध्वा. धर्म. २, २, १-२. It might remotely be taken to mean and intend also the postponement of the daughters' rights to succession in favour of the immediate rights of the male heirs. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa's wording of the incident is slightly different. It tells us that the brothers effected a partition and it would seem from that account, that it was the brothers that demanded the partition during their father's lifetime, a right recognized even by present day practice. The right to partition by sons even during the lifetime of their parents, as old as the R̥g-Veda, has been admitted by successive generations of law givers till it has come down to this day. Cf. वित्वा नरं पुरुत्रा सपर्यन् पितुर्न विब्रेर्विवेदो भरन्त । ऋग्वेद ९. ६०. ५. (also Bodh. Dha. 2.2.8 ; and Gaut. 29.2.)

The next sentence informs us that in the partition, Nābhānediṣṭha, who was then in his preceptor's house pursuing his studies, was left out. The Taittirīya text tells us that Manu purposely excluded him from such division. Strict judge and affectionate father as he was, Manu must have felt that his son Nābhānediṣṭha was receiving an education that was to fit him up for life and that therefore his schooling might be set off against his share and his portion divided amongst his less fortunate and accomplished brothers. Though under the strict letter of the law, a son was entitled to the usufruct of all the joint family property, without being called upon to refund the benefits received in the past at the time of partition, yet it might be, as it obtains in present day practice where a member possessed of sufficient private property, is, if generous enough, at liberty to renounce his share and so benefit the other members, that Manu hoped he would be

able to persuade Nābhānediṣṭha, in view of his being better equipped for life, to release his coparcenary interest in favour of his brothers. The later Brāhmaṇa account however, being desirous of saving Manu from such an unjust partitioning, tells us that the brothers themselves omitted him from the division, leaving them to answer the charge of either gross deceit or mild inadvertence.

But such unfair partition is however liable to be attacked and reopened at the instance of the prejudiced party and Nābhānediṣṭha is not slow to realise his legal position. He at once challenges the partition. He accuses the authors of the division of *mala fides* and prefers his suit. Reopening the partition is a remedy expressly laid down for him, even by present day Hindu Law. *Balkishen v. Rammarain*, (30.I.A. 139.) is authority for the proposition that a partition to which a member was not a party or which was made during the minority of a member and was unfair and prejudicial to such minor's or member's interests, might be reopened at the instance of such member, in so far as he is concerned. So, he betakes himself to his father and asks him as to why he had been excluded from his share in the partition. Manu, in fact, realizes the justice of his claims. Therefore is it that he seeks to appease him by promise or prospect of other rewards.

The account reveals Manu as directing his son to appropriate to himself the thousands of cattle the Aṅgirasas bestow on him, as a reward for his services in teaching them the verses that should gain for them the heavenly worlds. These presents, Manu knew, were the "gains of learning" which the acquirer thereof was at liberty to treat as self-acquired property. Even now, in a series of decisions culminating in the famous I.C.S. case (*Gokal Chand v. The firm of Hukum Chand*, 40 M.L.J. 327) the British Courts of law have consistently laid down that whatever constituted the "gains of science" was impartible. In the above case indeed, Lord Summer delivering the judgment of the Privy Council expressly observed "Impartibility rested in every case on the slightness or the peculiar character of the education, by which the science was acquired" an observation which eminently fits in with Nābhānediṣṭha's case. Manu imparted to him two hymns, which he was to repeat to the Aṅgirasas and gain the reward of a thousand heads of cattle. Such instruction or education can by no stretch of imagination be held to have been achieved at the expense of the family, or to have cost



anything to the heritage and any gain resulting from such equipment Manu held to be impartible and so advised him to retain it himself. This view of Manu's is better explained in the pronouncement of their Lordships of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in *Mehtaram v. Rewachand*, (34 M.L.J. 327) where they observe "Their Lordships cannot find in the texts of the *Mitākṣara*, any authority — — (for the position) — that the gains made personally and without the aid of the joint funds by *a member of a joint family, who received an ordinary education suitable to his position, as a member of the family to which he belonged*, should in law be regarded as partible and not as his self-acquired property."

In view of Manu helping him to a competence, Nābhānediṣṭha acquiesced in the partition arrangement effected by his father, and relinquished his share, which enured to the benefit of the brothers. Nābhānediṣṭha then proceeded to the sacrificial hall of the Aṅgirasas and was rewarded with a thousand heads of cattle, which he sought to gather to himself. But, then from the sacrificial ground out stepped Lord Rudra and claimed the cattle as his own. The law of the sacrifice was that Lord Rudra was the master and protector of the sacrificial ground and that the articles and belongings brought in there, passed into his keeping. Lord Rudra became thus, analogous to an usufructuary mortgagee let into the possession of an estate, which he was entitled to retain as against all claimants thereto, till his own dues shall have been paid. Lord Rudra's dues were, as we shall learn hereafter, the merits of a full sacrifice, which accrued to him as soon as the *Saṃsraṇahoma* was performed and as the Aṅgirasas had in their hasty departure to Suvarga not performed this, Lord Rudra refuses to part with the belongings. At the time of their ascent to heaven, the Aṅgirasas themselves had no right of possession to the cattle and Nābhānediṣṭha who derived his title only from the Aṅgirasas, could not have a title to them superior to what his donors had.

Nābhānediṣṭha then runs back, advised thereto by Rudra, to his father and consults him with regard to the relative rights of Rudra and himself. He also acquiesces in the position taken up by Rudra and declares the possession to be in Rudra's favour. Still Nābhānediṣṭha was not without his legal remedies. He could still return to his father, report failure of consideration and seek to repudiate his release. Manu seems to have felt the

ridiculous position into which he had placed himself by his hasty and unequal partition, for he still seeks to appease his son and make him agree to the arrangement by a further promise. He promises that Rudra would still return the cattle to him, if he satisfied Rudra's claims.

But why should Rudra return the cattle? And what are his claims? Here comes another delicate and interesting point in the Hindu Law of gifts. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa version gives a lame explanation saying, that Lord Rudra was pleased with his truthfulness and so presented him the thousand heads of cattle as a reward. But the text of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā gives the true reason. The Aṅgirasas had not performed the "*Saṁsraṇahoma*" or the final offering which really concludes every sacrificial rite and so their sacrifice was not complete and till that was completed Lord Rudra was the proprietor of the sacrificial altar and the belongings therein. The "*Saṁsraṇahoma*" is that last offering, wherein the sacrificer pours away all the remaining ghee in a single offering and thus empties the churning vessel called the "*manthanī*." When this is done, the rite is complete and Lord Rudra is relieved from his supervision and guard over the fire altar. Then does he depart from the grounds, taking with him the fruits of a completed and full sacrifice. This final, "*Saṁsraṇahoma*" Nābhānediṣṭha performs, discharging in full the claims of Lord Rudra. Lord Rudra being thus satisfied, withdraws his claims and Nābhānediṣṭha is allowed to take possession of the cattle bestowed on him.)

To understand this explanation aright, one must realize that in the Vedic texts, all questions of law and religion, are sought to be answered in terms of the sacrifice and sacrificial usage. "*The Saṁsraṇahoma*" amounts to a final discharge to any claims that might be preferred against an estate. Nābhānediṣṭha taking up all the effects of the Aṅgirasas stood in the position of an *universal donee* and he was as such liable to meet the donor's obligations in full to the extent of the property (*Jamna v. Machul*, 2 All. 315). (The claims of Rudra could be discharged only by the performance of *Saṁsraṇa* oblation and this Nābhānediṣṭha had to perform, before he could take up possession of the property gifted away to him.)

Thus the story of Nābhānediṣṭha, is important to a student of Hindu jurisprudence, inasmuch as it lays down (i) that the

estate of a Hindu joint family was liable to be partitioned amongst the coparceners at the instance of any member thereof, even during the lifetime of the parents, (ii) that the sons became entitled to a share of such property by the mere fact of their being born in that family (iii) that every member was entitled to an equal share (iv) that the said partition was liable to be reopened on the ground of fraud or unfairness at the instance of any member in whose absence, the partition arrangements had been concluded (v) that a member who was otherwise provided for and well off, was entitled to renounce or release his share of the estate (vi) that such release enured to the benefit of the coparceners in the absence of the renouncer's nominees (vii) that the "gains of learning" amounted to a self-acquisition, which was impartible (viii) that a donee cannot have a title superior to his donor's and that (xi) a universal donee is liable to meet all the obligations of the donor to the full extent of the estate conveyed by the gift.

Truly has it been said

“उपदिष्टो धर्मः प्रतिवेदम् ॥”

(Bodhāyana Dharma. I.1.1.)

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# HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL AND THEIR RELATION TO THE GRAMMATICAL LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT.

BY

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## 1.4. CONSONANTS.

1.41. *Classification* : 1.411. *Ancient Period* :—Tolkāppiyāṇār says that there are eighteen consonants from *k* to *ṇ* which may be classified as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

		Voiceless	Voiced	
Plosives :	Guttural	<i>k</i>	<i>ṅ</i>	} Nasal also.
	Palatal	<i>c</i>	<i>ñ</i>	
	Cerebral	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	
	Alveolar	<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>	
	Dental	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	
	Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>m</i>	
Semi-vowels	Palatal	<i>y</i>		
	Cerebral	<i>r &amp; ḷ</i>		
	Dental	<i>l</i>		
	Labio-dental	<i>v</i>		
Fricatives <sup>2</sup>	Cerebral	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	

Tolkāppiyāṇār classifies consonants as *valliṇam*, *melliṇam* and *iṭaiyiṇam*. This must have been done with reference to the *muyarci* (*prayatna*) or effect. *K*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p* and *ṣ* are mentioned as *valliṇam*<sup>3</sup>, *ṅ*, *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, *ṇ* as *melliṇam*<sup>4</sup> and *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ḷ*,

1. The parallelism between

*ṇakara-v-iṣuvāy-p patinēṇṇeluttumeyyeṇa molipa.* (Tol. E. 9.)  
and

*hakāraṇtāni kādāni vyañjanāni vidur budhāh.* (B. N. p. 170, 8.)

is worth noting; but we cannot say definitely whether the extant text of Nāṭyaśāstra is anterior or posterior to Tolkāppiyam.

2. In Tamil grammar *ṣ* and *ḷ* are not separately classified as fricatives, but from their pronunciation, I have mentioned them as such for the sake of clearness.

3. *Vallēlut t-eṇpa ka-ca-ṭa ta-pa-ra.* (Tol. E. 19.)

4. *Mellelut t-eṇpa ṇa-ñā-ṇa na-ma-ṇa.* (ibid. 20.)

and *ḷ* as *iṭaiyiṇam*<sup>1</sup>. He does not mention the distinction between the semi-vowels *y*, *r*, *l*, *v* and the fricative *ḷ*, nor takes *r* as a fricative. The word *iṭaiyiṇam* appears to me to be the translation of the Sanskrit *antaḥstha*.

He also states the place of articulation for the different consonants :—*k* and *ṅ* are produced by the contact of the root of the tongue with the root of the hard palate<sup>2</sup>, *c* and *ñ* by that of the middle part of the tongue with the middle part of the hard palate,<sup>3</sup> *ṭ* and *ṇ* by that of the tip of the tongue with the front of the hard palate<sup>4</sup> &<sup>5</sup>, *t* and *n* by the extended tip of the tongue completely touching the upper gums<sup>6</sup>, *ṟ* and *ṇ* by the tip of the tongue being raised and allowed to gently touch the hard palate<sup>7</sup>, *r* and *ḷ* by the tip of the tongue being raised and allowed to gently press against the hard palate<sup>8</sup>, *ḷ* and *ḷ* by the extended tip of the tongue respectively touching the upper gums and pressing against them<sup>9</sup>, *p* and *m* by joining the lips<sup>10</sup>, *v* by bringing the upper teeth against the lower lip<sup>11</sup>, *y* by allowing the air which passes through the neck to pass very close to the hard palate<sup>12</sup>. And the *melliṇam* letters have, in

1. *Iṭai-y-elut t-eṇṇa ya-ra-la va-la-la*. (ibid. 21.)

2. *Kakāra ṇakāra mutanṇā v-aṇṇam*. (ibid. 89.)

3. *Cakāra ṇakāra v-iṭainū v-aṇṇam*. (ibid. 90.)

4. *Takāra ṇakāra nuṇi-nū v-aṇṇam*. (ibid. 91.)

5. Here it is to be noted that *ṭ* and *ṇ* as defined here are not *now* pronounced in the same way, but are pronounced as cerebrals; but the old pronunciation is generally preserved in Malayāḷam.

6. *Aṇṇa nanṇiya paṇ-mutan maruṇkiṇ*  
*Nū-nuṇi parantu me-y-ura v-orra-i*  
*Tūm iṇitū piṟakkun takāra ṇakāram*. (Tol. E. 93.)

7. *Aṇari nuṇi-nū v-aṇṇa m-orra*  
*Raṣṣkū ṇaṣṣkū ṇ-āyiraṇṭum piṟakkum*. (ibid. 94.)

8. *Nuṇi-nū v-aṇari y-aṇṇam varuṭa*  
*Rakāra ḷakāra m-āyiraṇṭum piṟakkum*. (ibid. 95.)

9. *Nū-viḷimṇi vīṇki y-aṇṇa mutal-ura*  
*Āvayi ṇ-aṇṇa m-orraṇṇam varuṭavum*  
*Lakāra ḷakāram-a y-iraṇṭum piṟakkum*. (ibid. 96.)

10. *Itaḷ-iyaintu piṟakkum pakāra makāram*. (ibid. 97.)

11. *Pal-l-ita ḷ-iyaiya vakāram piṟakkum*. (ibid. 98.)

12. *Aṇṇaṇ cērnta miṭaṇṇelu ṟaḷi-y-icai*  
*Kaṇṇur ṟaṭaiya yakāram piṟakkum*. (ibid. 99.)

addition to their places of articulation noted above, the nose also<sup>1</sup>.

The difference between *ṇ* and *ṇ̣* is that the former is produced at the front of the palate with the tip of the tongue facing backwards and that the latter is produced behind it with the tip of the tongue facing forwards.

Here it is worth noting that the place of articulation for the gutturals, palatals, dentals, labials and *v* as mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār closely agree with those mentioned in Taittirīya Prātiśākhya and to a large extent with those in other Prātiśākhyas. Cf.

*Kakāra ṇakāra mutanā v-aṇṇam* (Tol. E. 86) with  
*Hanumūlē jihvāmūlēna kavargē sparśayati* (Tai. P. ii, 35);

*Cakāra ṇakāra miṭai-nā v-aṇṇam* (Tol. E. 20) with  
*Tālū jihvāmadhyēna cavargē* (Tai. P. ii, 36);  
*Tālusthānā madhyēna* (S. Y. V. P. i, 79) and  
*Tālavayānām madhya-jihvam* (A. V. P. i, 21);  
*Aṇṇam naṇṇiya ... nū-nuṇi parantu ... takāra nakāram*  
(Tol. E. 93) with

*Jihvāgrēṇa tavargē dantamūlēṣu* (Tai. P. ii, 38) and  
*Dantyānām jihvāgram prastīrṇam*<sup>2</sup> (A. V. P. i, 24);  
*Ital-iyaintu pīrakkum pakāra makāram* (Tol. E. 97) with  
*Oṣṭhābhyām pavargē* (Tai. P. ii, 39.);  
*Pal-l-italiyaiya vakaram pīrakkum* (Tol. E. 97) with  
*Oṣṭhāntābhyām dantair vakārē* (Tai. P. ii. 43.).

1. 412. *Medieval period* :—In the medieval period the same is said about the classification and production of consonants with this difference :—Naṇṇūlār states that *p* and *m* are produced by the upper lip pressing upon the lower lip<sup>3</sup> and *y* is produced by allowing the root of the tongue to press upon the root of the hard palate<sup>4</sup>. Practically, there is no difference between Naṇṇūl and Tolkāppiyam as regards the first point and there is slight difference as regards the second point.

1. *Mellelut t-ūrum pīraṇṇi ṇ-ākkāñ*  
*Colliya paḷḷi nilaiyiṇa v-āyiṇu*  
*Mūkkiṇ vaḷi-y-icai yāppura-t tōṇrum.* (ibid. 100.)

2. The word *prastīrṇam* in A. V. P. and the word *parantu* in Tolkāppiyam convey exactly the same meaning.

3. *Mikē l-italuraṇ pa-m-ma-p pīrakkum.* (Na. 81.)

4. *Aṭṭiṇa vaṭiyāna muṇṇayāt tōṇrum.* (ibid. 82.)

1.413. *Modern period* : 14131. The author of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* agrees with *Nannūlar* as regards the place of production of *p* and *m* and agrees with *Tolkāppiyāṇār* as regards that of *y*.<sup>1</sup>

1.4132. <sup>2</sup>		Voiceless.	Voiced.	
			Non-nasal.	Nasal.
Plosives.	Guttural	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ṅ</i>
	Palatal	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ñ</i>
	Cerebral	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ṇ<sup>3</sup>, ṇ<sup>4</sup></i>
	Dental	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>
	Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>
Semi-vowels.	Palatal		<i>y</i>	
	Cerebral		<i>r, l</i>	
	Dental		<i>ḷ</i>	
	Labio-dental		<i>v</i>	
Fricatives.	Palatal	<i>ś</i>		
	Dental	<i>s</i>		
	Cerebral	<i>ṣ &amp; ṣ</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	
Aspirate.		<i>h</i>		

All the sounds noted here are not found in certain dialects. For instance, in the dialect spoken in Tinnevely it is said by the residents there that the sounds *ś* and *j* are not generally found ; in the dialect spoken in Madras the aspirate *h* is not generally found ; in the dialect spoken at Jaffna it is said that most of the sounds *g, j, ḍ, d, b, ś* and *h* are not found. Though new sounds have crept into the language, new symbols for them have not been introduced except for *j, ś* (in very few cases in *Vaiṣṇavaite* works) *ṣ, s* and *h*. But Dr. Caldwell thinks that all these sounds have been in existence in the Tamil Language from the earliest time since he says that 'the Tamilian rule which requires the same

1. *Mikē l-italur-a-p pakūra makūra m-iraṇṭu m-aṇṇaṇ cērnta miṭarrelu valiyicai kaṇṇurraṭiya yakāramum.* (I. V. 12.)

2. This refers to the consonant sounds found in certain dialects, if I may so call them spoken in the districts of Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, etc.

3. '*ṇ*' is now pronounced by rounding the tip of the tongue and making it touch the roof of the palate. Hence at present *ṭ* and *ṇ* are cerebrals and not alveolars.

4. '*ṇ*' is classed as cerebral though, when pronouncing it, the tip of the tongue is raised and allowed to gently touch the hard palate which is in front of the roof.

consonant to be pronounced as *k* in one position and as *g* in another ... is essentially inherent in the language and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning'. Whether his view is correct or wrong will be discussed in 1.44. *infra*.

1.42. *A point to be noted about Valliṇam, Mellīṇam and Iṭaiyiṇam* :—Iḷampūraṇar states in his commentary under the sūtra—

*Mellelūt t-ārūm pīraṇṇi n-ākkam*

*Colliya paḷḷi nilaiyiṇa v-āyiṇum*

*Mūkkiṇ valī-y-icai yāppura-t tōṇṇum* (Tol. E. 100)

noted above that the six *mel-l-eluttū* are clearly made audible by the air passing through the nose, though they are produced in the places noted above ; since the word 'yāppura' is used, it is to be noted that *iṭai-y-eluttū* are clearly made audible by the air passing through the neck or gullet and *val-l-eluttū* by the air passing through the head<sup>1</sup>. Here it deserves to be noted that Tolkāppiaṇār has mentioned in the sūtra that nose also is the place of production in addition to that mentioned for the respective nasal possibly having before his mind the sūtras 'nāsikyāḥ nāsikāsthānāḥ' (Tai. P. ii, 49.) and *vargavaccāṣu* (Tai. P. ii, 51). How Iḷampūraṇar and the later grammarians have made a mistake has been fully dealt with in 1.1. *supra*.

1.43. *Another point to be noted about Iṭai-y-iṇam* :—In Iḷakkaṇaviḷakkam<sup>2</sup> and Tolkāppiya-mutaṛcūttira-virutti<sup>3</sup> it is said that *iṭaiyiṇam* is midway between *valliṇam* or the voiceless consonants and the *melliṇam* or the nasals in their nature. It is not clear how it is so. *Iṭai-y-eluttū* is simply the translation of the Sanskrit *antaḥstha* which means midway between vowel and *sparsa* or explosives, since, in pronouncing vowels most of which have *vivṛta-prayatna*, air completely escapes and in pronouncing explosives which have *spṛṣṭa-prayatna*, there is complete contact

1. *Iṭai-y-eluttirḱū miṭarṇu-zaliyūm, val-l-eluttirḱū talai-valiyūn koḷka.* (Tol. E. 100, Iḷam.)
2. *Melleluttaiyūm valleluttaiyūm nōkka-t tām iṭai-nikaravāy olittalāṇum.* (I. V. 7, Comm.)
3. *Valleluttukkaṇ muṇṇum av-v-avarṇirḱ-iṇamotta melleluttukkaḷ av-v-avarṇiṇ-piṇṇumōki valikkappattāṇa. Av-v-irauṇṭu nōkki-y-allatū iṭai-nikaravāy-olittal ariya-p-patūmaiṇṇi atu-parṇi iṭaiyeluttukkaḷ av-v-iru-kūṇṇirḱum-piṇ vaikkappattāṇa.* (T. M. V. p. 23.)



between the tongue and the other organs of speech so that air is completely arrested in its passage, and in pronouncing *y, r, l, v*, which have *iṣat-sprṣṭa-prayatna*, there is only slight contact between the tongue and the vocal organs so that most of the air freely passes and in pronouncing *ś, ṣ, s*, which have *iṣad-virṭa-prayatna*, air is allowed to escape with friction. The difference between semi-vowels and fricatives lies only in the fact that there is less prevention in the former and greater prevention in the latter ; but both agree in the point, that in pronouncing them air does not completely escape as in the case of vowels, nor is it completely arrested in its passage as in the case of explosives. Hence the author of *Tolkāppiyam* has, in my opinion, included *y, r, l, v, ẓ* and *ḷ* under one category and called them *iṭaiyeluttu*. But it is surprising that the authors of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* and *Tolkāppiya-mutar-cūttira-virutti* who seem to have had considerable knowledge of Sanskrit have gone wrong in this point.

But Dr. Caldwell has rightly translated *iṭaiyeluttu* as semi-vowels.

1.44. *The Dravidian Law of the Convertibility of Surds and Sonants* :—This theory is explained by Dr. Caldwell in p. 138 as follows:—‘ There are distinct traces of the existence of this law in all the Dravidian dialects but it is most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil and Malayāḷam. The law as apparent in the Tamil-Malayāḷam system of sounds is as follows :—*k, t, t, p*, the first unaspirated consonants of the first, third, fourth and fifth vargas are always pronounced as tenues or surds (*i. e.*, as *k, t, t, p*) at the beginning of words, and whenever they are doubled. The same consonants are always pronounced as medials or sonants (*i. e.*, as *g, ḍ, d, b*) when single in the middle of words. A sonant cannot commence a word, neither is a surd admissible in the middle, except when doubled ; and so imperative is this law and so strictly is it adhered to, that when words are borrowed from languages in which a different principle prevails, as Sanskrit or English, the consonants of those words change from sonants to surds, or *vice-versa* according to their position —*e. g.* *danta* (Skt. a tooth) becomes in Tamil, *tandam*; *bhāgya* (Skt. happiness) becomes in Tamil, *pāḷḷiyam*. This rule applies also to the case of compounds. The first consonant of the second word, though it was a surd when it stood independent, is regarded as a sonant when it becomes a medial letter in a compound word. This difference is marked in Telugu by a

difference in character which is employed:—*e.g.* *annadammulu* (for *annatammulu*) elder and younger brother; *koṭṭabaḍu* (for *koṭṭapaḍu*), to be beaten; but in Tamil and generally in Malayālam, the difference appears in the pronunciation alone. This rule applies to all compounds in Telugu; but in Tamil, when the words stand in a case-relation to one another, or when the first is governed by the second, the initial surd of the second word is not softened, but doubled and hardened, in token of its activity:—*e.g.* instead of *koṭṭabaḍu*, to be beaten, it prefers to say *koṭṭa(p)-paḍu*. In *dvandva* compounds Tamil agrees with Telugu.

‘A similar rule applies to the pronunciation of *ch* or *ḥ* (the Tamil *ś*) the first consonant of the second *varga*. When single, it is pronounced as a soft, weak, sibilant, with a sound midway between *ś*, *sh* and *ch*. This pronunciation is unchanged in the middle of words and in all cases in which the letter is single; but when it is doubled, it is pronounced exactly like *chch* or *ḥḥ*. The principle involved in this instance is the same as in the cases previously mentioned, but the operation of the rule is in some degree different. The difference consists in the pronunciation of this consonant in the beginning of a word, as well as in the middle as a sonant, *i.e.* as *ś*. By theory it should be pronounced as *ch* at the beginning of a word—and it is worthy of notice that it always receives this pronunciation at the beginning of a word in vulgar, colloquial Tamil; and in Malayālam and Telugu it is written as well as pronounced *ch*. A somewhat similar rule prevails with respect to rough *r* of the Tamil which is pronounced as *r* when single and like *ttr* when doubled.

‘The Tamilian rule which requires the same consonant to be pronounced as *k* in one position and as *g* in another, as *t*, *t*, *p* in one position and as *q*, *d*, *b* in another is not a mere dialectic peculiarity, the gradual result of circumstances, or a modern refinement invented by grammarians, but is essentially inherent in the language, and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning<sup>1</sup>.

‘The Tamil characters were borrowed, I conceive, from the earlier Sanskrit, and the language of the Tamilians was committed

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1. The Rev. Dr. Pope and M. J. Vinson state the same theory with a slight modification, the former in page 7 of his *Tamil Hand Book* and the latter in page 654 of *Journal Asiatique Dixieme serie Tome 18* 1911.

to writing on or soon after the arrival of the first colony of Brahmans, probably several centuries before the Christian Era. Yet even at that early period the Tamil alphabet was arranged in such a manner as to embody the peculiar Dravidian Law of the Convertibility of Surds and Sonants. The Tamil alphabet systematically passed by the sonants of the Sanskrit, and adopted the surds alone, considering one character as sufficient for the expression of both classes of sounds. This circumstance clearly proves that *ab initio* the Dravidian phonetic system, as represented in Tamil, *its most ancient exponent*, differed essentially from that of Sanskrit'.

Here we have to examine (1) whether this law holds good for *Tamil language* from the earliest times or in Dr. Caldwell's words whether it is essentially inherent in the language, and has been a characterisitic principle of it from the beginning; (2) whether it is found most systematically and most fully developed in *Tamil*; (3) whether there was an *imperative law* that a sonant cannot commence a word, and that a surd is inadmissible in the middle of a word except when doubled; and (4) whether the *Tamil alphabet* systematically passed by the sonants of the Sanskrit, and adopted the surds alone, considering one character as sufficient for the expression of both classes of sounds.

1. *Whether it is essentially inherent in the language* :—Tolkāppiyāṇār, the author of the earliest extant grammar of the Tamil language, says in the first sūtra

*Eluttena-p paṭuṇa*

*Akara-mutal*

*Nakara v-iṟuvāy muṇṇaṇ t-eṇṇa*

*Cārntu-varaṇ maraṇiṇ mūṇṇ-alaṇ kaṭaiyē* (Tol. E. 1.)

that there are thirty primary *eluttu* from *a* to *ṇ* and three secondary *eluttu*, and in the second sūtra,

*Avaitāṁ*

*Kurriya l-ikaram kurriya l-ukaram*

*Āyṭam-eṇṇa*

*Muṇṇāṇ pulliyu m-eluttō r-anna.* (Tol. E. 2.)

that the three secondary *eluttu* are *kurriyal-ikaram*, *kurriyal-ukaram* and *āyṭam* which are denoted in script with dots. Does the word *eluttu* here denote sound or symbol? It evidently means sound for the following reasons:—(a) In the third sūtra

*Avarṛuḷ*

*A i u*

*Ēo enṇu m-appā l-aintum*

*Ōr-āla p-icaikkuṇ kurreḷut t-enṇa.* (Tol. E. 3.)

he says 'of them *a*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o* sound one mātrā and are called *kurreḷuttū*: in the fourth sūtra,

*Ā ī ū*

*Ē ai*

*Ōau enṇu m-appā l-ēlum*

*Īr-āla p-icaikku neṭṭelut t-enṇa.* (Tol. E. 4.)

the next seven *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* sound two mātrās and are called *neṭṭeluttū*; in the eighth,

*Aukāra v-iṟuvāy-p*

*Pannī r-eḷuttu m-uyir-eṇa molipa.* (Tol. E. 8.)

the twelve from *a* to *au* are called *uyir*; in the ninth,

*Nakāra v-iṟuvāy-p*

*Patinēṇ n-eḷuttu mey-y-eṇa molipa.* (Tol. E. 9.)

the last eighteen *eḷuttū* with *n* at the end are called *mey*; in the tenth,

*Mey-y-ō ṭ-iyaiyiṇu m-uyir-iya ṟiriyā.* (Tol. E. 10.)

the nature of the vowel is not changed even when pronounced after a consonant; in the eleventh,

*Mey-y-i n-aḷavē y-arai-y-eṇa molipa.* (Tol. E. 11.)

the quantity of a consonant is half a mātrā; in the nineteenth,

*Valleḷut t-enṇa ka-ca-ṭa ta-pa-ra.* (Tol. E. 19.)

*k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p*, *r* are *valleḷuttū* or voiceless consonant: in the twentieth,

*Melleḷut t-enṇa ṇa-ṇa-ṇa na-ma-ṇa.* (Tol. E. 20.)

*ṇ*, *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, *n* are *melleḷuttū* or nasals; and in the twentyfirst,

*Itai-y-eḷut t-enṇa ya-ra-la- va-la-la.* (Tol. E. 21.)

*y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ḷ*, *ḷ* are *iṭaiyeḷuttū* or semi-vowels. In all these sūtras, *eḷuttū* cannot but mean sound; for symbols cannot have quantity nor can they be classified as *val-l-iṇam*, *mel-l-iṇam* and *iṭai-y-iṇam*. Besides, in the whole *Nūṇmarapū*, the first section in *Eḷuttatikāram* of Tolkāppiyam, he makes mention of words like *uruvu* (form) and *iyarkai* (nature) wherever he wants to denote symbols e.g. in the fifteenth sūtra,

*Mey-y-i n-iyarkai pulli-y-otū nilaiyal.* (Tol. E. 15.)

he says that the *iyarkai* or nature of the consonant is to be indicated by dots; in the sixteenth sūtra,

*Ekara okara-i t-iyarkai-y-u m-arṟē.* (Tol. E. 16.)

he says that the *iyaṛkai* or nature of *e* and *o* is the same ; he says in the 14th sūtra

*Uṭṭerū pulli y-uruvā kum-m-ē.* (Tol. E. 14).

that a dot within is its *uruvu* or form (of shortened *m*); the same is the case for vowel-consonants in the sūtra

*Pullu y-illā v-ellā meyyum*

*Uru-v-uru v-āki y-akaramo t-uyirttalum*

*Ēnai y-uyirō t-uruvu-tirin t-uyirttalum*

*Ā-y-i r-iyala v-uyirtta l-ārē* (Tol. E. 17.)

If then *elutū* denotes sound, could Tolkāppiyaṇār who is so careful as to note the difference in the quantity and the nature between *i* and *ī* (shortened *i*), *u* and *ū* and who shows from his work especially the sections dealing with the classification and production of speech sounds intimate knowledge of Sanskrit Prātiśākhya and Pāṇini's grammar where it is clearly stated that the voiced consonants are produced when the *kaṇṭha* is closed (*i.e.*) when the vocal chords are very close to each other and voiceless when *kaṇṭha* is open (*i.e.*) when the vocal chords are far away from each other (*cf.* Tai. P. ii, 4 & 5), have failed to denote the difference between the voiceless consonants *k*, *c*, *t*, *l*, *p* and voiced consonants *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *d* and *b* and mentioned them as *vallīnam*? If the voiced sounds *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *d*, and *b* were in existence then, could he have stated that the number of primary sounds was only thirty? Hence it is clear that at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār the voiced consonant sounds did not exist in the Tamil Language. Hence Dr. Caldwell's statement "this peculiarity is essentially inherent in the language and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning" cannot stand.

The author of *Viracōliyam* and its commentator say that in *tadbhava* words the consonant *k* is substituted for the four Sanskrit consonants *k*, *kh*, *g* and *gh*.<sup>1</sup> This would not have been the case if *g* had already existed. All other grammarians including the Rev. Beschi say that there are only thirty or thirty-one primary sounds.

1. *Muntiya-varkkāṅkaḷ-aintiṇu-muṇṇ-ṇ-ovriṇ mūṇṇ-ataṅkum.*

(V. Tat. 6.)

*Ka-ca-ta-ta-pa-v-eṇṇ-pavarro vvoṇṇ-aiyē kiṭappiṇum, urappiyum? etuttum, kaṇaittum, mukkiṇum aintuvitamāka-c-collappatu kiṇṇa aintu varkkāṅkaḷiṇum muṇṇ-pataiya-k-kiṭappiṇār collappatukiṇṇa voṇṇiṇkānnē y-atan piṇṇē niṇṇa mūṇṇ-eluttum ataṅkum.* (V. Tat. 6, Comm.)

But what Dr. Caldwell says is found in the *spoken* Tamil of the modern days. What might be the reason for this? Is it due to the general phonological principle that voiceless consonants are made voiced when they are found between vowels or preceded by nasals; or is it due to the fact that the Sanskrit words like *naga* and *vandana* were written in Tamil script as *nakam* (நகம்) and *vantanam* (வந்தனம்) but pronounced as *nagam* and *vandanam* as in Sanskrit and then the same letters க and த began to be pronounced under such conditions even in pure Tamil words as *g* and *d*. e. g. (அகம்) *agam* and (தந்தை) *tandai*? It does not seem to be reasonable to accept the former alternative, because even now in Jaffna, such voiceless consonants are pronounced as voiceless and not voiced. Hence it becomes necessary to accept the second alternative.

2. *Whether it is found most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil:*—Since I have shown that voiced consonants were absent from Tamil language in the earliest times, it is evident that they were not developed in Tamil. (Even in Malayalam there is difference in pronunciation between *aṅka* and *aṅga* though 'k' in *aṅka* is slightly voiced.

3. *Whether there was an imperative law that a sonant cannot commence a word, neither is a surd admissible in the middle except when doubled:*—Since I have proved that the voiced consonants were absent from the early Tamil language, and since no grammarian from Tolkāppiyāṇār to Civañāṇa-muṇivar has stated this, it need not be discussed. But so far as the spoken Tamil of the modern days is concerned it holds good.

In this context it deserves to be mentioned that Dr. Caldwell and some modern scholars of Tamil seem to think that it is absolutely necessary to have the voiced consonants after the nasal of the same class<sup>1</sup> and the voiced consonant or spirant between vowels and it is difficult to pronounce them otherwise, i.e., *taṅkai*, *paṅcam*, *paṅṭam* and *vantaṅ* should be pronounced as *taṅgai*, *paṅjam*, *paṅḍam* and *vandāṇ* and *akam*, *icai*, *aṭai*, *atu*, *taṭu* as *aham* or *agam*, *iṣai*, *aḍai*, *adu* and *tabu*. This view appears to be unsustainable. For, as Vendryes points out in his *Language*<sup>2</sup>, "Difficulty and ease of pronunciation are purely relative conception, doubtless

1. D. C. G. p. 142.

2. Cf. p. 60—*Language* by Vendryes translated by Paul Radin, Ph. D.



The initial *c* in *catti* is pronounced not as *ś* in Tulu, but as *c* itself.

This clearly shows that there need be no hard and fast rule that the consonants that follow nasals or that are between vowels should become voiced in the Dravidian languages. But, at the same time, examples like *kuṅgu* (to sink) by the side of *kuṅku* (to sink) and *idi* (this) in Telugu, *āḍu* (to play) and *paḡa* (enmity) in Kanarese, *iḍu* (pledge) and *uṇḍe* (globe) in Tulu are found. This shows that there was a tendency in those languages to pronounce the voiceless consonants that followed nasals or that were between two vowels, as voiced. Since old Malayalam is almost Tamil, I have not given many examples from Malayalam here. This change may have been due to the natural tendency of the people if we are able to find out such examples at a time when those languages were not influenced by Sanskrit. But, as far as we know at present, the earliest work in Telugu found out till now is said to be the *Bhāratam* by Nannaya which roughly belongs to the early part of the 11th century and the earliest inscription happens to be that of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana of the 6th century. The earliest work in Kanarese that has been found out till now is the *Kavirājamārga* written about the 9th century, and the earliest reliable inscription, it is believed, does not go earlier than 6th century A. D.

During the 7th century we have *Tēvāram* and *Nālāyirappirapantam* which clearly show the great influence of Sanskrit on Tamil. Hence it is more probable for the change to have crept into Tamil through analogy with the sounds of the borrowed words in Tamil written in Tamil characters.

4. *Whether one character was sufficient to express both classes of sounds:*—Dr. Caldwell assumes that the Tamil alphabet was introduced after the advent of the Sanskritists, who found one character sufficient to express both classes of sounds. If that be so, why should they have invented new symbols to express voiced consonants *g, j, ḡ, d* and *b* in Grantha script which they should have invented after the Tamils began to learn Sanskrit and in which almost all the symbols of the Tamil language, which, according to Gopinatha Rao, were adapted from Brāhmi script, were incorporated? Hence at the time when the Tamil script was newly invented, it did not have the voiced consonant sounds.



Therefore Dr. Caldwell's theory of Convertibility of Surds and Sonants can hold good only with reference to the spoken Tamil of the present day.

1.45. *C and J according to Dr. Caldwell*:—Dr. Caldwell says that the pronunciation of *c* is not *ṣ* but *c* in the lowest colloquial dialect and it is probably the ancient pronunciation of this letter which is retained by the lower classes. Even the higher classes in Tinnevely pronounce it even now as *c* and reference to the sūtras on *Nūṇmarapū* of Tolkāppiyam mentioned above can clearly explain that his conjecture that it was the ancient pronunciation is really true.

As regards '*j*' Dr. Caldwell says that "it is not used in correct Tamil; the same sound is sometimes admitted in the use of those Sanskrit derivatives in which the letter '*j*' is found in Sanskrit". But in the spoken dialects of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, etc., it is freely used in pure Tamil words. Thus *mañcaḷ* is pronounced as *mañjaḷ*, *kañci* as *kañji*, etc.

1.46. *A point about the cerebral consonants in Tamil and Sanskrit*:—Dr. Caldwell says that 'Sanskrit has borrowed them from Dravidian languages for the following reasons:—(1) The lingual consonants are essential component elements of a large number of primitive Dravidian roots. (2) None of the lingual consonants has ever been discovered in any of the primitive languages which are related to Sanskrit. (3) Those consonants which Tamil has borrowed from Sanskrit within the period of existence of Dravidian literature have been greatly modified to accord with the Tamilian laws of sound and delicacy of ear. (4) Though Telugu has been more exposed to Sanskrit influence than Tamil, yet larger use is made of those sounds in Tamil than in Telugu'. (C. D. G. 148.)

Dr. Caldwell may be said to be right as regards his first two reasons. The third reason adduced by him seems to me not quite satisfactory; for Tamil evidently has to substitute some sounds for those of Sanskrit which are not found in it as *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*. The fourth is not after all a very strong reason. Besides, there are four other points that stand in the way of accepting his theory:—(1) The cerebral sounds in Sanskrit are produced by rounding the tongue and making it touch the roof of the palate, while in Tamil they were produced by the tip of the tongue touching the front of the palate without its being rounded at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār, though they are now pronounced exactly in the same

way as in Sanskrit. If they had been borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil, I do not know why the position of their articulation was changed. (2) Besides, they are found in Ṛgveda, the earliest religious work in Sanskrit which is supposed to have been composed in the Indus Valley soon after the Aryans migrated there. (3) It has been enunciated by Fortunatov that *r* + dental remains unchanged, but in combination of *l* and a following dental, the *l* disappeared, and the dental was lingualised. Dr. C. G. Uhlenbeck and other philologists except Brugman agree with his theory<sup>1</sup> and hence think that the cerebrals are a natural development. (4) Otto Jespersen too agrees with the same theory from another standpoint as is seen from his following statement: "According to a theory which is very widely accepted, the Dravidian languages exerted a different influence on the Aryan languages when the Aryans first set foot on Indian soil, in making them adopt the cacuminal (or inverted) sounds *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ṇ* with *ḍh*, *ṭh* which were not found in primitive Aryan. But even this theory does not seem to be quite proof against objections. It is easy to admit that natives accustomed to one place of articulation of their *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ṇ* will unconsciously produce the *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ṇ* of a new language they are learning in the same place; but then they will do it everywhere. Here, however, both Dravidian and Sanskrit possess pure dental *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ṇ* pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth, besides cacuminal *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ṇ*, in which it touches the gum or the front part of the hard palate. In Sanskrit we find that the cacuminal articulation occurs only under very definite conditions, chiefly under the influence of '*r*'. Now, a trilled tongue-point '*r*' in most languages, for purely physiological reasons which are easily accounted for, tends to be pronounced further back than ordinary dentals; and it is therefore quite natural that it should spontaneously exercise an influence on neighbouring dentals by drawing them back to its own point of articulation. This may have happened in India quite independently of the occurrence of the same sounds in other vernaculars<sup>2</sup> just as we find the same influence very pronouncedly in

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1. Sanskrit Phonetics (English Edition by Dr. C. G. Uhlenbeck, section 44, p. 53).

2. It is worthy to be noted that it has already been mentioned that the Tamil *ḍ* and *ṇ* were not originally cacuminal but alveolar.

Swedish and in East Norwegian where *d, t, n, s* are cacuminal (supra-dental) in such words as *bord, kort, barn*, etc. According to Grandgent (Naure Sprachen, 2, 447) *d* in his own American English is pronounced further back than elsewhere before and after 'r' as in *dry, hard*; but in none of these cases need we conjure up an extinct native population to account for a perfectly natural development.<sup>1</sup>

From what has been mentioned above it may not be possible for us to accept the statement of M. J. Vinson that the cerebrals in the Aryan Languages of the north have been developed relatively at a recent date<sup>2</sup>.

1.47. *Secondary consonant*: 1.471. *Ancient period*: According to Tolkāppiyaṇār there is no secondary consonant.

1.472. *Medieval period*: The author of Viracōḷiyam does not mention any secondary consonant. The author of Nēminātam says that there are 16 secondary consonants consisting of 6 shortened voiceless consonants, 6 shortened nasals and shortened *y*, shortened *l*, shortened *v* and shortened *ḷ*. The author of Naṇṇūl says that there are 42 *orralaṭṭai*<sup>3</sup> and three shortened *m*<sup>4</sup>, each of the former having one mātrā and each of the latter having  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a mātrā<sup>5</sup>. Wherever two similar consonants come together for the sake of metre as the two 'l's in '*koll lērrin maruṭṭuṭ pōṇṇa*' (they are like the horns of war-bulls) (P.N. 4, 4), he takes them as one secondary sound having one full mātrā. As regards the shortened *m*, as in *pōṇm* he divides it into three according to the consonant which precedes or follows it, which is not quite necessary. cf. 1.222 *supra*.

1.473. *Modern period*: The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam says that there are 11 *orralaṭṭai* and one *makara-k-kurukkam* and

1. Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin by Otto Jespersen, p. 196-7.

2. R cerebral En Dravidien, pp. 111 to 123. Journal Asiatique, Onzieme Serie Tome XIII, 1919.

3. *Na-ñā-ṇa na-ma-ṇa va-ya-la-la v-āytam*

*Aḷapān kuṟil-inai kuṟiṭ-ki l-iṭai-kāṭai*

*Mikalē yavarriṇ kuṟi-y-ām vēṟē.* (Na. 92.)

4. *N-ṇa muṇ-ṇ-um vaṣṣkūṇ micai-yu-ma-k-kurukum.* (ibid. 96.)

5. *Mūṇṟū-uyiralaṭṭu iraṇṭūm neṭil oṇṟē*

*Kuṟilōṭṭu ai-au-k kuṟukkam orralaṭṭu*

*Arai orṟṟū-i u-k kuṟukkam āytam*

*Kāl kuṟaḷ maṣṣkūṇ āytam māttirai.* (ibid. 99.)

agrees with Nannūlar as regards their quantity. Civaññāmunivar agrees with Tolkāppiyāṇār.

Though Tolkāppiyāṇār mentions shortened *m* and says it has  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mātrā<sup>1</sup>, he has not mentioned it as a secondary consonant since it does not satisfy his definition of *cārpeluttu*. Cf. 1.22. *supra*. *Orraḷaṭetai* is only two similar consonants placed side by side for the sake of metre. Hence he has not mentioned it as a secondary consonant. The opinion of Tolkāppiyāṇār seems to be sound.

1.48. *Initial, final and medial consonants in Tamil and Sanskrit words—Their similarities and dissimilarities:*—Tolkāppiyāṇār says that, in Tamil, a conjunct consonant cannot stand at the beginning of a word<sup>2</sup>, *k*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *m* can stand initially being followed by any vowel<sup>3</sup>, *c* except when followed by *a*, *ai* and *au*<sup>4</sup>, *v* except when followed by *u*, *ū*, *o* and *ō*<sup>5</sup>, *ñ* when followed by *ā*, *e* and *o*<sup>6</sup> and *y* when followed only by *ā*<sup>7</sup>. Similarly, the only consonants that can stand as the final member are *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, *ṇ*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ḷ* and *ḷ*<sup>8</sup>.

As regards the initial consonants, the author of Viracōḷiyam slightly differs from Tolkāppiyāṇār. He allows *ñ* when followed by 'a' also, allows *c* when followed by all vowels and allows *y* when followed by *a*, *ā*, *u*, *ū*, *ō* and *au*<sup>9</sup>. The author of Nannūlar agrees with the author of Viracōḷiyam and adds *ṇ* also to

1. *Arai-y-aḷapū kurukan makara m-uṭaittē*  
*Icai-y-iṭa ṇ-arukun teriyuṇ kālai.* (Tol. E. 13.)
2. *Uyir-mey y-allaṇa moli-muta l-ākā.* (ibid. 60.)
3. *Ka-ta-na pa-ma-v-eṇu m-ā-v-ain-t-eḷuttum*  
*Ellā v-uyiroṭuñ cellumār mutalē.* (ibid. 61.)
4. *Cakara-k kiḷaviyu m-avarṇṇō r-arṇṇē*  
*Aai au-v-eṇu mūṇṇalaṇ kaṭaiyē.* (ibid. 62.)
5. *Uū oḍ v-eṇṇu nāṇkuyir*  
*Va eṇ ṇ-eḷuttotū varuta l-illai.* (ibid. 63.)
6. *Āe*  
*O-eṇu mū-v-uyir ṇākārat t-uriya.* (ibid. 64.)
7. *Ā-v-ō ṭ-allatū yakara mutalātū.* (ibid. 65.)
8. *Na-ṇa-na-ma ṇa-ya ra-la va-la-la v-eṇṇum*  
*A-p-pati ṇ-onṇē pulḷi y-iṇuti.* (ibid. 78.)
9. *Āvi-y-apaittūn ka-ca-ta-na-pa-ma-v variyum-va-v-v-il*  
*Ēviya-v-eṭṭum-ya-v v-ārū-ñā-n-nāṇkumel lā-v-ulakum*  
..... (V. C. 7.)

the list<sup>1</sup> and one of its commentators gives *añṇanam* as an example of the same; but *ṇanam* does not seem to occur as a separate word in literature.

As regards the final consonants, the author of *Viracōliyam* differs from *Tolkāppiyaṇār* in omitting *ñ*, *n* and *v* from the list<sup>2</sup>. This is perhaps due to the fact that such words as *uriñ*, *porun* and *tev* became obsolete in his days. But *Naṇṇūlār* agrees here with *Tolkāppiyaṇār*<sup>3</sup>. In modern times, words beginning with *ṭ*, *y*, *ṛ* and *ḷ* also are found; but all of them are words borrowed from other languages. E.g., *ṭaṅkā*, *ṭamāram*, *yanti-ram*, *yamaṇ*, *rāṇṇaṇ*, *laṅkai*, etc.

Besides it is said that all consonants except *r* and *ḷ* can be followed by the same consonants<sup>4</sup>. Some of them may also be followed by other consonants. For instance *ṭ* can be followed by *k*, *c* and *p*; *ṛ* by *k*, *c* and *p*; *ḷ* by *k*, *c*, *p*, *y* and *v*; *ḷ* by *k*, *c*, *p*, *y* and *v*; *ṇ* by *k*; *ñ* by *c* and *y*; *ṇ* by *ṭ*, *k*, *c*, *ñ*, *p*, *m*, *y* and *v*; *n* by *t* and *y*; *m* by *p*, *y* and *v*; *ṇ* by *r*, *k*, *c*, *ñ*, *p*, *m*, *y* and *v*; *v* by *y*, *y*, *r*, and *ḷ* by *k*, *c*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *m*, *v*, *ñ*, *y* and *ṇ*<sup>5</sup>.

1. *Pannē r-uyirum ka-ca-ta-na pa-ma-va-ya*  
*Na-ña-vē r-aintuyir me-y-yu moli-mutal.* (Na. 102.)
2. *Irū-makara ṇakaraiṇkaṭāmu m-iṭai-y-iṇattil*  
*Erū-makara m-olint-aintum-iraiṇ t-elil-uyirum*  
*Kūru-ṇaṇil-iṇu-k k-irreluttām-eṇṇar kōḷ-valai-yē.* (V. C. 8.)
3. *Āvi ṇaṇa-na-ma-ṇa ya-ra-la-va la-la-mey*  
*Cāyu m-uṇara nālāru m-iṇē.* (Na. 107.)
4. *Mey-n-ṇalai cutṭi n-ellā v-eluttum*  
*Tam-muṇ rām-varūm ra-la-valaṇ kaṭaiyē.* (Tol. E. 30.)
5. *Ta-ra-la-la v-eṇṇum pulli munṇar-k*  
*Ka-ca-ṇa v-eṇṇu mū-v-elut t-uriya.* (ibid. 23.)  
*Avayṇṇ*  
*La-la-ṇkaṇ munṇar ya-va-v-un iṇṇum.* (ibid. 24.)  
*Na-ña-ṇa-na ma-ṇa-v-eṇṇum pulli munṇar-t*  
*Tatta m-icaikaḷ-ottana nilaiyē.* (ibid. 25.)  
*Avayṇṇ*  
*Na-ṇa-ṇkaṇ munṇar-k*  
*Ka-ca-ṇa-ṇa ma-ya-va-v v-ḷu m-uriya.* (ibid. 26.)  
*Na-ṇa-ṇa-va v-eṇṇum pulli munṇar*  
*Ya-ṇkaṇ iṇṇar me-y-ṇe r-aṇṇē.* (ibid. 27.)  
*Ma-ṇkaṇ pulli-mun va-v-v-un iṇṇum.* (ibid. 28.)  
*Ya-ra-la v-eṇṇum pulli munṇar*  
*Mutalū k-eluttu ṇakaramoṭṭu iṇṇum.* (ibid. 9.)

Here it may be noted that Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya similarly gives a list showing the sounds in Sanskrit that can respectively stand as the initial and final members of single words and also those consonants which can follow other consonants:—The second and fourth of each varga, semi-vowels, fricatives except *visarga* and aspirate and the second varga do not stand as the final members of words<sup>1</sup>. The Atharvaveda Prātiśākhya allows *l* also as the final<sup>2</sup>. When we compare this with the final sounds at the end of words in Tamil, we see that, of the sounds common to both the tongues Tamil allows *ñ, y, r, l, v* and *ḷ* as finals, while Sanskrit does not and that Sanskrit allows *k, ṇ, ṭ, ṭ* and *p* which Tamil does not.

Similarly the Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya says that *jihvāmūliya, upadhmāniya, visarga, anusvāra jh*,<sup>3</sup> *ñ, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ* cannot stand as initial members of words<sup>4</sup>. But Tamil allows *ñ* as in the words *ñālam, ñaṇṭu* as the initial member.

Again the same Prātiśākhya says that, in the middle of words, the second, third and fourth sounds of the five vargas are not followed by the same sounds<sup>5</sup>. But this may appear to be wrong since such words aa *lajjā, majjā* are found in classical Sanskrit. But it seems they are not found in Ṛgveda. *l* is not followed by *r*<sup>6</sup>; *v* is not followed by the first four sounds of each of the five vargas, but is preceded by them<sup>7</sup>; the fricatives are not followed by the second or fourth sound of each varga<sup>8</sup>; *r* is not followed by *r*<sup>9</sup>; *h* does not follow an explosive<sup>10</sup>; *y* is not followed by *l* or explosives, but is preceded by them<sup>11</sup>.

Here the points to be noted are the following:—Tamil allows all explosives except *ṭ* and *ṇ* after *y* while Sanskrit does not. On the other hand, Tamil does not allow *y* after the stops,

1. *Ūṣmāntahstharsōṣma-cakūravargā nūntam yāntanyatra visarjanīyāt.*—(R. V. P. 12. 1.)
2. A. V. P. 1. 5.
3. Classical Sanskrit allows *jh* as an initial member. cf. *jhaṭiti*.
4. *Rākāra-ḷkārāu paramardhamūṣmaṇām nūdim takārād-avarē ca sapta.* (R. V. P. 12, 2.)
5. *Nānyōnyēna madhyamāḥ sparśavargāḥ saṃyujyanti.* (ibid. 12, 3.)
6. *Na lakārēna rēphaḥ.* (ibid. 12, 4.)
7. *Sparsair-vakārō na parair-anuttamāḥ.* (ibid. 12, 5.)
8. *Tathā tēsām ghōṣinaḥ sarvathōṣmabhīḥ.* (ibid. 12, 6.)
9. *Na rēpho rēphēna.* (ibid. 12, 8.)
10. *Na sparśāir-ūsmā prathamāḥ parassan.* (ibid. 12, 10.)
11. *Lakāra-sparśāir na yakāra uttaraiḥ.* (ibid. 12, 14)

while Sanskrit allows it. But both Sanskrit and Tamil agree in not allowing *r* to be followed by *r*, *l* to be followed by *r* and *v* to be followed by *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t* and *p*.

It seems to me that Tolkāppiyaṇār has followed the Prātiśākhya here also as in the case of mentioning initial and final vowels.

1.5. *Secondary sounds which are classed by Tamil grammarians neither as vowels nor as consonants*:—1.51. *Ancient period*: Tolkāppiyaṇār mentions *āyṭam* as a secondary sound but does not say whether it is a vowel or a consonant.

1.52. *Medieval period*:—The author of Vīracōliyam mentions none in this category. The author of Nēminātam mentions 217 secondary sounds under this category consisting of 216 vowel-consonants and one 'shortened *āyṭam*'. The author of Naṇṇūl adds the unshortened *āyṭam* to the above list, and he divides it into eight. I think it would have been much better if he had divided it into six according as it is succeeded by one of *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p* and *r* without adding two more as *ḥ* in *aḥṭi* and *aḥkaṭṭiya* where it evidently precedes one of the above six consonants.

1.53. *Modern period*.—The author of Ilakkaṇaṇiḷakkam agrees with Naṇṇūlār except in discarding the shortened *āyṭam*, on the authority of Tolkāppiyaṇār who has not stated that the *āyṭam*, which is substituted for *l* and *ḷ* in the sandhi *al + tiṇai = aḥṭiṇai* and *muḷ + tṭiṭu = muḥṭiṭu*, is shortened.

1.54. It has already been mentioned in 1.222 *supra* that it is a mistake to have included vowel-consonants among secondary sounds and that they are not at all unitary sounds. As regards the shortened *āyṭam*, I fully agree with the author of Ilakkaṇaṇiḷakkam. Hence of the secondary sounds which are classed by the Tamil grammarians neither as vowels nor as consonants that which is to be dealt with here is only *āyṭam*.

1.55. '*Āyṭam*':—1. 551. In the ancient period it appears that this was not included in the alphabet between vowels and consonants, since Tolkāppiyaṇār says in the first sūtra '*Akara mutal ṇakaraviṇuvāy (eluttu) muppaten pa*' (which means thirty letters from *a* to *ṇ*) and mentions *āyṭam* in the second sūtra. But in the medieval period, it was included between them as it is now, since the author of Vīracōliyam says so<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Arinta-v-eluttam-muṇ paṇṇiraṇṭāvika lūṇa-kam-muṇ*  
*Piṇṇa-patiṇṇettū mey-naṭṭu-v-āyṭam*..... (V. C. 1.)

Dr. Caldwell has written it along with the vowels and mentions in page 353 that it is 'a sort of guttural'; but whether it is a vowel or a consonant or neither must be carefully considered.

1.552. *Ancient period*:—Tolkāppiyaṇār says that *āytam* is one of the secondary sounds and appears in the middle of words after a short vowel and before a voiceless consonant followed by a vowel<sup>1</sup>, and also its place of production is determined by that of the consonant in whose company it is<sup>2</sup>. It is classed by him neither as a vowel nor as a consonant. This is perhaps due to Pāṇini not having classed *jihvāmūliya* or *upadhmānīya* as a vowel or a consonant.

1.553. *Medieval and Modern periods*:—Nēminātam says that it is one of the 31 primary sounds<sup>3</sup>; but this is wrong. In *Naṇṇūl*, the grammar of the medieval period and in *Ilakkaṇa-ṇiḷakkam* of the modern period<sup>4</sup> it is said to be an open sound and its place of production is the head<sup>5</sup>. This is quite contrary to what is said in *Tolkāppiyam*. How can it be an open sound? Its pronunciation is just like that of the spirant<sup>6</sup> *jihvāmūliya* in *kaḥ karōti* when it is followed by *k*, and the spirant *upadhmānīya* in *kaḥ phalati* when it is followed by *p*. In Tamil it can come even before *c*, *ṭ*, *l* and *r* which is not the case in Sanskrit. It must be pronounced by allowing the air to reach that part of the vocal organs where the following consonant is produced and suddenly arresting it so that a part of the air may escape with friction as in the case of fricatives. Hence *Tolkāppiyaṇār* says that its place of articulation is that of the letter in whose company it is. This must evidently be the consonant that follows it. This statement is almost similar to what is said in the *Taittiriya Prātiśākhya* as regards *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, *h*, *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmānīya*<sup>7</sup>.

1. *Kuriyatoṇ munṇa r-āyta-p pulḷi*  
*Uyiroṭu punarnta-val lāraṇ micaittē* (Tol. E. 38.)
2. *Cārtu-vari ṇ-allatū tamakkiyal pila-v-eṇai*  
*Tērntu-velī p paṭutta v-eṇai mūṇṇun*  
*Tattaṇ cārpiṇ piṇapporū civani*  
*Otta kūṭciyir ṇam-m-iyal p-iyalum.* (ibid. 101.)
3. *Āvi y-akara-muta l-āriraṇṭā m-āytam-iṭai*  
*Mēvum.....* (N. N. E. 1.)
4. *Āytaneṇ cōcaiṇi ṇ-aṇkūṇ tiyalum.* (I. V. 13.)
5. *Āytak kiṭan-talai y-aṇkū muyarci.* (Na. 87.)
6. cf. *Uttarē aṣṭā ūsmāṇaḥ.* (R. V. P. i, 12.)
7. *Parē ṣaḍ ūsmāṇaḥ.* (Tai. P. i, 9.) and *Sparśasthānēṣu ūsmāṇa*



Thus in pronouncing & in *eṣṣū*, *kaṣṣū*, *muṣṣitū*, *aṣṣū*, *aṣṣōtam*, *kaṣṣitū*, the air must respectively be allowed to reach the soft palate, middle of the hard palate, the front portion of the hard palate, the teeth, the lips and the top of the hard palate. This is also borne out by the fact that it is replaced by a consonant similar to its succeeding consonant; *muṣṣitū* is changed to *muṭ-ṣitū*<sup>1</sup>, *kaṣṣitū* to *karṣitū*<sup>2</sup>, *oruṣṣitū* + *onru* to *oruṣṣattonru*<sup>3</sup>, and so on. Besides, one can see from euphony in the expression *kūṟṟa-k-koṣṣēr* (Pattu. 236, 633) & cannot be guttural, but only a spirant produced where *ṟ* is produced. It is therefore a kind of arrested voiceless spirant resembling in its sound the first part of the affricatæ reversed and hence it was not in the ancient and medieval periods a guttural as Dr. Caldwell thinks, nor is it an open sound produced at the head as many of the grammarians of the medieval and modern periods think<sup>4</sup>.

But it is now pronounced in all cases in the same way as if it were before 'k'. It is evident however that it does not conform to etymology; for it is not generally possible to have a guttural spirant or fricative before a palatal, cerebral, dental or labial consonant. The forms *muṣṣitū* and *kaṣṣitū* are respectively formed by the combination of two words *mul* + *titū* and *kal* + *titū*; in the former case the initial *t* of *titū* is cerebralised by the influence of the preceding cerebral *l*, and *l* is correspondingly changed to & by being assimilated to *ṭ*. Can the sound assimilated to a cerebral be a guttural? Similarly in the latter case the initial *t* of *titū* is changed to cerebral *ṟ* by the influence of the preceding *l* and consequently *l* is changed to & by being assimilated to *ṟ*; nowhere is a guttural seen in Tamil words before 'ṟ'.

I cannot definitely find out how and when this unetymological pronunciation of & came into existence. But I may say that it may have come after the 8th or 9th century A. D., since the

*ānupūrvyēṇa*. (Tai. P. 2 44.) and *Jihvāmūlīyaḥ kavargasthānē*  
.....*upadhmānīyaḥ pavargasthānē*. (Tai. P. 2, 44, Comm.)

1. *Āyta nilaiyalum varai-nilai y-iṇṟē*  
*Takaram varūuṇ kālai y-āṇa*. (Tol. E. 400.)
2. *Takaram varu-vali y-āyta nilaiyalum*  
*Pukariṇ ṟ-eṇmaṇār pulamai yōrē*. (ibid. 370.)
3. *Oruṣṣṭ tūti-muṇ ṇ-onṟu-muta l-onpāṇ*  
*Eṇṇu m avai-y-ūr pīṟavu m-eytiṇ*  
*Āyta m-alīya-v-āṇ ṭākun ta-v-v-ē*. (Na. 196.)
4. *Āyta-k k-iṭan-talai y-aṅkā muṟarci*  
..... (Na. 87.)

word *iydelūdi*<sup>1</sup> for *iṣdelūdi* is found in line 152 of the Vēlvikuḍi Grant published in Epigraphica India, Vol. XVII Part VII which shows that *ṣ* before *d* was pronounced like *y* at that time. If the dental spirant is carelessly pronounced, it may almost resemble 'y'. But since in most of the simple words where it occurs it is followed by the guttural, possibly the guttural sound was generalised throughout<sup>2</sup>. Owing to this modern pronunciation of *ṣ*, one symbol 'k' is being used by the Tamil Lexicon of the Madras University<sup>3</sup>.

Another point deserves to be noted as regards the origin of *āytam*. It is not found in Telugu and Canarese, nor in pure Malayalam words. Even in Tamil it is not an indispensable letter since it can be replaced by its succeeding letter. Besides, its sound before *k* and *p* respectively agrees with that of visarga before a guttural and a labial (i.e.) *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmāniya*. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar writes in his article on '*Tolkāppiya-nārum Pulliyeluttum*' in page 153 Vol. XXV of Centamīl published by the Tamil Sangam at Madura that in ancient times *āytam* was represented by *visarga*. Hence it seems to me that the visarga which is used before a guttural and a labial as *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmāniya* was borrowed from Sanskrit and extended in its use before all the voiceless consonants in Tamil

1. The word in the grant in Tamil script should be இய்தெலுதி. I think it would have been pronounced then as *iytelūti* though it is transliterated in the Epigraphica Indica as *iydelūdi*.

- |                 |  |             |                |
|-----------------|--|-------------|----------------|
| 2. <i>aṣkam</i> | <i>aṣkaram</i>   | <i>akal</i> | <i>aṣkū</i>    |
| <i>aṣkēṇam</i>  | <i>aṣkūṇ</i>   | <i>aṣtū</i> | <i>aṣpōtam</i> |
| <i>iṣtū</i>     | <i>iṣkam</i>   | <i>iṣkū</i> | <i>kaṣcū</i>   |
| <i>kaṣrū</i>    | Compound words like <i>muṣṣitū</i> , <i>kaṣṣitū</i> , etc. |             |                |

3. Its definition in the Tamil Lexicon of the University of Madras that it is 'the 13th letter of the Tamil alphabet occurring only after a short initial letter and before a hard consonant as *aṣkam*, and pronounced sometimes as a vowel and sometimes as a consonant' is defective in two ways:—'after a short initial letter' must be changed as 'after a short vowel'; 'and pronounced sometimes as a vowel and sometimes as a consonant' must be changed as 'and is a fricative; but mentioned by the Tamil Grammarians neither as a vowel nor as a consonant'. Hence Dr. Beschi's statement '*āytam-enṟatu iṭukurī-p-peyar mutaleluttu muppatiṇ onṟallatu-veṟāy nirṟalūṇum uyirpōla-t taṇittoli-yātumāy meypōla uyir-ēṟapperātumāy mutal-eluttāntanmai eytāmai-yā-ṇum iru-marūṇkum varum-eluttai cārntolittalūṇum cārpeḷuttiṇ onṟā-yiṇa*' deserves to be noted. (To. V. 13, Comm.)

though Dr. Caldwell says that it is a peculiar Tamil letter. (C. D. G. p. 353.)

I am glad to find recently that M. J. Vinson has written in 1916<sup>1</sup> that the extraordinary form of *āytam* is related to the visarga of which it is, without doubt, only an adaptation, though he seems to be confronted with the difficulty from the statement of Tamil grammarians on the authority of Nannūl that its origin is in the head and is pronounced with the mouth fully open. This clearly shows that the Tamil Pandits with whom he came in contact with had ignored Tolkāppiyam. If they had thought of that work, they would certainly have told the learned professor that its origin depends upon the sounds in whose company it appears (Tol. E. 101) and then he might easily have inferred that, since it follows a vowel and is followed by a voiceless explosive consonant, it could not be a completely open sound. Besides if he had noted that *āytam* was represented by *visarga* in earlier days<sup>2</sup>, it would have strengthened his inference to a considerable extent.

He derives the word *āytam* from the Sanskrit word *āyudha* and also states that he did not know any example of *āytam* outside the grammars; the former point is disproved by the opinion of the late Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar noted below. As for the latter, many examples are found in Sangam works. cf. *paṣṟuḷi maṇalinum* (P. N. 9, 11.): *iṣṭiyām iranta paṛicil āstirūḷi* (P. N. 145. 8): *eṣṟuru viḷuppuṇ* (P. N. 233. 7.): *yāṅkaṣṭuṇṇa* (P. N. 319. 4.)

Similarly, the Rev. Dr. Pope is of opinion that 'it may be an imitation of Sanskrit visarga and it is used in poetry only.' (cf. P. H. T. L. p. 13.) But now it is used in prose also. For instance, the word *aṣṭū* and *iṣṭū* are used if they are followed by words commencing with a vowel, as *aṣṭū inṅē illai*, etc.

The late Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar said in one of his lectures delivered in 1925 under the auspices of the Teachers' Guild, Madras, that there is coincidence between the term *cārpeḷuttū* applied to *āytam* in Tamil Grammar and the term *parāśritāu* applied to *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmānīya* in Pāṇiniya-śikṣā, and hence the word *āytam* is the tamilised form of *āśrita*.

1. 'Sur un caractere Singulier Dans L'alphabet Tamoul in Journal Asiatique Onzieme Serie Tome VII, 1916, p. 343.

2. *Tolkāppiyaṇārum Puḷḷiyeluttum* by Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, p. 153, Centamil, Vol. XXV.

# THE CONCEPT OF LAKṢAṆA IN BHARATA\*

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## SYNOPSIS.

I. General. II. The text of Bharata on the subject : 2 recensions — III. The literature on the subject—IV. Its three names : Lakṣaṇa, Bhūṣaṇa and Nāṭyālaṅkāra—V. The Daśapakṣī, '10 views', on the subject in the Abhinava Bhāratī—VI. Probable authors of the views in the Daśapakṣī—VII. Criticism of the Daśapakṣī—VIII. Abhinavagupta's own view—IX. Other writers on the subject : i. Daṇḍin, Dhanañjaya and Dhanika, Bhoja, Śāradātanaya, Jayadeva, Śiṅgabhūpāla and Viśva-nātha. ii. Commentators, Rāghavabhaṭṭa Jagaddhara Alaka and Rucipati —X. Bharata's own view ; the text of Bharata independently studied—conclusion—XI. Supplement : table of the Lakṣaṇas in the various lists according to the different writers.

## I

Sāhitya along with grammar and prosody finds treatment at the hands of Bharata under Vācikābhinaya, the Kāvya which is the text of the drama. The Kāvya, Bharata says, should have 36 Lakṣaṇas.

काव्यबन्धास्तु कर्तव्याः षट्त्रिंशद्वक्षणांविताः । XVI. 169. In chapter 17, he gives a list of 36 Lakṣaṇas and defines each. In the end he calls them 'काव्यविभूषण', adornments to Kāvya. He does not illustrate these as he illustrates the metres and Alaṅkāras. He does not specify their place in Kāvya and does not define their difference from Alaṅkāra. This concept of Lakṣaṇa is not Elaborated very much in later literature on Poetics or Dramaturgy.

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\* Some account of lakṣaṇa is available in Vol. II of Dr. S. K. De's Sanskrit poetics, first under Bharata and then under Jayadeva. This paper tries to be complete and contains new contribution on the subject from the Abhinava Bhāratī, the corrupt text of which in the Madras ms., I studied and reconstructed, as far as possible, with the help of my Professor, M. M. U. S. Kuppuswami Śāstrigal.

Many of these look like Alaṅkāras while some actually go by names which are Alaṅkāras in later literature. There is no clear grasp of the exact nature of Lakṣaṇa in the few writers on Dramaturgy who treat of it. Bharata certainly means them to be features of Kāvya in general and not of drama only. It would seem, by Bharata's mentioning them first and by giving 36 of them, Bharata considers Lakṣaṇa of greater importance than Alaṅkāra. It had its day when it loomed large in the field, eclipsing Alaṅkāra, which was poor in numbers. But gradually Lakṣaṇa died in the Alaṅkāra Śāstra. Writers on drama took it up, some enthusiastically defining and illustrating them, some doing so out of loyalty to Bharata and some dismissing them as having been included in Alaṅkāras or Bhāvas. This lost Paddhati of Lakṣaṇa has a history of its own which is the subject of this paper.

## II

In chapter 17, Bharata gives a list of 36 Lakṣaṇas, defines each and in the end indicates their character and place in the Kāvya in one verse. This portion of the Nāṭya Śāstra has two recensions, even as the portions on metres and Guṇas. The text on Guṇas followed by Abhinava is not the one followed by Maṅgala, whose fragments on the concept of Guṇa are available in Māṇikya-candra and Hemacandra. But as regards metres and Lakṣaṇa's Abhinava is acquainted with both the recensions. He notes both the recensions as regards the definitions of the Lakṣaṇas and says he follows mainly the recension handed down to him through his teacher. 'उद्देशक्रमस्तु अस्मदुपाध्यायपरम्परागतः।' p. 384. He also says he will indicate the other recension also then and there. Accordingly while treating of the Lakṣaṇas, one by one, he notices their definitions in the other recension and also tries, with difficulty, to show how both mean the same thing. The Kāvya-mālā edition of the Nāṭya Śāstra has the recension followed by Abhinava. It is in Upajāti metre. The other recension is in Anuṣṭubh verses and is found in the Kāśī edition which also gives in the footnote the Upajāti recension. The Rasārṇavasudhākara and Sāhityadarpaṇa follow the Anuṣṭubh recension while Bhoja, with whom elaboration is the principle, must have been acquainted with both recensions,

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2. References to the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata are to the Kāśī edition of that work. References to the Abhinava Bhāratī are to Vol. II of that work in the ms. of the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

since he makes up a list of 64 Lakṣaṇas from both recensions. The Daśarūpa follows the Upajāti recension. The two recensions differ in their enumeration as well as in the definition of each Lakṣaṇa. Only 17 Lakṣaṇas are common to both. The table at the end of this paper shows the Lakṣaṇas according to the two lists, how Abhinava includes those of the Anuṣṭubh list in one or the other of the Upajāti list, etc.

### III

Coming to the literature on the subject of Lakṣaṇa—Besides Abhinava's Commentary on this portion of the Nāṭya Śāstra, which deals elaborately with Lakṣaṇa, earlier Commentaries of Udbhaṭa, Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka must have dealt with the concept of Lakṣaṇa. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's Hṛdayadarpaṇa also probably dealt with it. We have sure evidence of Bhaṭṭa Tauta having treated of Lakṣaṇas. In an extract given from his Kāvya-kautuka in the Abhinava Bhārati on p. 541, Vol. II we find Lakṣaṇa included in his enumeration of the 'Kāvya-paddhatis', along with Guṇa, Rīti, Alaṅkāra, etc. Further Abhinava ascribes to Tauta certain definite views on Lakṣaṇa during the course of his attempt to explain the difference between Alaṅkāra and Lakṣaṇa. We noted above how the Upajāti recension was handed down to Abhinava from his teacher, *i. e.*, from his teacher's Kāvya-kautuka, upon which Abhinava had commented. Before Abhinavagupta, views on Lakṣaṇa were very confused, as is seen from Abhinavagupta's commentary on the Lakṣaṇas which opens with 10 Pūrvapakṣas on the real nature of the concept of Lakṣaṇa. Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa enumerates, defines and illustrates, not 36 of them, but 64. Śāradātanaya follows Bhoja. The Daśarūpa and Avaloka mention the 36 Lakṣaṇas and briefly indicate their inclusion in Alaṅkāras and Bhāvas. Śiṅgabhūpāla calls them 'Bhūṣaṇa', gives 36 of them, defines and illustrates them. The Sāhitya-darpaṇa also gives them with definitions and illustrations. Nāṭakacandrikā, an unpublished work on Drama criticises the Sāhityadarpaṇa and follows the Rasārṇavasudhākara as regards the 36 Lakṣaṇas. From Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's commentary on the Śākuntala we learn that Mātrgupta also dealt with Lakṣaṇas separately in his work on Nāṭya. Rāghava Bhaṭṭa indicates some of the 36 Lakṣaṇas in the several situations of the Śākuntala. Jagaddhara is another commentator who, in his Tikā on the Mālatīmādhava points out a few of the Lakṣaṇas. Rucipati, in his commentary on the Anargharāghava, points out two Lakṣaṇas.

Rājānaka Alaka, in his commentary on Ratnākara's Haravijaya has occasion to speak of Lakṣaṇa. Alaka follows the Upajāti recension. The only work on poetics proper which treats of Lakṣaṇas is Jayadeva's Candrālōka. It defines only a few of them with illustrations.

#### IV

Lakṣaṇa has changed its name in its history. Śiṅga Bhūpāla and his followers call it Bhūṣaṇa. This name is derived from Bharata himself describing the Lakṣaṇa as 'कायविभूषण' and 'भूषणसंमित'. Though Bhoja calls it only as Lakṣaṇa, Śāradātanaya calls it as Bhūṣaṇa at the beginning and ends by calling it as Alaṅkāra. Jagaddhara calls it as Nāṭyālaṅkāra.

#### V

Bharata's own view of Lakṣaṇa as far as it can be made out from his text alone, must be taken up only lastly. Before that we shall see what views of Lakṣaṇa are contained in the Abhinava Bhāratī. Abhinavagupta gives a number of confused views held by others and at the end of these he numbers them as ten. But actually, on first reading, we get only eight views. The text here is very corrupt and lost also here and there. These following ten views can be made out of this portion of the Abhinava Bhāratī. pp. 379-381. Vol. II. Mad. Mss.

i. Lakṣaṇa is different from Guṇa which is inherent in Rasa, the soul of poetry. As belonging to the body of poetry, Lakṣaṇa is on a par with Alaṅkāra with this difference: It is not separate from the body (*i. e.*) it is not पृथक्सिद्ध. Alaṅkāra is separate from the body. Lakṣaṇa is the body itself and as such is further adorned with Alaṅkāras. Just as we take the metaphor of necklace or anklet when we talk of Alaṅkāra, so also we have to take the metaphor of the Lakṣaṇa of the body, such as the Sāmudrika-lakṣaṇas, when we speak of the Kāvya-lakṣaṇa. This Lakṣaṇa is two-fold—natural, Siddharūpa, such as the quality of having broad eyes and artificial, Sādhyarūpa, such as the occasional grace while adopting a beautiful gait.

“तल्लक्षणं येन शरीरस्य सौन्दर्यं जायते । तच्च सिद्धरूपं साध्यरूपं वा,  
यथा श्यामेति मदमन्थरगामिनीति च । एतदेव लक्षणम् ; तच्चालंक्रियतेऽलंकारै-  
र्युक्तं काव्यम् । .....  
तदेल्लक्षणं द्विधेति, यथा श्यामा विशालाक्षी, मत्तमातङ्गगामिनीति च ।”

ii. Some others think that situations or parts of the plot of the drama or the minor Sandhyaṅgakas are called Lakṣaṇa. Just as the Sāmudrika-lakṣaṇas like Pāśa and Dhvaṇa indicate the greatness and the beauty of a Mahāpuruṣa, so also these Lakṣaṇas which are so many points in the development of the plot beautify the story.

“अन्ये मन्यन्ते—इतिवृत्तखण्डलकान्येव सन्ध्यङ्गकानि लक्षणानीति च व्यपदिश्यन्ते । ..... काव्यगतख्यातिप्राशस्त्योपयोगितया महापुरुषगतपाराध्वजपादरेखादिवल्लक्षणशब्द-वाच्यता । तदुक्तं तत्रैव—

“लक्षणान्येव बीजार्थक्रमनिर्वाहाय कानिचित् ।

प्रतिसन्धितदङ्गानि फलसिद्ध्युपपत्तिः ॥” इति

iii. Some differentiate Guṇas, Alaṅkāras and Lakṣaṇas not by the आश्रयाश्रयिभावा adopted by those who hold the first view, but by defining three different activities on the part of the poet's faculty in introducing the Guṇas, Alaṅkāras and Lakṣaṇas in a Kāvya. The poet's imagination has three activities, Vyāpāras, and three corresponding vibrations, Parispandas. In the very first vibration the poet's genius conceives the Rasa and its Guṇa, say Śṛṅgāra and its guṇa, Mādhurya. The second vibration which is also called Varṇanā, effects the introduction of Alaṅkāra. The third activity chooses the words and ideas. The effect of this third activity is the actual body of poetry, the Kāvyaśarīra, suggesting the presence of the ten Guṇas, Śleṣa, etc. That beauty of the Kāvyaśarīra which is the effect of this third activity and which is not covered by the beauty effected by an Alaṅkāra is what is called Lakṣaṇa.

“एते (के)षां तु दर्शनम्—कवेः यः प्रतिभात्मा प्रथमपरिस्पन्द[त]: तद्व्यापारबलोपनतेषु(ताः) गुणाः । प्रतिभावत एव हि रसाम्बिव्यञ्जनसामर्थ्य-माधुर्यादिः उपनिबन्धन (माधुर्याद्युपनिबन्धन)सामर्थ्यं, न सामान्यकवेः । अनेन शब्देन इदं वस्तु वर्णयामीत्येवंभूतवर्णनापरपर्यायद्वितीयव्यापारसंपाद्यस्त्वलं-कारः । शब्दः(दान्) अमीभिः शब्दैरर्थानमीभिरर्थैः संघटयामीत्येवमात्मकस्तु यस्तृतीयः कवेः परिस्पन्दः तदधीनात्मलाभादिः शब्दार्थात्मककाव्यशरीरसंश्रितानि वक्ष्यमाणश्लेषादिगुणदशकसमम्बिव्यञ्जनव्यापाराणि शब्दार्थोपसंस्कारकल्पानि क्रिया-रूपाणीति ।



अत्र पक्षे कविन्यापारभेदात् गुणालंकारलक्षणविभागः ।” p. 380.

This view seems to be like the first by making Lakṣaṇa the Kāvyaśarīra. This view further seems to formulate two sets of Guṇas, one, the three Guṇas, माधुर्यं, ओजस् and प्रसाद, which are said to in here in Rasa as Rasadharmas and the other, the ten Guṇas of the words, श्लेष etc. The suggesting of these and the general beautifying of Śabda and Arīha, forming the body of Kāvya is said to be Lakṣaṇa by those who hold this view.

iv. The fourth view, instead of restricting the Lakṣaṇas to Vākyas or points in the plot, lifts them to the position of प्रबन्धधर्मः—Characteristics of different kinds of poems. As for instance, some poems are characterised by the speciality of having profuse adornment of Guṇas and Alaṅkāras. Such poems are called by the first Lakṣaṇa called Bhūṣaṇa, which Bharata defines as the ample use of Guṇas and alaṅkāras.

अलंकारैर्गुणैश्चैव बहुभिः समलंकृतम् ।

भूषणैरिव चित्रार्थैस्तद्वृषणमिति स्मृतम् ॥ XVII. 6.

The example given here for such poem, (*i.e.*) a Bhūṣaṇa prabandha, is Meghadūta !

“तथा हि—किञ्चित् प्रबन्धजातं गुणालंकारनिकरप्रधानम्, यथा मेघदूताख्यम्, तद्विभूषणम् । एवमन्यदपीति प्रबन्धधर्मा लक्षणानि ।” p. 381.

v. We are unable to have much light as regards the fifth view of which we have only a little fragment. It says—

“केचित्तु ब्रुवते—कवेरभिप्रायविशेषो लक्षणम्, इति । p. 381

vi. Certain others are said to view Lakṣaṇa as the proper use of Guṇas and Alaṅkāras, (*i.e.*) in accordance with the principle of Rasa-aucitya.

“इतरे पुनर्मन्यन्ते—यथास्थाननिवेशनं यत् गुणालंकारं(राणां) यदूनं (?) तल्लक्षणम् ।” p. 381.

vii. The seventh view has affinities with the first and third views. It takes its stand on the fact that Lakṣaṇa, like Alaṅkāra belongs to the body of Kāvya and secondly, like Alaṅkāra, it is a beautifying factor. The beautiful Kāvyaśarīra itself is held as Lakṣaṇa. Such beauty as is inherent in Kāvyaas like the Amaru-śataka, even in the absence of Alaṅkāras or what may be called as natural beauty, is the proper scope for the concept of Lakṣaṇa.

“परे त्वाभाषन्ते—अलंकारादिनिरपेक्षेणैव (क्षयैव) निसर्गसुन्दरो योऽभिनयविशेषः काव्येषु, अमरकल्लोकेष्वपि, तत्सौन्दर्यहेतुर्यो धर्मः स लक्ष्यः (लक्षणं) स एव चार्थः काव्यविशेषरूपो लक्षणम् ।” p. 381.

viii. The eighth view has been made out with great difficulty for the text here is completely lost except for a small fragment. This view differentiates Lakṣaṇa on this score: Bharata has given only three Alaṅkāras, Upamā, Dīpaka and Rūpaka. These three become infinite with manifold species. The means of their multiplication is the interaction of these three Alaṅkāras with the 36 Lakṣaṇas. The text available is this—

“उपमादीपकरूपकाणामानन्त्यात् भेदमाहुः ।”

This view is more elaborately found in a further context and from there we may reconstruct this text as—

“उपमादीपकरूपकाणाम् आनन्त्यप्रयोजकत्वात् भेदमाहुः ।”

In discussing the difference between Alaṅkāra and Lakṣaṇa, in the Alaṅkāra section, Abhinava gives the same view more elaborately and as his own teacher's (*i.e.*) Bhaṭṭa Tauta's. Upamā becomes प्रशंसोपमा by adding to it the Lakṣaṇa called गुणानुवादः; it becomes अतिशयोक्ति if the Lakṣaṇa called अतिशय is added to it and so on. This view of Tanta is very clever and though it does not correctly define Lakṣaṇa and its nature, yet indicates how it is an easy transition from Lakṣaṇa to alaṅkāra.

“उपाध्यायमतन्तु—लक्षणबलात् अलंकाराणां वैचित्र्यमागच्छति । तथापि (हि) गुणानुवादननाम्ना लक्षणेन योगात् प्रशंसोपमा । अतिशयनाम्नो-  
-ऽतिशयोक्तिः । मनोरथाख्येन अपस्तुतप्रशंसा । मिथ्याध्यवसायेन अपहृतिः ।  
[अ] सिद्धया तुल्ययोगितेत्येवमन्यदुत्प्रेक्ष्यम् ।” p. 404.

ix. The ninth view is obscure since only a fragment of the text as regards it is available.

“शब्देन अर्थेन चित्रत्वं लक्षणमित्यन्ये ।”

Abhinava laterly uses this view also and explains it as the beautification of Śabda by Śabda, of Śabda by Artha, of Artha by Śabda and of Artha by Artha. In effect this view also comes to be the same as the third view, Lakṣaṇa being held to be such beauty of the body of poetry as is present even in the absence of any Alaṅkāra.

x. The tenth and the last view, as Abhinava himself points out, does not differ from the second view very much. Just as in the Mīmāṃsā Śāstra the different subject heads are distinguished by the Lakṣaṇas, प्रसङ्ग, बाध, अतिदेश etc., so also in Kāvya, particular points in the story go by the name Bhūṣaṇa, Akṣara-saṅghāta and other Lakṣaṇas. This view thus, except for the illustration from the Mīmāṃsā is not different from the second Pakṣa which holds Lakṣaṇas to be 'इतिवृत्तखण्डक's or 'सन्ध्यङ्क's.

## VI

Now as regards the authors of these ten views—We have no evidence to definitely affirm where these views are to be found or who held them. Abhinava does not give the name of the thecrists here, as he gives in his discussion on Rasa-realisation. It is not likely that these ten are purely imaginary Pakṣas. In the course of the exposition of the second and the third view, Abhinava quotes Anuṣṭubh verses with the words तदुक्तं तत्रैव. The third view takes its stand on Vyāpārābheda. From what the Anuṣṭubhs lock and the association of Vyāpāra with Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka we may conjecture that some of these views are expounded in Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's Hṛdayadarpaṇa. We also know of the Mīmāṃsā predilections of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. So it is likely that the tenth view also is contained in his work. For the illustration from the Mīmāṃsā smacks of his genius. We can also make out the author of the eighth view definitely as Abhinavagupta's own teacher, Bhaṭṭa Tauta, whose work, the Kāvya-kautuka must have dealt with the काव्यपद्धति called लक्षण at some length.

## VII

Taking this Daśapakṣī—the 10 views given above, the ideas more commonly associated with Lakṣaṇa are these—

1. Lakṣaṇa belongs to the body of Kāvya.
2. It is a beautifying element.
3. As such, its difference from Alaṅkāra consists in this that it is more comprehensive, is not a separate entity like the ornament, Alaṅkāra, but is Aprthaksiddha, (i.e.) is the Kāvyaśarīra itself. By itself, it gives grace to the Kāvya while Alaṅkāra is added to it for extra-beauty.

This is one group of ideas, taking their inspiration from the metaphor of Sāmudrika-lakṣaṇa. Another line of thought is not to bring Lakṣaṇa at all in relation to Kāvya in general nor to take

it, like Alaṅkāra, as a beautifying factor, but to associate it only with drama and the several situations in the development of its plot. Abhinava and his teacher took Lakṣaṇa in accordance with the first group of ideas, considering Lakṣaṇa to be 'Kāvya-śobhā-kara-dharma', a beautifying element pertaining to the body of Kāvya in general. The other line of thought represented by Pakṣas Nos. 2 and 10, considering Lakṣaṇa to be like Sandhyaṅgas which Abhinava does not accept is the view that has however lived. The works on dramaturgy alone (a few of them) treat of it and these take Lakṣaṇas to be features of drama like the Sandhyaṅgas. The curious and purely speculative views, the connection of which to Bharata's own view we do not see at all, are views No. 4, which takes them to be characteristics which classify the Kāvya into 36 kinds and No. 5 which takes Lakṣaṇa to be the poet's अभिप्रायविशेष. The main view which considers Lakṣaṇa, like Alaṅkāra as a beautifying element pervading the whole of the body of the Kāvya died with Abhinavagupta. The concept of Alaṅkāra, with which, even at its birth Lakṣaṇa has an overlapping of functions, swallows it up. Even Rāghavabhaṭṭa who takes Lakṣaṇa to be separate from Sandhyaṅgas, swearing by Abhinavagupta's great pains to explain them at length as different from Sandhyaṅgas, etc., takes them only as Nāṭakadharmas and not as Kāvya-dharmas in general. Bhoja, Śāradātanaya, Śiṅga-bhūpāla and Viśvanātha accept Abhinava's words for their difference from Sandhyaṅgas, but mention them only in Nāṭaka and never as being related comprehensively to poetic expression itself. The Candrāloka is the only Alaṅkāra work which treats of Lakṣaṇa as a feature like Alaṅkāra, of श्रव्यकान्य. The second line of thought which connects Lakṣaṇas with Sandhyaṅgas was first unconscious of its suicidal suggestion. Daśarūpaka rejects them on the score that they have no individuality and can be included in Alaṅkāras or Bhāvas. Viśvanātha realises this and says that though the 36 Lakṣaṇas can be included in Sandhyaṅgas, etc., they must be shown to be separately existent in a drama for the reason that Bharata has treated of them separately. But many works on dramaturgy do not treat of the Lakṣaṇa at all. The reason is plain. The Daśarūpaka shows us how the Lakṣaṇapaddhati perished. The Lakṣaṇas lacked individuality and most of them showed themselves to be some Alaṅkāras or Bhāvas or some Sandhyaṅgas. But it may be observed that the authors on dramaturgy who have shown an extraordinary genius for classification and elaboration

of Aṅgas on a stupendous scale might have followed the logic of the inclusion of Lakṣaṇa in other concepts and saved us their lists of minor Sandhyaṅgakas, most of which can be shown to be not different at all from some Alaṅkāra or Bhāva. The same criticism applies also to the lovers of Alaṅkāras who have made a list of more than a hundred of them. As for instance the Viṣādana, the Ullāsa, Alaṅkāras in the Kuvalayānanda, are cases of Bhāvas.

### VIII

Coming to Abhinavagupta's own view of Lakṣaṇa—the main thread of his must be caught in the bewildering text on this concept in various places in this chapter. He points out even at the outset that these views cannot stand to be logical when we consider the 36 Lakṣaṇas themselves one by one in the light of these views, for to a certain extent the views have been purely speculative, spinning round the word Lakṣaṇa having its counterpart in the Sāmudrika-lakṣaṇa of the human body, without relating themselves to the nature of the individual Lakṣaṇas. So Abhinavagupta makes a convenient suggestion that the 10 views cannot be exclusively and separately followed.

‘एतेषु पक्षेषु अन्यतमग्रहे विशेषणानि न संगच्छन्ते स्पष्टेन पथा ।’

p. 381.

One comprehensive and definite view must be made out of the cloud of these ten Pakṣas. Abhinava adopts shades of each view and gives his own definite idea of Lakṣaṇa, which itself takes conclusive shape only as he proceeds further and further. Here and there Abhinava cannot help pushing new wine into old bottles in his difficult task. One line of thought he has definitely rejected and that is, the association of Lakṣaṇa with Nāṭaka only and taking it as something like Sandhyaṅgakas. He refutes this view in this chapter and elsewhere also while dealing with the Vithyaṅgas. He says there—

‘नन्वेषाम् (वीथ्यङ्गानाम्) उक्तिवैचित्र्यरूपत्वं चेत् लक्षण[म्]  
अलंकारादिभ्यः को भेद इति । .....

न चैतद्व्यतिरिक्तमेवां सामान्यलक्षणमस्ति । तत्र केचिदुक्तलक्षणादि-  
विशेषरूपत्वमेवैषां प्रतिपन्नाः । विवेचकास्तु तद्व्यतिरिक्तान्यवैतानीत्याहुः ।’

pp. 481-2.

In this same context Abhinava thus indicates the difference of Lakṣaṇa and Alaṅkāra on the one hand and the Aṅgas on the other:

‘लक्षणांकारादीनां नोक्तिनियतं रूपमिति विशेषः ।’

Having thus rejected the view that Lakṣaṇas are identical with Sandhyaṅgakas, he combines the various ideas of the other line of thought and says that Lakṣaṇa is Kāvyaśarīra itself. It is said to be the Abhidhāvyāpāra itself as a whole. Commenting on the verse—

षट्त्रिंशदेतानि हि लक्षणानि प्रोक्तानि वै भूषणसंमितानि ।

काव्येषु भावार्थगतानि तज्ज्ञैः सम्यक्प्रयोज्यानि यथारसं तु ॥

in the text, Abhinavagupta says that the poetic expression itself as a whole, written in accordance with the Rasa, is called Lakṣaṇa. Lakṣaṇa is nothing but the Abhidhāvyāpāra of the poet's language intended to evoke Rasa.

“यथारसं ये भावाः विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिणस्तेषां योऽर्थः स्थायी-  
भावरसीकरणात्मकं प्रयोजनान्तरं गतानि प्राप्तानि । यदभिधाव्यापारोपसंक्रान्ता  
उद्यानादयोऽर्थाः तत्र सविशेष(वि)भावादिभावं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तानि लक्षणानीति  
सामान्यलक्षणम् । अत एव काव्ये सम्यक् प्रयोज्यानीति विषयस्तेषामुक्तः ।

p. 383.

This Lakṣaṇa or the beautiful language or the poet's Abhidhā itself is what distinguishes Kāvya from other utterances. And here, as is usual with him wherever he agrees, Abhinava quotes Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, who emphasises Abhidhā, or the poet's Vyāpāra in choosing the beautiful mode of expression as the characteristic of Kāvya, which is different from Śāstra or Purāṇa. In Śāstra, Śabda predominates. It is enough in Purāṇa if the story, the Artha, is somehow said. But in Kāvya one looks to the delectable way in which things are put. Thus in Kāvya, the vyāpāra is important while word and idea are subordinate.

‘मृदनायके(ना)पि (अ)त एव ....अभिधाव्यापारप्रधानं काव्यमित्युक्तम् ।

शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः ।

अर्थतत्त्वे तु युक्तेन वदन्तः स्थानमेतयोः ॥

(अर्थे तत्त्वेन युक्ते तु वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः)

द्वयोर्युणत्वे व्यापारप्राधान्ये काव्यगीर्भवेत् ।

p. 383.

Abhinava quotes Bhāmaha also here to show that Kāvya-śarīra is distinguished from other utterances by the peculiarity of its expression, by its वक्रोक्ति. Laterly also he says—

‘बन्धो, गुम्फः, फणितिः, वक्रोक्तिः, कविव्यापार इति हि पर्यायात्  
लक्षणं त्वलंकारशून्यमपि न निरर्थकम् ।’

p. 405.

‘तत्र चित्तवृत्त्यात्मकं रसं लक्षयन् तद्रसोचितविभावादि[त्व]संपादकः  
त्रिविधोऽभिधाव्यापारो लक्षणशब्देनोच्यते इत्येषां सामान्यलक्षणम् । \* \*  
एवं किंचिदभिधीयमानं केनचिद्रूपेण रसोचितेन विभावादिरूपेण तमेव पदार्थक्रमं  
लक्षयन् लक्षणम् ।’

p. 382.

Immediately after quoting the above given verses from  
Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka he says—

‘भामहेनापि—‘सैषा सर्वैव वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो विभाव्यते’ इत्यादि ।  
तेन परमार्थे व्यापार एव लक्षणम् ।’

In another place he says—

‘सर्वो विभावाद्युचितो निर्वर्ण्यमाणः काव्यलक्षणत्वेन सूचितः ।’

p. 399.

If Lakṣaṇa should be thus taken as equal to poetic ex-  
pression, the natural consequence is that Lakṣaṇas are not 36 only  
but as many as the poetic expressions. This Abhinava grants  
and says that Bharata only indicated a few, 36 of such possible  
Lakṣaṇas. He adds that it is because of this that, according to  
another view, Bharata gives another set of Lakṣaṇas with defini-  
tions. Abhinava here refers to the Anuṣṭubh and Upajāti  
recensions, takes both of them as given by Bharata, but says,  
that he follows the list handed down from his own teacher.<sup>1</sup>

‘तथा च मतान्तरेण भरतमुनिरेव अन्यथाप्युद्देशलक्षणेन च नामान्तरैरपि  
लक्षणान्तरैरपि च व्यवहारं करोति । तत एव पुस्तकेषु भेदो दृश्यते । तं च  
दर्शयिष्यामः । परितोद्देशक्रमस्तु (?) अस्मदुपाध्यायपरम्परागतः ।’ p. 384.

It also follows, if Lakṣaṇa is Kāvyaśarīra it has further adorn-  
ment with Alaṅkāras. So says Abhinava—

1. But this is an after-thought which Abhinava got up as evidence  
for his view of infinity of Lakṣaṇas. It is also a passing thought, for  
instead of, consistently with this, explaining the two sets with different  
illustrations, he tries with great difficulty to show the identity of many  
of the Lakṣaṇas of the Anuṣṭubh list with those of the other, which he  
mainly follows.

‘एवं कविन्यापारबलात् यदर्थजातं लौकिकात् स्वभावात् विद्यमानं तदेव लक्षणमित्युक्तं । तत्र(स्य)शरीरकल्पस्य अलंकारा अधुना वक्तव्याः ।’ p. 404.

‘काव्ये तावल्लक्षणं शरीरम्, तस्य उपमादयः त्रयोऽर्थभागाः ।’ p. 404.  
Lakṣaṇa is Kāvya itself while Alaṅkāra is extraneous ornament, Prthaksiddha, Vastvantara.

‘एवमर्थस्यापि यद्रसामिव्यक्तिहेतुत्वं सोऽर्थगुणः । यस्तु वस्त्वन्तरं वदनस्येव चन्द्रः, सोऽलंकारः । यस्तु त्रिविधोऽप्यभिधान्यापारः स लक्षणानां विषयः ॥’ p. 382.

Thus Abhinavagupta adopts the first view, the third view and the seventh view, in generally stating his conception of Lakṣaṇa. In interpreting particular Lakṣaṇas and their definitions given by Bharata, Abhinava adopts the other views related to these views. Thus in explaining the first Lakṣaṇa called Bhūṣaṇa or Vibhūṣaṇa he adopts the sixth view. Bharata defines Bhūṣaṇa thus—

अलंकारैर्गुणैश्चैव बहुभिः समलंकृतम् ।  
भूषणैरिव विन्यस्तैस्तद्भूषणमिति स्मृतम् ॥

Abhinava says here that Bhūṣaṇa is the proper use of Alaṅkāras and Guṇas in accordance with the Rasa, with an eye to रसौचित्य. In pointing out what this Rasa-aucitya is and how Alaṅkāras should be introduced in accordance with it, he quotes Ānandavardhana's Kārikās in the second Uddyota, on Alaṅkāra-Samiksā—  
विवक्षा तत्परत्वेन नाङ्गित्वेन कदाचन etc. and refers to his own Locana thereon.

Then Abhinava adopts the seventh view often in dealing with the definitions of particular Lakṣaṇas and in suitably illustrating them. The verses he cites for a Lakṣaṇa happen to exhibit an Alaṅkāra also. Abhinava notes that fact and says that the beauty of the verse is due, not to the Alaṅkāra but only to the Lakṣaṇa. He shows how there is no ‘गतार्थता’ by Alaṅkāras. Commenting on his illustration for the second Lakṣaṇa called अक्षरसङ्घात, he says—

‘अत्र अर्थस्य अलंकारघटनाप्रयासमन्द(न्त)रेणैव सुन्दरत्वं लक्षण-  
कृतमेव ।’ p. 386



The natural grace of a verse even in the absence of Alaṅkāra as in the verses of Amaruka is due to Lakṣaṇa. This is the view he often adopts. He illustrates the third Lakṣaṇa called शोभा by the verse of Śākuntala— 'मेदश्छेदकशोदरं लघु भवत्युत्थानयोग्यं वपुः' etc. and makes the comment that there is no Alaṅkāra in the verse but yet there is beauty in it and that is due to the Lakṣaṇa called Śobhā.

‘न चात्र अलंकारः कश्चिदिति कविन्यापारेण (व्यापारः) यः शब्दार्थ-  
व्यापारादेव अर्थघटनात्मा, तत्कृतं हृद्यं लक्षणार्थमेव (?) । अशोभनोऽप्यमुना  
नयेन शोभत इति शोभेयमुक्ता ।’

p. 387.

He adopts the 8th view, which is his own teacher's, in his exposition of the Lakṣaṇa called गुणानुवाद and in other places. Explaining the Lakṣaṇa called गुणकीर्तन he says—

गुणकीर्तनं नाम लक्षणं उपमाश्लेषानुग्राहित्वे(न) स्थिति(तम्) ।  
लक्षणानि हि अलंकाराद(न)पि चित्रयन्ति । तदेव अग(ग्र) एव वक्ष्यामः ।’

p. 388.

Here he adopts the 8th view only slightly. He says that the Lakṣaṇa called Guṇakīrtana helps Upamā and Śleṣa and that Lakṣaṇas beautify even Alaṅkāras. He clearly adopts this 8th view that the further elaboration of manifold Alaṅkāras is the result of their interaction with the Lakṣaṇas, in a further passage under the Lakṣaṇa, Guṇānuvāda.

अथ गुणानुवादः । \* \* \* \* \* यथा  
‘पालिता द्यौरिवेन्द्रेण त्वया राजन् वसुन्धरा ।’

ननु उपमेयमलंकारः ? कि...तत (किं ततः ? ) उक्तं ह्यलंकाराणां  
वैचित्र्यं लक्षणकृतमेव । एत एव शिक्षितैरपि दण्डिप्रभृतिभिः ये निरूपिताः  
उपमाभेदाः, तत्र यो भेदकोऽंशः आचिख्यासासंश्र(श)यनिर्णयादिरर्थः स  
तादृक् पृथगलंकारतया गणितः । गणनेऽपि वा संसृष्टिसंकरापत्तिः । अर्थमालं  
तदिति चेत् तर्हि तदेव लक्षणं । यथा हि राजतामविभज्य विचार्यमाणः इत्यमव-  
तिष्ठते—मुकुटाद्यलंकारः शौर्यादिगुणव्यूहोरस्कत्वादिलक्षणसमुदायः । राजा  
अलंकार्यश्च गुणवांश्च लक्षणीयश्च । तथा काव्यमपि । तेन गुणालंकारातिरिक्ताः  
सर्वे लक्षणमिति मन्तव्यम् ।

pp. 390—1.

Whatever beauty in a Kāvya is not due to either Guṇa or Alaṅkāra is due to Lakṣaṇa. If so, will it not be that all Kāvya is Lakṣaṇa? yes, says Abhinavagupta.

‘नन्वेवं सर्वत्र लक्षणयोगः ? क आक्षेपार्थः ? प्रियमेव ह्यस्माकमदः ।’

p. 381.

Thus in this passage Abhinava combines his teacher's view, (*i.e.*) the eighth with the seventh, reconciles both by making them as parts of a bigger and more comprehensive view of his. Abhinava opines that Lakṣaṇa is sometimes natural grace and sometimes it adds beauty to Alaṅkāra also. Thus he considers it to be more important than Alaṅkāra.

‘अत एव पूर्वं ‘काव्यबन्धास्तु कर्तव्याः षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणान्विताः’ इति लक्षणान्येव हि प्रधानम्, तत्प्रसंगेन ग्रहा(गुणा)लंकार(रा) इति । तात्पर्यविशेष-लक्षण(लक्षणतात्पर्यविशेष)व्याख्याने चैतत् स्फुटयिष्यामः ।’

p. 382-3.

Thus Lakṣaṇas are important because they are elaborately enumerated at first, they are the very Kāvyaśarīra,<sup>1</sup> they are elements of natural beauty even in the absence of Alaṅkāras, they are the factors that multiply the three Alaṅkāras into many, and they beautify sometimes even Alaṅkāras. Of these 36, the first however is lifted from the plane of Lakṣaṇa and is made a principle of औचित्य by Abhinava. If Lakṣaṇa should be so elastic or so comprehensive, we would have not 36 of them only, but an infinite number of them. Quite so replies Abhinavagupta. The Lakṣaṇas are अलंकार-अनुग्राहक and in their combinations with each Alaṅkāra, they produce many varieties. In combining

1. It is this idea of Lakṣaṇa as the Kāvyaśarīra itself that Abhinava holds at the end of his commentary on the previous chapter, while commenting on the text, ‘काव्यबन्धास्तु कर्तव्याः षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणान्विताः’, which introduces the topic of Lakṣaṇa in the next chapter. Abhinava here works out a metaphor with a beautiful house, the metre being the ground, Lakṣaṇa, the building of the house itself, Alaṅkāras and Guṇas, the paintings etc.

‘यथा प्रासादकोट्यादिके(?) कर्तव्ये प्रथमं भूमिः, तद्वत् काव्ये निर्मातव्ये भूमिकल्पः छन्दोविधिः, क्षेत्रपरिग्रहवृत्तसमाश्रयमित्यादिविरचनस्थानीयं लक्षणयोजनम्, चित्रकर्मप्रतिममलंकारगुणानिवेशनम्, \* \* \* \* एवं भूतवाचिकाभिनेयस्वरूपं चतुर्दशादिभिः षड्भिरध्यायैरुच्यते ।’ p. 377.

among themselves also they breed numberless varieties. Thus infinite are the varieties of beautiful expressions in Kāvya.

‘लक्षणं हि शरीरमित्युक्तम् । \* \* \*

ततो नो(उ)पमानशरीरस्य उमेयशरीरस्य वा वैचित्र्य(यं) लक्षणानामेव व्यापारं(रः) इत्येवमुपमारूपकदीपकानां त्रयाणामलंकारत्वेन वक्ष्यमाणानां प्रत्येकं षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणयोगात् लक्षणानामपि च एकद्वित्र्याद्यवान्तरविभागभेदात् ..... केन गणयितुं शक्यम्, इदानीं शतसहस्राणि वैचित्र्याणां सहृदयैरुपेक्ष्यन्ताम् ।”

p. 401.

In this passage Abhinava gives a new and clever idea. An Upamā is an Alaṅkāra. It is expressed and has its Śarīra. That Śarīra itself has to be beautiful. The beauty of the very expression of Simili or other Alaṅkāras is Lakṣaṇa.

#### IX—A.

Daṇḍin as he was going, cast a remark on Lakṣaṇa. For him the whole Kāvyaaprapaṇca is Alaṅkāra-Brahman. Naturally he considered Lakṣaṇa to be Alaṅkāra. When he considered even the Sandhyāṅgas and the Aṅgas of the four Vṛttis, Kaiśikī etc. as Alaṅkāras, there is no wonder that he considered so this concept, Lakṣaṇa which has so much in common with Alaṅkāra. He says—

यच्च सन्ध्यङ्गवृत्त्यङ्गलक्षणाद्यागमान्तरे ।

व्यावर्णितमिदं चेष्टं अलंकारतयैव नः ॥ II. 366.

The Lakṣaṇa referred to in this verse is Bharata's Lakṣaṇa. Taruṇa Vācaspati says—लक्षणम्, विभूषणम् अक्षरसंहतिश्च । आगमान्तरे भरते । Alaṅkāra in Daṇḍin is a wide berth which can conveniently accomodate these and many more.

The Daśarūpaka mentions the Lakṣaṇas at the end and does not treat of them since it includes them in Alaṅkāras and Bhāvas. This attitude is very logical, since many of the Lakṣaṇas are either Alaṅkāras or Bhāvas. The text says—

षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणादीनि सामादीन्येकविंशतिः ।

लक्ष्यसन्ध्यन्तराख्यानि सालंकारेषु तेषु च ॥

हर्षोत्साहेषु अन्तर्भावान्न कीर्तिता इति पूर्वश्लोकादध्याहारः ।

The Ayaloka adds—

‘विभूषणं चाक्षरसंहतिश्च शोभाभिमानौ गुणकीर्तनं च ।’ इत्येवमादीनि षट्त्रिंशत् काव्यलक्षणानि ‘साम भेदः प्रदानं च’ इत्येवमादीनि सन्ध्यन्तराण्येक-विंशतिः उपमादिषु अलंकारेषु हर्षोत्साहादिषु च अन्तर्भावात् न पृथगुक्तानि ।’

Bhoja, in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (Vol. II, Chapter 12, p. 450 Mad. Ms.) while dealing with the technique of the drama gives first that the drama shall have 64 Lakṣaṇas.

लक्षणैश्च चतुष्पष्ट्या युक्तं कुर्वीत नाटकम् ।

He comes to the topic, Lakṣaṇa, on p. 524, first enumerates 64 of them, then defines and illustrates each. Bhoja is given to elaboration and he takes up some of the Anuṣṭubh list of 36, some of the Upajāti list of 36, adds a few which are his own and thus makes a good number of 64. Certain numbers have a destiny and in Bhoja's bulky writings, in his classifications, such numbers appear often. This chapter is called ‘प्रबन्धाङ्गचतुष्पष्टिचतुष्टयी’ dealing with 4 sets of 64 Aṅgas of the Prabandhas. Thus it is out of an artistic sense of uniformity that Bhoja made Lakṣaṇas also as 64. For Bhoja's list, see table at the end.

Bhoja is acquainted with both the lists of Bharata. His definitions are mostly reproductions from Bharata with slight variations. From the name of the chapter we are to take that Bhoja considers Lakṣaṇa as a प्रबन्धाङ्ग like सन्ध्यङ्ग, with which it is clubbed together and described. He generally says that they are for beautifying the work. At the end of his treatment of the Lakṣaṇas he says of them—

एतानि काव्यस्य विभूषणानि प्रायश्चतुष्पष्टिरुदाहृतानि ।

प्रबन्धशोभाकरणाय तज्ज्ञैः सम्यक् प्रयोज्यानि यथारसानि ॥

Bhoja takes Lakṣaṇas as features of dramas only. He tries to give us some distinction between the Lakṣaṇas and the Sandhyāṅgas. After illustrating the first Lakṣaṇa called Bhūṣaṇa, which is speech full of Alaṅkāras and Guṇas, he says—

“अत्र श्लेषोपमाप्रत्यक्षादिभिरलंकारैः श्लेषप्रसादसौकुमार्यादिभिश्च गुणै-  
रुपेतता द्रष्टव्या । एवं वक्ष्यमाणेष्वपि गुणालंकारा यथासंभवमूहनीयाः ।.....  
कारैश्च नियमो नारभ्यन्ते ? । सन्ध्यङ्गेषु तु गुणालंकारयोगो नो(ना)पेक्ष्यत  
इति ।”

The text is incomplete and corrupt. Bhoja means to say that just as the first Lakṣaṇa involves Guṇas and Alaṅkāras, so also the

others and it is this that differentiates Lakṣaṇas from Sandhyaṅgas which do not involve Guṇa or Alaṅkāra. This explanation is clever and shows us how many Lakṣaṇas look like Alaṅkāra but is against Bharata, who gave Bhūṣaṇa alone as 'profuse with Guṇas and Alaṅkāras' and never meant the extension of its nature to the other Lakṣaṇas also.

Śāradātanaya, in his Bhāvaprakāśa, deals with Lakṣaṇas in Chapter 8. In the Nāṭya Śāstra we see the Lakṣaṇa described as Bhūṣaṇa. 'प्रोक्तानि वै भूषणसंमितानि' 'एतानि वा काव्यविभूषणानि।' So some writers have called the Lakṣaṇas as Bhūṣaṇa also. There is propriety in this name from the point of view of function, since all the writers say that Lakṣaṇas adorn the Kāvya. Śāradātanaya calls them Bhūṣaṇas and gives them as one of the items in the technique of Nāṭaka. He says—'षट्त्रिंशद्भूषणाणि च': '36 Lakṣaṇas also'. But while enumerating and defining he gives 54. At the end again he mentions their total number as 64 and calls the Lakṣaṇa here as नाट्यालंकार. 'चतुष्पाद्विरलंकाराः कथिता नाटकाश्रयाः' p. 224. Gaek. ed. Thus, as in other places, Śāradātanaya makes a huge mess. Śāradātanaya's list contains Lakṣaṇas from both the lists. A few of them are new. 26 are from the Upajāti list and 14 are from the Anuṣṭubh list. The remaining 14 in the total of 54, are new. They are—

नयः, स्पृहा, अभिज्ञानम्, उद्देशः, नीतिः, अर्थविशेषणम्, निवेदनम्, परिवादः, उच्यमानः, परिहारः, आश्रयः, उक्तिः, देशः and प्रहर्षः ।

Two of these, स्पृहा and परिवादः are found in Bhoja's list. Śāradātanaya's definitions of the Lakṣaṇas are most of them brief adaptations of Bharata's definitions.

Jayadeva's Candrālōka is the only work on poetics which treats of Lakṣaṇas along with such topics as Guṇa and Alaṅkāra. It is curious how Lakṣaṇa found its way into this work of later times, not dealing with dramaturgy. Jayadeva is aware of the topic of Lakṣaṇa but is not sure of its nature or place in Kāvya. Even among the Lakṣaṇas, he gives with definitions and illustrations, only a few. Mayūkha 3 of the Candrālōka gives the following Lakṣaṇas:—

अक्षरसंहतिः, शोभा, अभिमानः, हेतुः, प्रतिषेधः, निरुक्तम्, मिथ्याध्यवसायः, सिद्धिः, युक्तिः and कार्यम्—all of the Upajāti list. It is remarkable how Jayadeva missed the very first Lakṣaṇa called Bhū-

ṣaṇa and the No. 36 also and gives only 10. Jayadeva's definitions of these are concise and more definite than those in Bharata and when we read these together with their illustrations, we cannot miss the fact that it is not very far from Lakṣaṇa to Alaṅkāra. In the last verse he briefly indicates the nature of Lakṣaṇa and says that Lakṣaṇas like the above given ten, are many.

इत्यादिलक्षणं भूरि काव्यस्याद्भुर्महर्षयः ।

स्वर्णभ्राजिष्णुभास्तुत्वप्रभृतीव महीभुजः ॥

Just as kings well-versed in the art of रत्नपरीक्षा speak of भ्राजिष्णुत्व, भास्तुत्व and other Lakṣaṇas for gold, so also sages speak of many such Lakṣaṇas for Kāvya.

Again, if we go through the 5th Mayūkha and its list of Alaṅkāras, numbering hundred, we find there, besides दृष्टान्त, निदर्शना, संशय and other names, associated in Bharata with Lakṣaṇas, which must have very early passed into the fold of Alaṅkāra, some of the above given 10 themselves are counted as Alaṅkāras. Thus we have मिथ्याध्यवसितिः, युक्तिः, निरुक्तिः, प्रतिषेधः and हेतुः. Among these, the illustration for मिथ्याध्यवसिति alaṅkāra in the Kuvalayānanda is an adaptation of that given for the Lakṣaṇa of the same name. The same illustration—'ईदृशैश्चरितैर्जने सत्यं दोषाकरो भवान्' is given for both निरुक्तिलक्षण and निरुक्त्यलंकार.

Śiṅga Bhūpāla also calls the Lakṣaṇa as Bhūṣaṇa. (Chap. 3, pp. 247—264. Triv. ed.) He considers them to be beautifying elements of the plot of the drama.

शरीरं वस्त्वलंकुर्यात् षट्त्रिंशद्भूषणैः स्फुटम् ।

He completely follows the Anuṣṭubh list with this minor difference that he calls लेश as लेख and gives the synonym मधुरभाषण for Bharata's प्रियं वचनम्. Śiṅga Bhūpāla takes Bharata's own definitions and compresses them in half verses. In some cases, as for instance in the definition of प्राप्ति, he is more definite than Bharata, by restricting a comprehensive idea to a particular case. His definitions of निदर्शनम्, विशेषणम्, पदोच्चयः, तुल्यतर्कः, तद्विपर्ययः, अतिशयः, गुणकीर्तनम् and माला are reproductions of Bharata's verses.

Viśvanātha, in Chapter six of his Śāhitya darpaṇa, treats of Lakṣaṇa. He gives the 36 of the Anuṣṭubh list with this difference that he gives Saṅkṣepa newly in the place of Kṣobha. Some of his definitions of these are succinct adaptations of Bharata's, while

some are reproductions of those of Bharata. He points out their existence in dramas with illustrations. He realises the logic of the attitude of the Daśarūpaka but is more loyal to Bharata, for the sake of whose words he takes that there should be 36 Lakṣaṇas in dramas. He says in the end—

“एषु केषांचित् गुणालंकारभावसन्ध्यङ्गविशेषान्तर्भावेऽपि नाटके प्रयत्नतः कार्यत्वात् विशेषोक्तिः” ।

Besides these 36 Lakṣaṇas, Viśvanātha has another set of similar items which he calls Nāṭyālaṅkāra. They are 33 in number. When we go through this list we find that most of them are the Lakṣaṇas themselves of the Upajāti list. Thus we find here आशीः, आक्रन्दः, कपटः, क्षमा, पश्चात्तापः, उपपत्तिः, प्रोत्साहनं, अभिमानः, अनुवर्तनं, याच्ना, आख्यानं and युक्ति, 12 from the Upajāti list of Lakṣaṇas. While dealing with Lakṣaṇas in that same name he used the Anuṣṭubh list with a small difference. He left out क्षोभ and had in its place संक्षेप. The Kṣobha left out there has entered this list of 33 Nāṭyālaṅkāras. The remaining 20 of this list are not available anywhere in the Nāṭya Śāstra. Among those Lakṣaṇas of the Upajāti list which are not common to the Anuṣṭubh list also, there are yet गुणानुवादः, मिथ्याध्यवसायः, प्रतिषेधः, निर्भासनं, कार्यं, अनुनीतिः and परिदेवनं, seven, which are not taken at all. The first writer who is now known to have first introduced new Lakṣaṇas is Bhoja. In his list of 64 which contains all the 36 of the Anuṣṭubh list and a few of the Upajāti list, he introduced 12 new Lakṣaṇas, स्पृहा, परिवादनं, मृषोद्यमः, छलोक्तिः, काकुः, उन्मादः, परिहासः, विक्रयनं, यदृच्छायोगः, वैषम्यं, प्रतिज्ञानं and प्रवृत्तिः. Of these 12, स्पृहा and परिवादः are the only two found in Śāradātanaya's list of 54. It is quite likely the text is not complete and Śāradātanaya who numbers Lakṣaṇas in the end as 64, took more of the above 12 of Bhoja. Viśvanātha follows Śāradātanaya and takes the following of Śāradātanaya's new Lakṣaṇas, उद्यमः, आश्रयः, स्पृहा, परिवादः, नीतिः, अर्थविशेषणं, परिहारः, निवेदनं and प्रहर्षः, numbering 9. The remaining eleven in the 20 are new additions made by Viśvanātha. They are गर्वः, उत्प्रासनं, आशंसा, अध्यवसायः, विसर्पः, उल्लेखः, उत्तेजनं, साहाय्यं, उत्कीर्तनं, प्रवर्तनं and उपदेशनम्. It is likely that some of these are really Śāradātanaya's, ten of whose 64 are now missing in the text.<sup>1</sup> Of these अध्यवसाय is said to be प्रतिज्ञानं by Viśvanātha.

1. Gaek. ed. pp. 223—226.

If so, it is not different from Bhoja's प्रतिज्ञानम्. उत्प्रासन which is explained as उपहास is the same as Bhoja's परिहास. उत्कीर्तन is unnecessary reduplication for it is described just as the other Nāṭyālaṅkāra called आख्यान, which is a Lakṣaṇa in Bharata's Upajāti list. There does not seem to be any distinction between उत्तेजनं and प्रोत्साहनम्. प्रवर्तन is nothing but Bhoja's प्रवृत्तिः. उपदेशन need not be a separate Nāṭyālaṅkāra, since he has already given a Lakṣaṇa called उपदिष्टम्.

Why is it that Viśvanātha made two separate topics as Lakṣaṇas and Nāṭyālaṅkāras and how? The material for him are the 2 sets of Lakṣaṇas in Bharata and those in Bhoja and Śāradātanaya. Viśvanātha took the Anuṣṭubh list to represent Lakṣaṇas and made out a 33 out of the Lakṣaṇas of the Upajāti list and of Śāradātanaya's list and called the latter Nāṭyālaṅkāra. Viśvanātha perhaps wanted to stick to the number '36' given in Bharata Śāradātanaya says at the end of his treatment of Lakṣaṇas—

चतुष्पष्टिरलंकाराः कथिता नाटकाश्रयाः ।

This use of the words 'Alaṅkāras of Nāṭaka' gave a convenient title under which, with a claim to be more neat and to have introduced a new item, Viśvanātha could put all the other Lakṣaṇas. As far as we can see now, Nāṭyālaṅkāra is first seen in Viśvanātha.<sup>1</sup> Jagaddhara who takes this name applies it to Lakṣaṇas themselves which will agree with what Śāradātanaya has actually said. Further Viśvanātha seems to have thought that he could easily interpret the word Alaṅkāra in the following verses of Bharata which he quotes here, as Nāṭyālaṅkāra, whereas, it refers only to figures of speech.

षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणोपेतमलंकारोपशोभितम् ।

\* \* \* \* \*

मृदुशब्दाभिधानं च कविः कुर्यात्तु नाटकम् ॥

1. Mātrgupta seems to be the first to speak of the Nāṭyālaṅkāra. We see it mentioned in his definition of Nāṭaka, as also the Vibhūṣaṇa (*i.e.*) Lakṣaṇa, as quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Śākuntala.

प्रकृत्यवस्थासन्ध्यङ्गसन्ध्यन्तरविभूषणैः ।

नाट्यालंकरणैर्नानाभाषायुक्पात्रसञ्चयैः ।

नाटकं नाम तज्ज्ञेयं रूपकं नाट्यवेदिभिः ॥



Viśvanātha realises also that Nāṭyālaṅkāra is not much different from Lakṣaṇa and that both again, to speak boldly are unnecessary, since they turn out to be either Bhāvas, Alaṅkāras or Sandhyaṅgas.

“एषां च लक्षणं (ण) नाट्यालंकाराणां सामान्यत एकरूपत्वेऽपि भेदेन व्यपदेशः गङ्गुलिकाप्रवाहेण । एषु च केषांचित् गुणालंकारभावसन्ध्यङ्ग-विशेषान्तर्भवेऽपि नाटके प्रयत्नतः कर्तव्यत्वात् विशेषोक्तिः ।”

Talking of the function of Nāṭyālaṅkāra he says—  
‘नाट्यभूषणहेतवः’, which vague description is further argument for what we have said just above.

#### IX-B

Taking Lakṣaṇa as a feature of drama only is a view narrower than the one attached to that word. Bhoja, Śāradātanaya, Śiṅga-bhūpāla and Viśvanātha have narrowed it further by mentioning them only in Nāṭaka, the first and best form of drama. Coming to commentators on dramas, Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Śākuntala criticises Dhanika for the inclusion of the 36 Lakṣaṇas in Alaṅkāras and Bhāvas. He quotes the authority of the Abhinava Bhāratī for proving the difference of Lakṣaṇa from these and promises to indicate the Lakṣaṇas in the Śākuntala in the course of his commentary. The list of 36 Lakṣaṇas is quoted by him from Mātrgupta. This long passage and discussion on Lakṣaṇa is found only in the Nirṇaya Sāgar edition of Rāghava Bhaṭṭa’s commentary and of the Śākuntala. The edition of Mr. Kale, without any discussion at all, points out the first Lakṣaṇa called ‘Bhūṣaṇa’ as being present in the portion upto the verse of Act I ‘यदालके सूक्ष्मं’ etc. Rāghava Bhaṭṭa is not so enthusiastic over Lakṣaṇa as he goes further, for he points out only 9 of them in Act I, none in Act II, only 2 in Act III, none in Acts IV and V, only one in Act VI and only two in the last Act. These are the Lakṣaṇas he points out—भूषणं, अभिप्रायः, प्रसिद्धिः, निरुक्तं, पदोच्चयः, उदाहरणं, अनुक्तसिद्धिः, निदर्शनं, दृष्टं, माला, मनोरथः, हेतुः अक्षरसङ्घातः and अनुनयः, numbering fourteen. The definitions he gives for some of these are from Śiṅgabhūpāla. These Lakṣaṇas he points out just in those places which Śiṅgabhūpāla himself has given as illustrations.

Jagaddhara in his ṭikā on the Mālatīmādhava indicates 4 Lakṣaṇas in Act III and 2 in Act IV. He gives their definitions

which resemble, but are not exactly those in Bharata. These 6 are पृच्छा, पश्चात्तापः, आख्यानं, निदर्शनं, माला and प्रसिद्धिः. These are from both the Anuṣṭubh and the Upajāti lists. He calls them as Nāṭyālaṅkāra.

Rucipati, in his commentary on the Anargharāghava, points out 2 Lakṣaṇas in Act IV, calling them by the name Nāṭyālaṅkāra. These 2 are अभिमान and छलेक्ति (p. 157 and p. 182, Nir. ed.). He also quotes definitions for these two under the name, Bharata. The definitions are not from Bharata. The second, छलेक्ति is no Lakṣaṇa in Bharata. Bhoja is the first to give it. Thus Rucipati follows some unknown writer who followed Bhoja but substituted the name Nāṭyālaṅkāra for Lakṣaṇa.

Rājānaka Ratnākara, in his insatiable love for Śleṣa, introduces the Nāṭyaśāstra very often in his Haravijaya. In the penultimate verse (57) of Canto. XXI. he describes a Nāṭaka, through श्लिष्टोपमा where he mentions Lakṣaṇa.

इति रसपोषयुक्तिमदनुज्झितवृत्तिगुणव्यपाश्रयं  
प्रथितशुभाङ्गलक्षणं अपूर्वकृतिप्रवणात्मतां दधत् ।  
कविरिव नाटकम् ॥” K. M. ed. p 286.

Rājānaka Alaka says in his commentary here—

“अंगानि सन्धीनामवयवाः, ‘उपक्षेपः परिकरः \* \* \* पारिभावना’  
इत्यादयः[।] चतुष्पष्टिः(ः) लक्ष्याणि(ः) (लक्षणानि) ‘विभूषणं चाक्षरसंहतिश्च  
\* \* \* गुणाभिमानोऽतिशयः सहेतुः’ इत्यादीनि षट्त्रिंशत् काव्य-  
व्यवस्थास्थापकानि ।”

Ratnākara refers to Lakṣaṇas as a feature of the Nāṭaka. Alaka follows the Upajāti list. We cannot get much out of his vague explanation of the nature of Lakṣaṇas as काव्यव्यवस्थास्थापक ; but we see that he followed Bharata and held them as features of Kāvya and not of Nāṭaka only.

## X

Now, coming to Bharata's own idea of Lakṣaṇa,—he says after treating of the metres—

‘काव्यबन्धास्तु कर्तव्याः षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणान्विताः ।’

In the end he says ‘एतानि वा काव्यविभूषणानि’ and ‘काव्ये प्रयोज्यानि’. Again he says:

‘एभिर्यक्रियापेक्षैः कार्यं काव्यं तु लक्षणैः ।’

From these we are sure that Bharata meant Lakṣaṇa as Abhinava and Tauta took it, to be a feature of Kāvya in general and not of drama only as all the above mentioned writers on dramaturgy took it. Bharata meant it to be on a par with Alaṅkāra and Guṇa as a feature of Kāvya in general and not as peculiar to dramas alone. The second idea that we cannot miss in Bharata is that Lakṣaṇas, though different from Alaṅkāras, are themselves also another species of beautifying factors. In this capacity they are called 'Vibhūṣaṇa'.

‘एतानि वा काव्यविभूषणानि ।’ ‘प्रोक्तानि वै भूषणसंमितानि ।’

Bharata does not illustrate the 36 Lakṣaṇas, as he does the Alaṅkāras. Nor does he make any attempt to differentiate them from Alaṅkāras. He gives only three Arthālaṅkāras, Upamā, Rūpaka and Dīpaka. He indicates 5 sub-classes of Upamā. Bhaṭṭa Tauta has taken that the manifoldness of Alaṅkāra is achieved by combining Alaṅkāras with the Lakṣaṇas. As for instance, he says that the Upamā called प्रशंसोपमा is got by combining the Alaṅkāra Upamā with the Lakṣaṇa called गुणानुवादः; that अतिशयोक्त्यलंकार is got by combining उपमा and the Lakṣaṇa called अतिशय. Such ingenuity is all Tauta's own. Bharata does not indicate this. He simply says that he has pointed out five kinds of Upamā and that the intelligent must take other varieties from काव्य and लोक.

उपमाया बुधैरेते भेदा ज्ञेया समासतः ।

शेषा ये लक्षणैर्नोक्ताः ते प्राह्याः काव्यलोकतः ॥

Nor in his definition of प्रशंसोपमा does Bharata indicate anything like what Tauta has said. Bharata really does not propose to himself the task of distinguishing the concept of Lakṣaṇa from Alaṅkāra. From what we see in this chapter, (i.e.) the 17th, in his time, the concept of Lakṣaṇa had much development, while that of Alaṅkāra was in its infancy. The fecundity of the latter that has produced a breed of more than a hundred Alaṅkāras is not seen in Bharata. But many of these later Alaṅkāras have their counterpart in Lakṣaṇas. The Lakṣaṇas had developed separately as adorning features, independently of Alaṅkāras, and in themselves they constitute a double personality. When we critically examine the 36 Lakṣaṇas, they fall into two classes. One class of them looks like Alaṅkāra, being mere turns of expression.

As a matter of fact we have actually Lakṣaṇas with the names of some of the later Alaṅkāras themselves. As for example, संशयः (सन्देहः), दृष्टान्तः, निदर्शनं, निरुक्तं, अतिशयः, विशेषणं, अर्थापत्तिः and लेशः. There is also हेतु. It is another matter that the definitions of these are not exactly the same as in later Alaṅkāra works. Besides, the 2 Lakṣaṇas उदाहरणं and सारूप्यं involve उपमालंकार. The former looks like अर्थान्तरन्यासालंकार. The definition of तुल्यतर्क contains the mention of रूपक and उपमा as part of that Lakṣaṇa. In their definitions, विचार and तद्विपर्यय involve Sandeha and Ullekha. The definition of प्राप्ति makes it the काव्यलिङ्गालङ्कार.

दृष्टैवावयवान् काश्चिद्भावो यत्रानुमीयते ।

प्राप्तिं तामपि जानीयाल्लक्षणं नाटकाश्रयम् ॥

The Lakṣaṇa called अभिप्राय contains सादृश्यपरिकल्पनम्.

The Lakṣaṇa called लेश is quite different from the Alaṅkāra of that name. Leśālaṅkāra is thus defined by Bhoja—

दोषस्य यो गुणीभावो दोषीभावो गुणस्य यः ।

स लेशः स्यात्ततो नान्या व्याजस्तुतिरपीष्यते ॥

The Lakṣaṇa called गुणातिपात corresponds to this. It is thus defined :

गुणाभिधानैर्विविधैर्विपरीतार्थयोजितैः ।

गुणातिपातो मधुरो निष्ठुरार्थो भवेदथ ॥

The Lakṣaṇa called लेश is said to be a clever speech suggesting through the mention of a similar thing—‘सदृशार्थविनिष्पन्नः’. The Lakṣaṇa, पदोच्चय involves the Alaṅkāra समुच्चय. The Lakṣaṇa called दृष्ट becomes दिष्ट in Bhoja, Sāradātanaya and Viśvanātha. As Bharata has described it, it is only स्वभावोक्त्यलङ्कार. The Lakṣaṇa called माला is an element which has been associated with many माला varieties of Alaṅkāras like मालारूपक etc. We can see the value of Bhaṭṭa Tāta's suggestion in such cases. The Lakṣaṇa called मनोरथ has in its definition the word ‘अन्यापदेश’ and is actually only अन्यापदेश of later literature i.e., अन्योक्ति.

हृदयार्थस्य वाक्यस्य गूढार्थस्य विभावकम् ।

अन्यापदेशैः कथनं मनोरथ इति स्मृतः ॥

(The Lakṣaṇa called श्लोभ is दोष in the definition.) प्रसिद्धि looks like उदात्तालङ्कार and प्रियं वचनं is nothing but प्रयोऽलङ्कार or चाटु. Thus one class of the Lakṣaṇas are clearly Alaṅkāras or at least approximations to them or light shades of Alaṅkāras to be mixed with many a major Alaṅkāra. Abhinava realises this when he calls Lakṣaṇas as उक्तिवैचित्र्यरूप and अलङ्कारानुग्राहक. This class of Lakṣaṇas is really a supplementary list to the 3 Alaṅkāras of Bharata. The seeds of many of the later Alaṅkāras are available among these Lakṣaṇas. Leaving aside the stage represented by the Candrālōka in which Lakṣaṇas like मिथ्याध्यवसाय, युक्ति and प्रतिषेध have become Alaṅkāras, we can take that very early, some of the Lakṣaṇas passed into the fold of Alaṅkāra. Bhaṭṭa Tauta's view may suggest this historical fact. We have other clear evidences on this point. आशीः a Lakṣaṇa of the Upajāti list is an Alaṅkāra in Bhaṭṭi and we can see it in its transition from Lakṣaṇa to Alaṅkāra. Bhāmaha mentions indifferently that it is an Alaṅkāra according to some (III. 55). Similarly, हेतुः a Lakṣaṇa in both the lists of Bharata, can be seen in its stage of transition into Alaṅkāra in Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Bhāmaha refuses to accept it as Alaṅkāra since it is devoid of Vakrokti (II. 86). Some pre-Bhāmaha writer must have made it an Alaṅkāra. Bhāmaha points out that only definite and remarkable turns of expression must be named Alaṅkāra. But soon, since it was the palmy days of Alaṅkāras when many things entered its fold, we find Daṇḍin asserting that हेतु is a great Alaṅkāra, 'उत्तमभूषण'. आशीः is an Alaṅkāra, firmly established, in Daṇḍin. But poor Hetu had a chequered career<sup>1</sup>. The name Nāṭyālaṅkāra seems to have helped some of the Lakṣaṇas to become Alaṅkāras. The evolution of Alaṅkāras from 3 in Bharata to what we have in Bhāmaha is an interesting study but the gap is all darkness. We feel that in that stage of the history of Alaṅkāra, the concept of Lakṣaṇa and the merging of most of it in Alaṅkāra is a big chapter.

But we must be clear as regards this point : in the first class of Lakṣaṇas which are mere turns of expressions there are various

1. Vide Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa and Mammaṭa.

grades. Certain are Alaṅkāras plainly; certain have an element of Alaṅkāra in them while certain are more than Alaṅkāra. The last mentioned cases are few but they indicate that Lakṣaṇa in Bharata is more comprehensive than Alaṅkāra. As for instance, the first Lakṣaṇa called 'Bhūṣaṇa' applies to a case which is specially decorated with profuse Alaṅkāras and Guṇas. It seems Bhūṣaṇa is a name for a चित्रकाव्य. Many others contain औपम्य only as a small element.

The other set of Lakṣaṇas show a different character. They are not 'उक्तिवैचित्र्यरूप'. उपदिष्टं, भ्रंशः, अनुनयः, दाक्षिण्यं, गर्हणं, पृच्छा, क्षोभः etc., belong to this class. The Upajāti list contains mostly Lakṣaṇas of this class, viz.) प्रोत्साहनं, आक्रन्दनं, आख्यानं, प्रतिषेधः, क्षमा, पश्चात्तपनं, अनुवृत्तिः, अनुनीतिः, परिदेवनं etc. Most of these are Bhāvas or actions resulting from certain Bhāvas. There is thus logic in the view which takes the Lakṣaṇas as minor Sandhyaṅgas. But this view cannot hold good to the other class of Alaṅkāra-like Lakṣaṇas. But, as a matter of fact, many of later Alaṅkāras also are only Bhāvas and need not have been introduced at all. So also, there are many Sandhyaṅgas and Vṛtṭyaṅgas which are either Bhāvas or only Alaṅkāras.

Bharata himself seems to be conscious of this double personality of his Lakṣaṇas when he says at the end of the section on Alaṅkāras—

एमिरर्थक्रियापेक्षैः कार्यं काव्यं तु लक्षणैः ।

Some Lakṣaṇas are अर्थपेक्ष. These are turns of expression those of the first class, related closely to Alaṅkāra. Others are क्रियापेक्ष. These are related to Bhāvas and form the second class. Thus the two main lines of thought in the दशपक्षी given in the Abhinava Bhāratī hold good as regards these two aspects of Lakṣaṇas respectively. There will be much 'Kleśa' to make all Lakṣaṇas look like turns of expression or factors of natural grace. So also to make all Lakṣaṇas look like सन्ध्यङ्गक or इतिवृत्तखण्डलक. Extremists with the aid of grammar, can however achieve their point. The Daśarūpaka realised these points and most logically included part of them in Alaṅkāras and part in Bhāvas.

Table of several lists of Lakṣanas.

Anuṣṭubh list of  
Bharata.

Those of the  
Anuṣṭubh list  
found in the Upa-  
jāti list of Bhara-  
ta.

New Lakṣanas of the Upajāti  
list, indicating within brack-  
ets how Abhinava includes  
in these, those of Anuṣṭubh  
list which are left out. Bh. =  
contained in Bhoja's list. Śā.  
= contained in Śāradātana-  
ya's list.

1. भूषणं ...
2. अक्षरसङ्घातः ...
3. शोभा ...
4. उदाहरणं ...
5. हेतुः ...
6. संशयः ...
7. दृष्टान्तः ...
8. प्राप्तिः ...
9. अभिप्रायः (आ-  
शयः—Bhoja) ...
10. निदर्शनं ...
11. निरुक्तं ...
12. सिद्धिः ...
13. विशेषणं ...
14. गुणातिपातः ...
15. अतिशयः ...
16. तुल्यतर्कः ...
17. पदोच्चयः ...
18. दृष्टं (दिष्टं—  
Bhoja) ...
19. उपदिष्टं ...
20. विचारः ...
21. तद्विपर्ययः ...
22. अंशः (संभ्रमः  
Śā.)
23. अनुनयः ...
24. माला ...
25. दाक्षिण्यं ...
26. गह्वणं ...
27. अर्थोपपत्तिः ...
28. प्रसिद्धिः ...
29. पृच्छा ...
30. सारूप्यं ...
31. मनोरथः ...
32. लेशः (लेखः—  
Śā.)

1. विभूषणं
2. अक्षरसंहितं
3. शोभा
7. उदाहरणं
11. हेतुः
24. संशयः
22. दृष्टान्तः
29. प्राप्तिः
8. निरुक्तं
14. सिद्धिः
10. अतिशयः
15. पदोच्चयः
21. पृच्छा
12. सारूप्यं
17. मनोरथः

4. अभिमानः (Bh.) (Śā.)  
(सारूप्यं or सादृश्यं)
6. प्रेत्साहनं 'प्रियं वचनं' though  
enumerated, it is not defined.  
In its place, we have विशेष-  
णं of the Anuṣṭubh list defi-  
ned (Bh.) (Śā.)
9. गुणानुवादः (Bh.) (Śā.)
13. मिथ्याध्यवसायः  
(विचारः and विपर्ययः)
16. आक्रन्दः (Bh.) (Śā.)  
(तुल्यतर्कः)
18. आख्यानं (Bh.) (गुणाख्यानं-  
Śā.)  
(प्रसिद्धिः)
19. याच्ञा (Bh.) (Śā.)  
(दाक्षिण्यं)
20. प्रतिषेधः (Bh.)  
(लेशः)
23. निर्भत्सनं, हासनं A.G. (Bh.)  
(माला)
25. आशीः (Bh.) (Śā.)  
(निदर्शनं) deal with this.
27. कपटं A.G. does not (Bh.)  
(Śā.)
28. क्षमा (Bh.) (Śā.)  
(विशेषणं)
30. पश्चात्तपनं (Bh.) (Śā.)
31. अर्थानुवृत्तिः, अनुवृत्तिः A.G  
(अनुनयः) (Bh.) (Śā.)
32. उपपत्तिः (Bh.) (Śā.)  
(उपदिष्टं)
33. युक्तिः (Bh.) (Śā.)  
(अभिप्रायः)
34. कार्यं (also called) गह्वणं A.  
G. (Bh.) (Śā.)

33. क्षोभः or दोषः		(अर्थापत्तिः)
34. गुणकीर्तनं ...	5. गुणकीर्तनं	35. अनुनीतिः
35. अनुक्तसिद्धिः, or सिद्धिः ...		(Once more here प्रसिद्धिः)
36. प्रियं वचनं	21. प्रियं	36. परिदेवनं
	Total common with the Anuṣṭu- bh list—17	(क्षोभः and अनुक्तसिद्धिः) In the 26th, प्रियं he includes अशं: and गर्हणं.

New Lakṣaṇas of Bhoja. Śā. = contained in Śāradātanaya's list. Viś.  
= Viśvanātha.

1. स्पृहा (Śā) (Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viś.)
2. परिवादनं (Śā.)
3. मृषावमः (उद्यमः) (Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viś.)
4. छलोक्तिः
5. काङ्क्षः
6. उन्मादः
7. परिहासः (उत्प्रासनं Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viś.)
8. विकथनं
9. यदृच्छायोगः
10. वैषम्यं
11. प्रतिज्ञानं (प्रतिज्ञाध्यवसायः) (Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viś.)
12. प्रवृत्तिः (प्रवर्तनं Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viś.)

New Lakṣaṇas of Śāradātanaya. Nā. Viś. = Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viśva-  
nātha.

1. नयः (may be Anunaya of Bharata)
2. अभिज्ञानं
3. उद्देशः
4. नीतिः (Nā. A. Viś.)
5. अर्थविशेषणं (may be Bharata's विशेषणं) (Nā. A. Viś.)
6. निवेदनं (Nā. A. Viś.)
7. परिहारः
8. आश्रयः (Nā. A. Viś.)
9. उक्तिः
10. देशः
11. प्रहर्षः (Nā. A. Viś.)

New Nāṭyālaṅkāras of Viśvanātha, names which are not Lakṣaṇas  
in Bharata's Upajāti or Anuṣṭubh lists, or in those of Bhoja, and  
Śāradātanaya.

1. गर्वः
2. आशंसा
3. विसर्पः
4. उल्लेखः
5. उत्तेजनं
6. साहाय्यं
7. उत्कीर्तनं

Note. In Lakṣaṇas, Viśvanātha has a new one  
called संक्षेपः instead of क्षोभ of the Anuṣṭubh lists.  
This क्षोभ is made a Nāṭyālaṅkāra. Certain Lakṣaṇas  
of the Anuṣṭubh list themselves are made Nāṭyālaṅ-  
kāra with a slight change in name. ex. उपदिष्टलक्षणं and  
उपदेशननाट्यालंकारः ।



## ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN CŌḶA TIMES AS SEEN IN THE PERIYAPURĀṆAM.

BY

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In the history of Indian administrative institutions, the autonomous village assembly under the Cōḷas in the country of the Tamils forms an illuminating chapter of no small interest. Numerous lithic records and copper-plate grants of their times allude to these bodies under a variety of names, as the *sabhā* (assembly), the *mahāsabhā* (great assembly), the *peruṇ-kuripperumakkaḷ* (assembly of the great distinguished), the *mūla-paraḍaiyar* (chief assembly), the *ūrār* (villagers), the *nagarattār*<sup>1</sup> (citizens), the *ālumgaṇattār* (governing assembly), etc., etc. A few of the inscriptions, like those of Uttaramallūr and Ukkal, Tennēri and Tirupārkaḍal, are, luckily, fuller in their details of the machinery of the village administration, the qualification of the members of the assembly and the scope of its jurisdiction.<sup>2</sup> The popular organisation of the village and the freedom enjoyed by it in the conduct of internal affairs are in keeping with "the custom of Indian rulers to leave affairs as far as possible in the hands of local authorities"<sup>3</sup> and, therefore, in no way unique, though more perfectly developed in the South than elsewhere in India.

Of the many and varied functions of the local bodies, administration of justice in their respective limits was an important one. There is, indeed, no doubt that they exercised civil as well as magisterial powers. But it is not clear in what manner

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1. The term '*nagarattār*' is usually rendered as a 'guild of merchants' as for *e.g.*, in Kacchippedu inscription in p. 268 of S. I. I. Vol. 3. pt. 3 though its plain meaning is 'townsmen' as distinguished from '*ūrār*' or villagers.

2. A. S. I. 1904-05, pp. 136-142; No. 6 of S. I. I. Vol. 3, pt. 1, 240 and 241 of 1922, and Nos. 99 and 156 of S. I. I. Vol. 3, pt. 3.

3. Hopkins in C. H. I. Vol. 1, p. 268.

this responsible duty was discharged, whether the whole assembly sat as the court of justice or a smaller committee of it, how the trial was conducted and so on. I am aware that Mr. Venkayya speaks of a "committee for the supervision of justice" in connexion with the two well-known Uttaramallur inscriptions. But this rendering of the phrase "*dhanma-kṛtyam-kaḍaikkāṇum-vāriyaṟ*" is a little strained as its obvious meaning seems to be the committee for the supervision of charities. So it is highly dubious whether it was a specialised judicial institution.

Sometimes one comes across the word '*dharmāsana*' in the Cōla records. It is indifferently translated as 'council of justice' or 'court of justice'<sup>1</sup>. Self-imposed fines for the obstruction of charities or for violation of agreements were paid to the *dharmāsana*. To quote a passage from an inscription of Pārthivēndra-varman at Paḍi: "If this be violated we (the members of the assembly) agree to pay a penalty of one *kalañju* of gold to be credited to the *dharmāsana*"<sup>2</sup>. Was it a distinctively constituted body? What was its relation to the village assembly? There is no authority to prove that it was a court apart from the assembly. There is not a single case on record as having been tried by this court. But, on the other hand, we are able to gather from a number of epigraphs that the assembly adjudicated upon actions brought before it. In one instance the Brahmins and *nāṭṭār* assembled and decided that the accused in a case of accidental homicide should provide for a perpetual lamp in the local temple in expiation of his crime; in another it was the *periyānāṭṭār* who formed the judges; in a third it was the *bhaṭṭas*; and in a fourth it was the people of several districts. Therefore it is evident that usually the judicial authority was exercised by the whole assembly and the *dharmāsana* might have been the assembly in its judicial aspect. In this connexion it may be interesting to note that Aḍiyārkkunallār—in his commentary on the *Śilappadikāram* uses the term '*dharmāsanattār*' to designate the interpreters of *Dharmaśāstras*.<sup>3</sup> Further we have the authority of the ancient law-givers like Brhaspati and Nārada that *kula*, *śreṇi*, and *gaṇa* were invested with the power to decide law-suits.<sup>4</sup>

1. S. I. I. Vol. 3. pt. 3, Nos. 116 and 181.

2. *ibid.* 181.

3. *Śilappadikāram*, Aḍaikkalakāthai, commentary on 11, 54-75.

4. S. B. E. Vol. XXIII, pp. 6 and 281.

Not even one of these precious documents throws any helpful light on the actual working of the *sabhās* as courts of law. It is here that contemporary literature enables the historian to fill in the details of the picture. Śēkkiḷār<sup>1</sup> in his *Periyaṭṭurāṇam*, taking advantage of the episode of the quarrel between Lord Śiva and saint Sundara in the *Taṭuttāṭṭaṇḍa-purāṇam*, proceeds to describe the trial scene in all its details, thus incidentally giving us a glimpse into the manner in which the village assembly had gone about its judicial business. As Śēkkiḷār was intimately associated with the Cōḷa administration in the capacity of a minister, his account is of great value.

Before giving here a translation of the relevant passages from the *Periyaṭṭurāṇam* it is necessary to sketch the events leading up to the trial of the case of Śiva *versus* Sundara. Sundara was born of Ādiśaiva Brahmin parents at Tirunāvalūr in Tirumunaippāḍināḍu and brought up by one Narasinga Munayadaraiyar, the lord of that country. In course of time Sundara attaining adolescence, it was arranged that he should marry the daughter of a Brahmin of Puttūr, a village near by. On the appointed day Sundara was taken to the bride's house and seated under the gaily decorated pavilion in the midst of the assembled guests. Just then, a Brahmin bent double with age and a furrowed face stood up and, to the confusion of all, peremptorily forbade the performance of the marriage, alleging that Sundara was his bond-slave. To prove his claim he also presented an old palm-leaf document of bondage purporting to have been executed by the grandfather of Sundara.<sup>2</sup> The suddenness with which this surprise was sprung upon Sundara upsetting him, he forcibly snatched the hapless document from the old man and tore it into pieces. The mysterious claimant raised a hue and cry; whereupon Sundara

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1. The generally accepted view about the date of Śēkkiḷār is the middle of the 12th century A. D. Against this Mr. Desikar in his booklet called "Iru Śaivaśikāmaṇikaḷ" holds that he lived in the reign of Gaṅgaikondāṇ in the beginning of the 11th century. For our present purpose this difference of opinion does not much matter as we are concerned more with the Cōḷa period as a whole than with any individual reign.

2. In this act the God is violating an injunction of the *dharma-śāstras*. Bṛhaspati lays down the rule that the plaintiff 'is not permitted to put under restraint a person engaged in study, nor one about to marry.' S. B. E. Vol. XXIII, p. 288.

suggested that they had better go before the assembly of Tiruveṇṇeynallūr, the old man's native place, and represented the matter. Here begins Śēkkiḷār's description.

*The declaration: (Taṭuttāṭkoṇḍa-purāṇam.)*

V. 51. Having gone before the big assembly radiant with the best of Vedic scholars, the Brahmin said: "This Ārūrar of Nāvalūr after having torn the palm-leaf which I showed him to prove that he is my slave has now proceeded to you. This is my plaint."

V. 52. The great elders of the assembly remarked, "What did you say, Sir? Never in this wide, wide world are the Brahmins enslaved."<sup>1</sup> The Absolute One replied, "Is not my suit plausible? In fact, the palm-leaf he has torn was executed by his father's father."

*The answer of the defendant.*

V. 53. The great men of the assembly (turned to Ārūra) and said, "Because he has shown you the deed, willingly given by your ancestor, is it a triumph to snatch it and slit it? This ancient man has made his plaint properly: what are you going to say?"

V. 54. "O, thou who art learned in all Śāstras, you all know me as an Ādiśaiva. But if this Brahmin would assert that I am his slave, I confess, it is an illusion beyond my comprehension. I cannot understand this. What am I going to say?" So said the brooding youth.

*Deliberation regarding the onus probandi.*

Verses 55 and 56. Nambi Ārūra having made his statement before the assembly, the Vedic Brahmins of unsullied character turned to the Great Ascetic of the Vedas, and said "You have to day claimed this man as your bondsman; you must prove it. Of the three kinds of evidence, viz., usage, documents and eye-witnesses, bring at least one."<sup>2</sup> To which the Master of Māyā

1. This objection of the assembly is borne out by Viṣṇu (S. B. E. Vol. VII, p. 37). He says, 'He who commits members of the Brāhmaṇa caste to slavery shall pay the highest amercement.'

2. "ஆட்சியில் ஆவணத்தில், அன்றி மற்றையவலார் தங்கள் காட்சியின் மூன்றில் ஒன்று காட்டுவாய்." (Periya-).

Bṛhaspati speaks of three kinds of evidence. 'It consists of witnesses, writings and inference.' S. B. E. XXIII. p. 297. Custom is defined by him as follows: 'Whatever is practised by a man proper or improper in accordance with local usage is termed *caritra* (custom)'. *ibid.* p. 7.

replied, "The palm-leaf he has torn before in anger is only a true copy; the original is still with me. I can show it." "Then do show it here" demanded the great men of the assembly.

V. 57. "I will show it if you can guarantee its safety" said the Brahmin. "We shall see that no harm comes to it" assured the well-to-do Brahmins. The Saviour took the document to them.

*Examination of the document.*

V. 58. Seeing the palm-leaf in the hand of Nilakaṇṭha, the village accountant,<sup>1</sup> on the bidding of the assembly, received it with a respectful bow, uncoiled it and, observing its apparent antiquity, read it out to the clear-headed assembly (as follows).

V. 59. "This is the deed<sup>2</sup> of Ādiśaiva Ārūra, the Vedic Brahmin of Nāvalūr, willingly and knowingly executed (in favour of) the Great Pittaṇ of Veṇṇeyallūr (to show) that I and my descendants, from generation to generation, are bound to serve him This is my hand."

V. 60. Having listened to it and after the subscribing witnesses<sup>3</sup> had scrutinized their signatures and agreed that they were unquestionably theirs, the unerring Brahmins told Nambi, "Sir, do look into this carefully and find if this is your grandfather's hand."

V. 61. The Brahmins thus directing Nambi, the All-giver who saves men unsolicited said, "Is he fit to examine this document? (Instead) if there be any other document in the hand of his

1. 'The office of accountant seems to be a fixture in every village and town assembly. Frequent references to him are found in the inscriptions. The following may be cited here :—

S. I. I. Vol. 1. No. 40. "இந்நகரத்து கரணத்தான்".

Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXIV. p. 266. "இவ்வூர் மத்தியஸ்தன் கரணத்தான்".

S. I. I. Vol. 3. pt. 3. No. 130. "ஒரு நொந்தா விளக்கெரிய கரணிகரிடை வைத்த".

2. A deed of bondage is defined by Bṛhaspati as follows: "That document which a person, destitute of clothes and food, executes in a wilderness, stating, 'I will do your work' is termed a deed of bondage" *ibid.* p. 305.

3. "A subscribing witness" says Nārada, "is one by whom a document is attested." S. B. E. XXIII. p. 80.

father's father you will do well to compare the writing of this with that and give your finding."

V. 62. The assembled Brahmins, accordingly, called for another record in the hand of Nambi's grandfather, which was in safe-keeping, and compared it with the document (in question) and said, "The one resembles the other; no more can be done."

*The decision.*

V. 63. "O, Nambi Ārūra, you have lost your case: you are bound to serve this Ascetic, the Master of Four Vedas." So concluded the great men of distinguished character, "If this be your judgement" said Nambi, "is it possible for me to protest that I cannot abide by it?"

V. 64. The wealthy Brahmins turned to the Ascetic standing there and enquired, "Great Ascetic, in that document you are said to be a native of our proud village. If so please let us see your ancestral house and your estate."

V. 65. The meritorious Ascetic, who had won the strange case, said, "Follow me, if none of you can recognize me." So saying he marched into the sanctuary of the temple followed by Nambi and the great men of the village assembly, who were astonished to find the old man nowhere.

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## THE MADURAI CHRONICLES AND THE TAMIL ACADEMIES.

BY

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V

The Tamil *Kūḍal Purāṇam* begins with the usual Invocations, Benedictions, Apologies and Conspectuses and also Descriptions of the River, the Land and the City, but the only point in them all which is of interest to the historian is the mention of two outstanding figures of Vaiṣṇavism,—Rāmānuja the great philosopher, and the saint Śaṭha-kōpa who 'vanquished the Tamil Academy'.<sup>1</sup> The Chronicle embodies twelve Accounts<sup>2</sup> taken out of the Kṣētra Māhātmya Khāṇḍa of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, revealed once upon a time by Viṣṇu to Brahmā by whom it was revealed to Nārada who in turn revealed it to Vyāsa. It falls into four Sections, each dealing with the events of a yuga.

The first Section treats of the events of the Kṛta age,—how Vyāsa, questioned by ascetics about Madurai (Kūḍal), expatiated on its sanctity, how a temple of the *aṣṭāṅga-vimāna* type, built by Viśvakarmā and dedicated to Viṣṇu, stands at Madurai on the southern bank of the Kṛta-mālā (Vēgavatī), how Śiva, cursed by Dakṣa-Prajāpati, had grown love-mad, having become enamoured of Pārvatī, how to obtain her Śiva stationed Himself to the north-east of the *aṣṭāṅga-vimāna* and engaged in severe austerities to earn the good-will of Viṣṇu, and how, moved thereto by Brahmā and other gods, Viṣṇu contrived to bring about the marriage of Śiva with Pārvatī, how to the north-east of Viṣṇu's temple lies the Pool of the Seven Seas, so called because by bathing in it Mārkaṇḍēya obtained the merit of having bathed in all the seven seas, and how Kāśyapa and others obtained boons from Viṣṇu by bathing in another pool in the vicinity.

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1. *Kaḍavuḷ Vaṇakkam*, 12-3.

2. Accounts 82-93.

The next Section tells of the Trêta age. The Viṣṇu of Kūḍal directed His devotee, the emperor Pṛthu, to worship Him at Kūḍal and at the Elephant Mount, and assured him of salvation, and brought relief to the sages of Naimiśāranya by killing an asura, Kālanēmi.

Events of the Dvāpara yuga are narrated in the next Section. Viṣṇu manifesting Himself as Yōga-Narasimha on the Elephant Mount, which lies to the north-east of the *aṣṭāṅga-vimāna*, killed Śiva who came against Him in the form of a Śarabha and, on being appeased by Prahlāda, withdrew into a cavern on the Mount.<sup>1</sup> Pulastya-ṛṣi having obtained the boon from Viṣṇu, this Yōga-Narasimha was born as son to the ṛṣi. King Ambariṣa coming to Madurai became devoted to the Viṣṇu of the *aṣṭāṅga-vimāna* and engaged himself in worship of Him for a hundred thousand years : Viṣṇu appearing before him at the close of the Dvāpara yuga and directing him to worship the Yōga-Narasimha of the Elephant Mount, the king obeyed the injunction dutifully and obtained salvation.

Then follow tales of the Kali yuga. They may be set out at greater length.

Candra had a son Budha who had a son Purūravas who assumed the role of emperor for the benefit of mankind. Ūrvaśī, a celestial nymph, having been guilty of a *faux pas* in Indra's assembly, was cursed by Indra to spend some time on the earth. The Viṣṇu of Kūḍal mitigated her distress by bringing Purūravas to her rescue. Purūravas and Ūrvaśī lived together in Madurai and obtained salvation by worshipping Viṣṇu.

Purūravas had a son Indradyumna, who had a son Malayadhvaja. This king, disciple of the sage Agastya, used to go daily to Mount Mēru, accompanied by his preceptor, and carve his royal seal thereon. He used also to journey daily to the mouth of the Ganges in a *vimāna* given him by Agastya and bathe at that holy spot. Being shown a pool at the foot of the Bull Mount as holy as the Ganges, he bathed ever afterwards in that pool and he spent the rest of his life worshipping the Viṣṇu of Kūḍal. Installing his son, Candrakētu, on the throne he retired from sovereignty, but some time later Candrakētu too retired, passing the sceptre on to Sōma-sundara, his son. Sōma-sundara performing austerities in the Bull Mount, Viṣṇu of Kūḍal

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1. *Attigiri-paḍalam*, 17.



appeared and ascertained that he was eager to have a son. Śiva of the Hālāśya kṣētra arriving just then, with Pārvatī, to obtain boons, Viṣṇu commanded Śiva to grant king Sōma-sundara the boon he craved for. At Śiva's behest Pārvatī was born as Sōma-sundara's daughter, though with the peculiarity that she had a third breast. On Sōma-sundara's death the princess ascended the throne and started on a *digvijaya*. Vanquishing numerous kings she came to the north-east where she gave battle to a king of the name of Saumya-Pāṇḍya and worsted him. Her third breast vanishing at sight of this king she inferred that he was destined to be her husband and she married him. Out of gratitude, Śiva was installed on the Bull Mount, as a *kṣētra-pālaka*, to the left of Viṣṇu.

In the lineage of these kings came a king, Śrī-Vallabha, versed in all lores, attached to the learned and devoted to Viṣṇu. Going at dead of night in disguise on an inspection of the city of Madurai, and espying a Brāhmaṇa emerge from a temple, the king called on the Brāhmaṇa to render an account of himself. The Brāhmaṇa answering that he was Sōma-śarma of the Kauśika gōtra and that he was on a pilgrimage to sacred places, the king asked him to instruct him how to obtain the puruṣārthas: the pilgrim replied: 'What you want for the year, obtain it in eight months: what you want for the night, obtain it in the daytime: what you want for your old age, earn it in your youth: what you want for the life beyond, secure it in this.' When day dawned the king told his preceptor, Śelva Nambi, of what had happened overnight and desired him to teach him the puruṣārthas, and Śelva Nambi appealed in turn to the learned scholars who had accompanied him to the royal court. When each of them had expounded his view, a voice rose from on high and called on the king to hang aloft a purse weighty with gold and promised that it would go to him who was able to expound the truth to which the Vedas bore witness. Śelva Nambi fasted for three days beseeching enlightenment. Viṣṇu appearing to him in a dream and assuring him that He would have the puruṣārthas expounded by a devotee of His, the king put fourteen crores of gold into a purse and, invoking Viṣṇu to abide in it, offered worship to Him and also to Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī and to the suras, the ṛṣis, the maruts, the vasus and the rudras, and prayed devoutly that success may attend the efforts to get the puruṣārthas expounded. To every quarter of the country he sent

emissaries to invite the learned to Madurai, solve the great question and win the purse. Scholars from far and near having assembled at Madurai, the king prostrated himself before them and beseeched them to study and determine the truth that is embodied in the Vedas. In the meanwhile, Viṣṇu of Kūḍal directed Garuḍa and Viṣvaksēna to go to Śrī-Villi-Puttūr and fetch a Brāhmaṇa of that place, Viṣṇu-citta, otherwise known as Periya-Ālvār, who was a great scholar, the chief of the Bhaṭṭas, and a staunch devotee who had dedicated himself to the service of making garlands for the Viṣṇu of Śrī-Villi-Puttūr and of tending a garden in which he raised the necessary flowers. They sought and obtained the permission of the Viṣṇu of that place and thereupon appeared to Viṣṇu-citta in a dream and acquainted him with their mission. Viṣṇu-citta going up to the temple the next morning and acquainting Viṣṇu with the dream, he was asked to proceed at once to Madurai with his disciples and dispel the doubts which vexed the king. Śelva Nambi too, who had journeyed in that direction with his attendants in search of one who would resolve the king's doubts, arrived at that moment and humbly entreated Viṣṇu-citta to proceed to Madurai. Escorted by Śelva Nambi, Viṣṇu-citta journeyed to Madurai where the king received him with all honours. Viṣṇu-citta with his disciples attended the huge concourse of learned scholars who had gathered at the king's behest and thereupon a prolonged discussion ensued in which the doctrines of Kaṇāda, Kapila, Patañjali and Buddha and the Naiyāyikas, Ārhatas, Cārvākas, Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas, and Śramaṇas and other sectaries were stated with great learning by the votaries of the respective schools. Each of them writing down his doctrine, they placed all the writings on the purse, but the writings fell off like withered leaves falling from a sapless tree. Thereupon Viṣṇu-citta set forth the doctrines of Vaiṣṇavism and established the paratva of Viṣṇu, and he put it down in writing that none but Viṣṇu was entitled to paratva and placed the writing on the purse. Śāradā appeared in the assembly, took the purse down and presented it to Viṣṇu-citta, and the gods showered flowers on him. The king, was transported with joy as his doubts had been resolved. Viṣṇu-citta was placed on an elephant and taken round the city with great eclat. The followers of the other persuasions, green with jealousy, stopped the triumphal procession and challenged Viṣṇu-citta to demonstrate to them the truth of his doctrine. Viṣṇu-citta sent up a prayer to Saundara-rāja, the Viṣṇu of Kūḍal, who

responded promptly by manifesting himself in all his glory to all who had eyes to see. Beside himself with joy, the saint belauded Viṣṇu in moving hymns. The king heaped further treasures on the saint and worshipped him. Having won such great honours the saint took leave of the king and went back with his disciples to Śrī-Villi-Puttūr where he spent the rest of his life in devoted service to his Lord.

## VI

The three principal Chronicles relating the legends which have grown round Madurai have been summarised at some length in these pages in the belief that the summaries would bring out the nature of these Chronicles much more clearly and vividly than even a critical estimate of them. The legends are excellent evidence of the firm hold which the love for the miraculous has over the human mind and it is obvious that the chronicles are throughout pervaded by the spirit of the miracle-monger. On a perusal of these works the conviction grows on us that in their aims and methods the manufacturers of miracles do not differ much whether they ply their trade in south India or in other parts of the world. Their appeal is to faith, and the appeal is successful in the extent to which faith is permitted to overshadow reason. To the reader who would rely more on reason than on faith the legends appear to make such large demands on his credulity that to concede them would be to abandon reason once and for all. The determination to discover a miracle in the common-place, the preference for the marvellous over the probable, or even the possible, the presumption that the impossible is well within the ambit of the probable, the pathetic anxiety to make the improbable look wholly probable, the liability to slide from the probable to the puerile in the endeavour to lift the improbable into the region of the probable, the resort to the expedient of the *deus ex machina*, even where the trick would be out of place, the abrogation of the ordinary laws of nature, the inability to realise when one is overstepping the limits of reason,—indeed, the suspension of the faculty of reason,—the utter lack of not only a sense of proportion but also of a sense of humour,—these are but a few of the failings common to the artificers of miracles and religious legends all the world over. The Chronicles of Madurai are true to type and can therefore be of little use to the historian. In the texture of the

fancy of the chroniclers of these sacred miracles there is little of history, whether in the warp or in the woof.

These Chronicles would have been dismissed summarily by the historian as unworthy of serious consideration but for the attempt which they make to link legendary lore with genuine history. Some of the most famous names in Tamil literature,—Nak-Kīrar, Kabilar, Paraṇar, Rudra-jaṇmaṇ, Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ, Iṟaiyaṇār, Jñāna-Sambandha, Māṇikya-Vācaka and Periya-Ālvār,—are prominently mentioned in them. An institution, the Tamil Academy, which is believed to have guided the growth of Tamil literature from its infancy, is made the theme of some of the miracles. A few of the great kings of the Tamil country,—Mūrti, Neḍu-Māraṇ, Varaguna and Sēramāṇ Perumāl,—are introduced into the tales narrated in these Chronicles. The chronology of these poets and potentates being still the theme of contention and the historicity of the Saṅgam being itself the subject of some speculation, these chronicles have received attention wholly out of proportion to their intrinsic worth to the critical student of history. These have been so far subjected to no systematic scrutiny, and their testimony has been accepted or rejected on considerations by no means relevant to a critical appraisal of the evidence itself. It has been scarcely realised that the statements in the Chronicles cannot be relied on for purposes of history except in so far as the statements are shown to be founded on contemporary observation or well preserved testimony or carefully sifted tradition.

To set out the myths with some fulness is to lay bare the paucity of reliable tradition in these Chronicles: hence it is that in these pages the myths have been narrated at some length, and no comment on their character or credibility has been attempted. The tales are so mythical and so fanciful that what little of authentic tradition might have been available to the authors of these Chronicles has been overwhelmed by the mass of fiction and it is no longer possible to extricate the tradition from the fiction.

The methods of Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi and the *motifs* which he utilises in his Chronicle have been already touched upon. The Chronicle of Param-*vyōti* is not different in essentials; the only feature of importance differentiating it from the other is that it presents the myths in an elaborate setting of chronology. The *Kūḍal Purāṇam* differs from both the

*Tiru-Vīlaiyāḍal Purāṇams*: narrating as it does the myths that have clustered round the temple to Viṣṇu at Madurai, the chronicle is altogether different in substance. If the two *Tiru-Vīlaiyāḍal Purāṇams* seek to explain place-names and weave tales round such places as Nāṇ-Māḍak-Kūḍal and Ālavāy, the *Kūḍal Purāṇam* does not lag behind : it explains names like the 'Pool of the Seven Seas' and throws the glamour of romance round the hills and the pools in the vicinity of Madurai. It is interesting to note the attempt in all the three Chronicles to wind fanciful tales round the Bull and the Elephant Mounts, and also the anxiety to make use of Malayadhvaja and Taṭātaka.

To compare and contrast the three Chronicles would be to undertake a task of no profit. We need merely endeavour to winnow the all too few grains from the enormous mass of chaff which chokes the three Chronicles. Even the traditions so extricated would be of no avail unless they are shown to be well authenticated. The history of these Chronicles and of the legends which they have brought together must therefore be traced before we could endeavour to utilise the few grains of genuine tradition we may succeed in picking.

The date of Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi's *Tiru-Vīlaiyāḍal Purāṇam* is not easily fixed : the data are all too few. Considering that it narrates tales of Jñāna-Sambandha and Varaguṇa,—personages assigned generally to about 650 A. D. and 810 A. D.,<sup>1</sup>—we shall not be far wrong if we concluded that Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi's work cannot be earlier than about 850 A.D. It has been said that Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi must be earlier than about 1227-8 A. D.,<sup>2</sup> but no facts of probative value have been cited in support. An inscription in a village near the native place of the poet tells of a Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi who lived about 1304 A.D.<sup>3</sup> but no argument can be adduced in support of the suspicion that he is the poet of our quest unless it be the one of geographical proximity. Considering, however, the general course of Tamil literature, we may not be wrong if we decided that the work was not later than the Perum-Paṇṇap-

1. Assuming that the Varaguṇa of the Chronicle was the earlier of the two of that name : see K. V. Subrahmanya-Aiyar in *EI.* xx. 49, 51 ; cf. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri, *PK.* 76-8.

2. MMU. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar in *PPPN.* *TVP.* Intr. 19.

3. *MER.* 133 of 1908, from Tirup-Puttūr (Tiruppattur Taluk). Pandit M. Raghava-Aiyangar is responsible for the suggestion.

Puliyūr Nambi of the inscription. But where shall we place the poet between 850 and 1304 A. D.?

In narrating the story of how Śēk-kiḷār came to write his great poem, the *Periya Purāṇam*,—the *Acta Sanctorum* of Tamil Śaivism,—a chronicler, Umāpati Śivācārya,<sup>1</sup> tells us that Śēk-kiḷār's patron, Anapāya-Cōla, was inordinately fond of Tirut-Takka Dēvar's *Jīvaha-Sindāmaṇi*, a *kāvya* well known for the rather succulent account it gives of the amorous career of its hero, that Śēk-kiḷār sought to wean him from a study of the work, arguing that it was a false tale of the false Jainas and was not a tale of truth and that it would benefit him neither in this world nor in the next, that on being asked if there was any *Śiva carita* which would stand the reader in good stead in both the worlds Śēk-kiḷār narrated to him the tales of the great saints whose lives and sufferings are a source of inspiration, and that at the patron's behest Śēk-kiḷār chronicled the lives and those doings of the saints in his *Periya Purāṇam*.<sup>2</sup> It is fairly clear that Śēk-kiḷār wrote the *Periya Purāṇam* about 1133 A.D. The royal interrogatory propounded to Śēk-kiḷār whether there was any *kāvya* in Tamil which, unlike the false tale of the false Jainas, would profit him in both the worlds, seems clearly to imply that such works as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Skānda Purāṇa* were not then available in Tamil,—for there can be no doubt of their being works of the class to which the patron Cōla's question related. That such is the implication is obvious from the pointed comparison of Śēk-kiḷār's *Periya Purāṇam* with Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata*.<sup>3</sup> We have now a few stanzas in Tamil which seem to be fragments of a *Rāmāyaṇa* and a *Mahābhārata* earlier in date than the *Periya Purāṇam*, but even before Śēk-kiḷār's days those works seem to have practically perished, only stray stanzas surviving. Kambaṇ's great Tamil rendering of the *Rāmāyaṇa* seems to have come about half a century after the *Periya Purāṇam*.<sup>4</sup> Kacciappa Śivācārya's

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1. He gives for himself a date, 1313 A.D. (*vide* his *Śaṅgarpa Nirāharaṇam*). Being less than two centuries removed from Śēk-kiḷār and being one of the four great *ācāryas* of Tamil Siddhānta Śaivism his testimony is as reliable as any we can now get.

2. *Śēk-kiḷār Purāṇam*, 19-35.

3. *Ib.* 91.

4. Vidvan R. Raghava-Aiyangar in *ST*, (1905 A.M.) III. 181.

version of the *Skānda Purāṇa* is much later. It cannot be said that in Umāpati Śivācārya's story the salaciousness of the *Jivaha-Śindāmaṇi* is emphasised and that works like those of Kamban and Kacciappa Śivācārya could not have been in the mind of Umāpati Śivācārya as they are not of a type which would appeal to a prince on the look out for salacity: according to Umāpati Śivācārya the patron accepted the *Periya Purāṇam* as a good substitute. These reasons apply with equal cogency to the date of the *Tiru-Vīlaiyāḍal Purāṇam* which must therefore be deemed to be later than the *Periya Purāṇam*. On the evidence now available it looks as if Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi must have written his *Tiru-Vīlaiyāḍal Purāṇam* between about 1135 A.D. (the date of the *Periya Purāṇam*), and about 1304 A. D. (the date of the Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi of the inscription.)<sup>1</sup>

We may now turn to a consideration of the date of Param-jyōti and his *Tiru-Vīlaiyāḍal Purāṇam*. Param-jyōti was once thought to belong to the reign of 'Hari-Vīra Pāṇḍya', in the Salivahan year 973 (A. D. 1051),<sup>2</sup> but we do not know of a Pāṇḍya of that time who bore a name in anywise similar to 'Hari-Vīra'.<sup>3</sup> Of late it has been considered that Param-jyōti must be assigned to about 1650 A. D.,<sup>4</sup> but on no cogent reasoning, and there seem to be no reliable data pointing directly to a probable date.

The order in which the Sports have been marshalled by Param-jyōti is radically different from the one found in Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi's work: indeed, as has been already pointed out, Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi had no chronological scheme in his mind at all, whereas Param-jyōti presented the Sports in a strictly chronological sequence. Nothing is more

1. This para has been summarised from my forthcoming book, *South Indian Saivism: Mediaeval Period*.

2. H. H. Wilson in *JRAS.* (1836) iii. 203, *n.* 1. He has been followed by Simon Casie Chitty in his *Tamil Plutarch* (1859, Jaffna), 64, and by many others. The only source of Wilson's information seems to have been an English translation of Param-jyōti's work prepared for Col. Mackenzie. None of the editors of the Chronicle has noticed in it any statement about the date of its composition.

3. Even if we assume that 'Ati-Vīra-Rāma' was intended, we are no better off, for he cannot be found anywhere near 1051 A. D.

4. Pandit N. Vēṅgaḍasāmi-Nāṭṭār, in his edn. of *PJ. TVP.* (1927), 12-3.

improbable than that the chronology of the Sports was already known when Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi wrote his Chronicle, for, however impatient he might have been of chronology he is not unlikely to have realised that a chronological sequence does serve to knit into a unity the *disjecta membra* of the various legends of the Lord's Sports and it is not likely that he was oblivious to the artistic disadvantage of telling the tales in the haphazard fashion of his Chronicle. It would be surprising if he had a chronological scheme before him and yet rejected it. That he did not set the legends down in chronological order proves that he must have written at a time when the sequence of the Sports had not been worked out.

The same conclusion is also arrived at on another line of reasoning. It has been already seen that in Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's work a few hints are available to show the order in which he conceived the Sports to have been played. In an earlier section of this paper, these hints were gathered together and on a careful scrutiny of them an attempt was made to arrange thirty-five of the Sports in the order in which Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi might have presented them had he worried himself about their chronology. The sequence evolved from these hints is suggestive: thirty-five of the Sports fall into an order which approximates in some measure to the one adopted by Param-jyōti.<sup>1</sup>

The main differences may be noted. The legends of the humbling of Mount Mēru<sup>2</sup> and the Exposition of the Vēdas<sup>3</sup> do not follow closely on the legend of the defeat of Indra.<sup>4</sup> The legends of the Lord raising an army for His devotee<sup>5</sup> and of his serving water to thirsty soldiers<sup>6</sup> do not follow the legend of the abasement of Mount Mēru.<sup>7</sup> The legends of the Cōla being

#### 1. TABLE of chronological sequence.

PPPN.	PJ.	SPORT.	PPPN.	PJ.	SPORT.
1	1	Linga discovered.	64	16	Vedas expounded.
2	2	Elephant worships.	22	57	Rudra-Janman
53	3	City bounds determined.	15-20	51-6	Sangam Cycle.
			37-8 }	62 4 }	Jñāna-sambandha
			62 }		Cycle.
3-11	4-12	Sundara Cycle.	27-30	58-61	Mān.kya-vācaka Cycle.
21	13	Ugra quell. the sea.	46	37	Chōla drowned.
44	14	Indra defeated.	48	40	Varaṇṇa obtains
52	—	Kāri and Nāri.			vision.
47	49	Ālavāy.	49	50	The Lord as archer.
61	15	Mēru humbled.			
2.	PPPN 61 : PJ	15.	3.	PPPN 64 : PJ	16.
4.	PPPN 44 : PJ	14.	5.	PPPN 39 : PJ	30.
6.	PPPN 43 : PJ	35.	7.	PPPN 61 : PJ	15.



consigned to a watery grave,<sup>1</sup> Varaguṇa obtaining a vision of the Lord's world<sup>2</sup> and the Lord appearing as an archer<sup>3</sup> do not precede the legends of the Śaṅgam cycle.<sup>4</sup> The legend of Rudra-Janman<sup>5</sup> precedes the other legends of the cycle.<sup>6</sup> The Sports of the Mānikya-vācaka cycle<sup>7</sup> come after those of the Jñāna-sambandha cycle.<sup>8</sup>

It is worth while, as the sequel will show, to examine what these differences may be due to. If another investigator sought to evolve a chronological sequence out of the hints let fall by Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi, might take a view of some of the hints different from the one we have adopted. We dissociated the myth about Mount Mēru<sup>9</sup> from that of Indra's defeat<sup>10</sup> for the reason that Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi had assigned the former to the times of a descendant of Ugra; he might take it that the three gifts of the Lord to His son Ugra,<sup>11</sup> —the discus, the javelin and the club,—were gifts to Ugra alone and not to Ugra and his descendants, and that all the three miracles worked with those weapons, —the defeat of Indra,<sup>12</sup> the quelling the sea<sup>13</sup> and the striking down Mount Mēru,<sup>14</sup>—were the achievements of only one King, Ugra, and must therefore stand grouped together. We have had to assign to different periods the working of three Sports,—the victory over Indra,<sup>15</sup> the raising of an army for the Pāṇḍya<sup>16</sup> and the slaking of the thirst of soldiers fighting a battle,<sup>17</sup>—as we were not certain that the word *Vīra* in 'Vīra-Pāṇḍya' is used as a proper name in them all. Another investigator, however, might take the view that in all those legends the word has been used as a proper name and might therefore be inclined to bring the legends together as the events of one reign. We placed three other Sports,—the drowning of a Cōla,<sup>18</sup> the granting of a vision to Varaguṇa<sup>19</sup> and the Lord appearing as

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|--------------------|----------|--------------------|-----------|
| 1. PPPN 46 :       | PJ 37.   | 2. PPPN 48 :       | PJ 40.    |
| 3. PPPN 49 :       | PJ 50.   | 4. PPPN 22 :       | PJ 57.    |
| 5. PPPN 15-20 :    | PJ 51-6. | 6. PPPN 28-30 :    | PJ 58-61. |
| 7. PPPN 37-8, 62 : | PJ 62-4. | 8. PPPN 37-8, 62 : | PJ 62-4.  |
| 9. PPPN 61 :       | PJ 15.   | 10. PPPN 44 :      | PJ 14.    |
| 11. PPPN 11 :      | PJ 12.   | 12. PPPN 44 :      | PJ 14.    |
| 13. PPPN 25 :      | PJ 12.   | 14. PPPN 61 :      | PJ 15.    |
| 15. PPPN 44 :      | PJ 14.   | 16. LPPN 39 :      | PJ 30.    |
| 17. PPPN 43 :      | PJ 35.   | 18. PPPN 46 :      | PJ 37.    |
| 19. PPPN 48 :      | PJ 40.   |                    |           |

an archer,<sup>1</sup>—late in the scheme, on the ground of their being found assigned, directly or by implication, to the kali-yuga, but he might conclude that the references to the yuga are too vague and inconclusive,<sup>2</sup> that Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's arrangement of the Sports in that part of his work is fairly chronological, by design or accident, and that the Sport of the drowning of the Cōla<sup>3</sup> may quite appropriately follow close on the Sport of the Lord serving water to the soldiers of the Pāṇḍya when fighting against those of the Cōla.<sup>4</sup> The tale in which Rudra-janman's birth is foreshadowed<sup>5</sup> contains not only a similar prophecy about Pārvatī being born as a fisherman's daughter but also an account of her marrying Śiva; it is possible therefore to hold that the legend need not necessarily be placed before the tale in which Rudra-janman takes his seat on the board of the Śaṅgam.<sup>6</sup> We placed the legends of the Jñāna-sambandha cycle<sup>7</sup> earlier than those of the Māṇikya-vācaka cycle<sup>8</sup> on the ground that Māṇikya-vācaka's Pāṇḍya refers to Śiṟut-toṇḍar who is considered to be a contemporary of Jñāna-sambandha. But another person might take into consideration the fact that Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi makes the Lord metamorphose jackals into horses for the sake of Māṇikya-vācaka,<sup>9</sup> that a verse of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu,<sup>10</sup>—considered a contemporary of Jñāna-sambandha,—and numerous verses of Māṇikya-vācaka<sup>11</sup> seem to refer to the miracle, and might conclude that Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi was guilty of an anachronism,—a belief for which ample support is to be found in his patent indifference to a time-scheme,—and that Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu, and with him Jñāna-sambandha, must be later than Māṇikya-vācaka.

If the chronological scheme which we had arrived at in an earlier section of this paper is amended so as to incorporate these

1. PPPN 49 : PJ 50.

2. See PPPN 46 (32). The word மைந்தன் in PPPN 49 (1, 23) need not necessarily and exclusively mean 'son' but may also include remoter descendants.

3. PPPN 46 : PJ 37.

4. PPPN 43 : PJ 35.

5. PPPN 22 : PJ 57.

6. PPPN 19 : PJ 55.

7. PPPN 37-8, 62 : PJ 62-4.

8. PPPN 27-30 : PJ 58-61.

9. PPPN 28 : PJ 59.

10. நரியைக் குதிரை செய்வானும்.....

11. See PPPN. TVP., notes by MMU. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar.

variations to which another investigator might attach some value, the legends of Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi fall into a sequence which corresponds very closely to the order adopted by Param-jyōti,—except for the legends of the Bhadra cycle and those in which no chronological clues are traceable. If it is assumed that Bhadra was a contemporary of Varaguna, then the sequence of the miracles will approximate even more closely to that of Param-jyōti. An author writing a few centuries ago might have had some evidence not available to us which connected Bhadra with Varaguna.<sup>1</sup>

Some facts emerge clearly from this discussion. Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi did not set out the legends in any rational order: from a study of his work a chronological scheme can be evolved for more than half the legends: the scheme so worked out tallies, more or less, with the one found embodied in Param-jyōti's Chronicle: Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi is not likely to have stuck to his inartistic arrangement of the legends had he had before him an arrangement of them similar to the one in Param-jyōti's Chronicle.

The conclusions seem to be obvious: the chronological scheme was later than the unsystematic and haphazard Chronicle of Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi, and the sequence itself seems to have been deduced from a study of his work. If we are right in arriving at these conclusions, it looks as if Param-jyōti took Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's work as the basis of his own but recast it so as to bring out the chronological sequence of the Sports.

This conclusion is clinched by a slight but conclusive piece of evidence. One would scarcely expect to find it in the

#### 1. AMENDED TABLE of chronological sequence.

PPPN.	PJ.	SPORT.	PPPN.	PJ.	SPORT.
1	1	Linga discovered.	46	37	Cōla drowned.
2	2	Elephant worships.	48	40	Varaguna obtains vision.
53	3	City bounds determined.	54-7	41-4	Bhadra Cycle.
3-11	4-12	Sundara Cycle.	47	49	Ālavāy.
21	13	Ugra quells the sea.	49	50	The Lord as archer.
44	14	Indra defeated.	15-20	51-6	Sangam Cycle.
52	—	Kāri and Nāri.	22	57	„ (Rudrajanman).
61	15	Māru humbled.	27-30	58-61	Māṇikya-vācaka Cycle.
64	16	Vedas expounded.	37-8	62-4	Jñāna-sambandha Cycle.
39	30	The Lord as generalissimo.	62		
43	35	The Lord as water-carrier.			

list of Sports in which Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi has provided no chronological clues:<sup>1</sup> but, the list, contains a surprise to the student who scans it closely. We have seen that the legends with chronological clues fall into a sequence of their own, that the sequence is practically that of Param-*vyōti's* Chronicle, and that in Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's work they are told in virtually the same order in which they are told in Param-*vyōti's*.<sup>2</sup> This phenomenon can be accounted for on only one of two conflicting hypotheses. The first hypothesis would be that Param-*vyōti's* Chronicle was the earlier, that Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi picked out some of the legends from Param-*vyōti's* work and threw them about pell mell, but inserted in each of them a chronological hint or two of a dubious kind, in place of the very explicit chronological statements found in Param-*vyōti's* work, with a purpose which is unintelligible, and that from the rest of the legends he removed all traces of the time-sense and yet retained all those legends in their original order. No suggestion can be more fantastic: it has only to be stated to be laughed out. The other hypothesis would be that out of the mass of legends in Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's work, Param-*vyōti* selected those in which time-hints were found and rearranged those legends in the sequence of time and that to maintain the total number of Sports at sixty-four he took the non-chronological legends in blocks,—practically as they appear in Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's work,—and inserted them wherever he felt that they could be introduced and that to ensure an unbroken sequence he fashioned chronological links where they were wanting. On this hypothesis he had no need to disturb the order in which the chronologically unpromising myths were narrated by Perum-

1. PPPN., 12-4, 23-6, 31-6, 40-2, 45, 50, 58-9, 60, 63.

2. TABLE showing the order in which the Sports containing no chronological clues in PPPN. *TVP.* are narrated by PPPN and PJ.

PPPN.	PJ.	PPPN.	PJ.	PPPN.	PJ.
12	18-9	26	22	42	33
13	20	31	23	45	36
14	21	32	24	50	38
		33	25		
23	32	34	26	58	45
24	34	35	27	59	46
		36	28-9	60	47
25	17	40	31	63	8
		41	39		

Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi, and he had merely to shove them in as and when gaps had to be filled. This explanation is as simple as it is probable, and no other explains the close similarity in the order in which these non-chronological Sports are marshalled in both the Chronicles.

The various considerations which we have thus passed in review lead us to the two conclusions that no chronological scheme had been evolved for the Sports by the days Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi and that Param-jyōti is later than Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi.

The next problem is to determine the interval of time between these two chroniclers.

The unchronological order of Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi has been accepted and adopted in a number of other works,<sup>1</sup>—the Tamil version of the *Kadambavana Purāṇa* done by Viṃanāda-panḍidar, the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Bayahara Mālai* of Virabadra Kambar, and the *Tiru-Uṣāltāṇa Nāṇ-maṇi Mālai* of Paḷaṇiyappaṇ-Śērvai. The date of Paḷaṇiyappaṇ-Śērvai seems to be about 1600 A. D.<sup>2</sup> The inference might be that the influence of the Chronicle of Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi is traceable down to about 1600 A. D., and that the chronological sequence of the Sports had not been worked out till then, were it not that the sequence is found in an earlier work, the *Maduraic-Śokkanādar Ulā* of Purāṇa Tirumalai-nādar,<sup>3</sup> a poet of the first quarter of the sixteenth century A. D.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the unchronological version

1. PPPN. *TV P.*<sup>2</sup>, Intr. 6-8.

2. *Ib.* Intr. 8, *n.*

3. MMU. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar's edn. (1931), Pref. 7.

4. This work names two buildings at Madurai which, if we accept the testimony of a chronicle, the *Madurai Tiruppaṇi Mālai*, were erected in 1526 A. D. (*Ib.* Pref. 14): the poem would then be later than that year. The poet refers in it to king Vira-Māraṇ of Madurai as his patron (*Ib.* Pref. 12-3). The inference would be justified that this Vira-Māraṇ was king later than 1526 A. D. But we know of only two Vira-Māraṇs of about this time,—the one who reigned from 1473 to 1506 A. D. (Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri, *PK.* 249) and the one who was on the throne in 1589 A. D. (*TrAS.* i. 115),—but neither of them can be taken to 1526 A. D. In another of the works of this author we are told that he started on it in 1507 A. D. (see MMU. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar's edn., Intr. 13): it becomes therefore probable that the poet belonged to the reign of the earlier king and composed this poem

persisted till about 1600 A. D., and the chronological version can be traced back as early as about 1506 A. D.<sup>1</sup> Are we to infer that Param-jyōti must have been earlier than 1506 A. D.<sup>2</sup> We have no warrant for assuming that Tirumalai-nādar owed the time-scheme to Param-jyōti, and we have the statement of Param-jyōti himself that he was a mere translator who turned a Sanskrit chronicle into Tamil. So, whatever the date of Param-jyōti, we have to postulate a Chronicle with a chronological scheme before the year 1506 A. D. Probably the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* was that chronicle; no other work bears such close resemblance to Param-jyōti's work. As it must have preceded the *Ulā* of Tirumalai-nādar it could not have been later than 1500 A. D. From the fact that Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi's work had a Sanskrit original, which must have been earlier, it cannot be inferred that the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* must also have preceded Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi, for, had the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* been current in his days that poet is likely to have preferred to translate it as it was more artistic than the *Sāra-samuccaya* which narrated the stories in a very haphazard fashion. Having placed Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi between 1135 and 1304 A. D., we might assign the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* to about 1400 A. D. The *Sāra-samuccaya* must have been followed by its translation by Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi, and the two must have been followed by the *Hālāsya Māhātmya*, which in turn must have been translated some time later by Param-jyōti.

How old is the *Sāra-samuccaya*? The work itself is not available to us and we can judge of it only from its Tamil version. As we do not even know of a work earlier than the *Sāra-samuccaya* that narrates all or most of the sixty-four Sports it becomes necessary to determine its date if we are to discover the period when the legends were gathered together into a Chronicle.

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earlier than the one on which he commenced work in 1508 A. D. Probably the buildings erected in 1526 A. D. had been already in existence and had already been known by those names when in 1529 they were rebuilt or repaired.

1. Even if the poet is assigned to the days of the later king, it will be seen that the composition of the poem lies still within the 16th century.

2. Or, 1589 A. D.

Before the compilation of the *Sāra-samuccaya*, which we assume to be the proto-type of the Chronicles relating to the Śiva temple at Madurai, the legends must have been distinct and independent, and must naturally have grown up at different times: so, a study of how and when each legend arose and grew will help us to decide how far these legends are reliable for historical purposes.

The Sports of these Chronicles have grown round the Lord of the famous temple at Madurai and purport to have been worked in Madurai itself or in its vicinity and in the reigns of various Pāṇḍya kings. Even the unchronological Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi makes it a point to mention in almost every legend that the Sport was enacted in the reign of a Pāṇḍya king. Indeed, one of the very earliest figures in the Chronicles is the Lord Himself, who, by His marriage with a Pāṇḍya princess, became king of Madurai, and from Him were descended all the later Pāṇḍya kings for whom He played His Sports. To trace the origins and the growth of these myths we shall have also to examine how old the temples to Śiva and Viṣṇu at Madurai are, when the earliest references to the miracles at Madurai occur and who the Pāṇḍyas are.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE PALLAVA GENEALOGY—AN ATTEMPT TO UNIFY THE PALLAVA PEDIGREES OF THE INSCRIPTIONS—BY REV. H. HERAS, S. J. Bombay—Indian Historical Research Institute—1931.

This work comprises three charts and about twenty pages of notes expounding the results of the learned author's researches into the some Pallava Inscriptions. The summary method of exposition adopted imparts a more dogmatic tone to the arguments and conclusions than is perhaps intended by him; but the gain in brevity more than counterbalances this slight short coming.

Father Heras lays down at the outset seven 'principles of criticism' which he has followed, and if these are accepted his reconstruction of Pallava genealogy would follow more or less naturally. But some of these principles (5, 6 and 7) are just personal opinions which may not all command general assent without argument. Father Heras may be right in assuming that the Pallavas must have had some other capital before Kumāra-viṣṇu captured Kāñcī (principle 3) but the suggestion that this older capital was Daśanapura (p. 13) does not take sufficient notice of the claims of Palakkāḍa, Tāmbrapa and Menmātura to the same honour. One should think that identity of names signified identity of persons indicated and Rev. Heras himself does this when he identifies Vijaya Buddhavarman and Buddhavarman (Note A), and Bappasvāmi with Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka (Note G), and Aśōkavarman of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates with the celebrated Mauryan Emperor (Note R); yet it is made a principle (No. 2) 'to pay attention to events rather than to names in order to identify kings of different inscriptions.' When the events chosen are of the order of marriages with nāga women, we get most surprising results like the identity Droṇa and Aśvatthāman with Cūtapallava and Virakūrca respectively. Great as is the value of mechanical aids to research like indexes, charts and alphabetical lists, they are not all. What is the value of the Rāyakōṭa plates to Pallava history? How far can we depend on the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates for events at the dawn of Pallava



history? If we can use these, why ignore the Amarāvātī pillar as Rev. Heras has done? And why is Aparājita not once mentioned in this book?

The point most fundamental to the scheme of Rev. Heras is his principle (No. 1) 'not to separate the kings of the Prākṛit records from the kings of the Sanskrit records, as has been done hitherto.' Dr. Venkataramanayya's statement that 'Sanskrit displaced Prākṛit within a short time of two generations' which is quoted in support of this 'principle' is quite different from Rev. Heras's view that 'such a short period...could not be but a period of transition, during which both languages Prākṛit and Sanskrit, were indiscriminately used.' Is there evidence of such a transitional period in the annals of any other dynasty? The attempt to make out a continuous line of twenty-four Pallava kings fails, moreover, to take account of the breaks which are clearly implied by the later Pallava charters themselves, and by the intervention of a Kaḷabhra period in the entire south sometime in the fifth or sixth century A. D.

Pallava genealogy is still therefore the same old puzzle it was; but we cannot sufficiently commend the orderly presentation of the sources that always characterises Rev. Heras's work.

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## NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

### THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

1931. Vol. VII. No. 3. September.

1. *Uṣṇīṣa-śīraskatā* (a *Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa*) in the early Buddha images of India : Jitendra Nath Banerjea, M. A.

2. *The problem of the Mahānāṭaka* : Dr. S. K. De, M.A. A valuable and very big article arriving at these conclusions.

1. The Mahānāṭaka attributed to Hanumān approximates very closely to the *yātrā*.

2. Its origin is not connected to the 'Shadow-play'. Incidentally Dr. De rightly points out that the term '*Chāyā-Nāṭaka*' may not mean a shadow play but only an 'adapted-drama'. The character of Subhāṭa's *Dūtāṅgada* is also discussed in this connection.

3. It is a pseudo-play intended for some kind of performance and not a mere literary exercise as Dr. Keith opines.

Dr. De adds an appendix in which he edits a part of the text of the Mahānāṭaka, representing a simple version, from eight MSS. in the Dacca University Ms. Collection.

### JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY.

Vol. X. Part. II.

1. Dr. Sailesvar Sen continues his article on the Historical origin of the distinction between *Svārthānumāna* and *Parārthānumāna*.

### THE JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

1931. XVII. 2-3. June—September.

1. *Dravidic names for 'Palms'* : L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

2. Mr. Umeśa Miśra, M.A., edits Halāyudha's *Mīmāṃsā-Śāstra-Sarvasva*. This number contains the text up to part of Adhyāya 2 pāda 2 and the next number will continue the text further.

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.  
Vol. V. Part 4. April 1931.

1. *The political history of the Kākatīyas* : M. Rama Rao, M.A.

THE EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

January 1929. Part 1.

1. *Three Tamil inscriptions of Lalgudi* : K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar. Continued and finished in the next number, April, Part II.

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

Vol. XXII. No. 2. 1931. New Series.

1. *The Vivekasāra of Saṅkarānanda*: Dr. R. Sama Sastri. Continued from Vol. XXI, No. 4.
2. *Linguistica*: L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar. M.A., B.L.
3. *Harṣavardhana in the Karṇāṭak* : B.A. Salatore, M. A. Continued from Vol. XXI, No. 4.
4. *Date of Māṇḍya-Vācaka* : T. G. Aravamuthan, M.A., B.L.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

1931. Vol. LX. September and October.

1. *Lallāvākyāni* : Pandit Anand Kone, Srinagar, Kashmir.
2. *Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars* : Sir G. A. Grierson continued.
3. *Prāyaścitta or Hindu ideas on the Expiation of Sin* : Biren Bonnerjee.
4. Was the Kauṭaliya Artha Śāstra in prose or in verse ? Prof. Pran Nath. D. Sc. The author says :

1. The tradition of the Daṇḍanīti consisting of 1000 Ślokas can be reconciled to the existing prose text of the Artha-Śāstra and that the explanation of Śloka as meaning 32 letters is not very satisfactory.

2. 28 instances there are of sentences which begin with a line or lines of the Anuṣṭubh metre. Many more are the instances which yield a verse form by adding or removing small words.

3. The best solution of the problem seems to be to assume that the original text was in verse and that the order of the sections was also slightly different.

4. Where are the Sūtras mentioned in the last verse ?  
The Cānakya Sūtrāṇi appended to the second edition of the Mysore text might have had a commentary now lost.

5. The original text was in verse, not in prose.

#### REVIEW OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

1931. Vol. II. No. 2.

1. *The problem of Value* : Dr. S. K. Maitra. Instalment II—'The psychological approach to the problem.'

2. *The problem of self consciousness* : A. C. Mukerji, M. A.

3. *The problem of Sensa* : Prof. D. G. Londhe.

4. *Mūlāvidyānirūsa or Śrī Śaṅkaraḥṛdaya* : A reply to Prof. K. S. Iyar by Y. Subrahmanya Sarma.

#### THE PHILOSOPHICAL QUARTERLY.

1931 January.

1. *Vedāntic Mysticism* : G. R. Malkani.

2. *Fact and thought of Fact* : K. C. Bhattacharya.

3. *Indra's Absolute Idealism* : Sītānāthdattva-Bhūṣaṇ : on the Śastraic exposition of the doctrine of incarnation in the story of Indra and Prataardana, contained in the Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad.

4. *The modified nominalism of the Jaina* : Jadu Nath Sinha.

5. *A Neglected School of Vedānta (Vijñāna Bhikṣu's)* : U. C. Bhattacharya. Second instalment.

July.

1. *A note on the problem of self in Absolutism* : S. K. Das.

2. *Are there many souls ?* G. R. Malkani.

3. *The status of appearance in Śaṅkara's philosophy* : A. C. Mukerjee.

4. *The theory of illusion in Dvaita and its relation to other theories of illusion* : H. N. Raghavendracar.

5. *The nature of Pratyakṣa and Badātma-Niṣedha according to Vedānta* : R. D. Desai.

6. *Epistemology of Śaṅkara* : Aṣuṭosh Sastry.

#### ŚEN-TAMIL.

1931 January—July.

1. *Puranānūṛṇṇukkuṇṇippu* : Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri.

2. *Nannūl Ārāycci-Urai* :—*Eluttatikāram — Eluttiyal* : P.S. Vedacalam Aiyar.

ŚEN-TAMIL-ŚELVI.

1931. June—July.

*The four Saints, Appar, Sundarar, Sambandar and Māṇikya-vācakar and inscriptions:* C. M. Ramacandra Chettiar, B. A., B. L.  
Continued in the next number.

August—September,

1. *Was Agastya an Ārya or a Tamil:* Vidwan Jñānaneya.

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ग्राह्यं विना ग्राहकतामपश्यन्  
विज्ञानमात्रं त्रिभवं परैति<sup>1</sup> ॥ ४५ ॥

विहारीति शब्दोऽयं प्रतिष्ठिते वर्तते । प्रज्ञायां विहारः प्रज्ञाविहारः । सोऽस्यास्तीति प्रज्ञाविहारी । प्रज्ञाभावयिता उच्यते । स हि बोधिसत्त्व इति । अभिमुख्यां प्रतिष्ठितः । प्रतिबुद्धं दृष्टम् अवगतं तत्त्वम् अविपरीतम् अनव्यारोपितं येन सः प्रतिबुद्धतत्त्वः । विज्ञानमात्रं प्रतिबुद्धं तत्त्वम् इति वाक्यविग्रहः । रूपाभावाच्चित्तचैतानामपि प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नानां <sup>2</sup>वस्तुमात्रतया प्रतिबोधात् विज्ञानमात्रप्रतिबुद्धतत्त्व इत्युच्यते । कथं पुनरयं विज्ञानमात्र-प्रतिबुद्धतत्त्वः । तस्मादेवमुक्तम् ।

(136,15) ग्राह्यं विना ग्राहकतामपश्यन्  
विज्ञानमात्रं त्रिभवं परैति ॥ इति ।

यस्मादयं बोधिसत्त्वः वक्ष्यमाणयुक्त्या चित्तप्राज्ञाभावादेव ग्राहकतां चापश्यन् त्रैधातुकमिदं विज्ञानमात्रमिति चिरमभ्यस्यति । कृत्वा च तदभ्यासम् अनभिलाष्यं वस्तुमात्रं स्वसंवित्त्वा पश्यति । तस्मादनेन क्रमेण विज्ञानमात्र-प्रतिबुद्धतत्त्वो भवति ॥

(137,4) यद्येतद्विज्ञानमात्रमेव । कथं तर्ह्यत्र बाह्यार्थं विना तदा-कारकं विज्ञानमात्रमुत्पत्स्यते । आह ।

यथा तरङ्गा महतोऽम्बुराशेः  
समीरणप्रेरणयोद्भवन्ति ।  
तथालयाख्यादपि सर्वबीजा-  
द्विज्ञानमात्रं भवति स्वशक्तेः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ४६ ॥

1. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 23. (L. V. P.)

2. Prof. Poussin remarks:—वस्तुमात्रं est une expression technique et je suis porté à comprendre 'hbyun-bahi' comme un absolu: चित्तचैतानामपि प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वे वस्तुमात्रतः (तत्त्वं) अवबुध्य ; Le रूप n'exist pas; la चित्तचैतं est produit par les causes (परतन्त्र); il voit la réalité dans l'être pur, indicible, वस्तुमात्र, (qu'est le विज्ञान sans object et sujet)

3. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 23. (L. V. P.)

यथा तरङ्गाधारभूतजलावयवसमीरणेन संक्षुभितादम्बुराशेः सुप्ततुल्या-  
स्तरङ्गाः समीरणमात्रप्रत्ययोपागमाल्लब्धात्मभावाः स्पर्धयेव सर्वतः परि-  
धावन्तो बुध्यन्ते । तथात्रापि विज्ञानेनानादिकालपरम्पराप्रवृत्तग्राह्यग्राहकामि-  
निवेशवासनापरिपाकात् आत्मनः सद्भावं<sup>1</sup> प्राप्य निरुद्धेनाहितो य आलयविज्ञाने  
वासनाविशेषः स्वाकारानुबन्धिविज्ञानान्तरोत्पत्तिहेतुभूतः क्रमेण स्वपरिपाक-  
प्रत्ययागमेन परिपाकं प्राप्नोति । तस्माद्यदुपजायते परतन्त्रमपरिशुद्धम् ।  
तत्रैव बाला ग्राह्यग्राहकविकल्पं परिकल्पयन्ति । न तु किञ्चिदपि विज्ञाना-  
तिरिक्तं ग्राह्यमस्ति । यथेश्वरादिकारणवादिनः

गोशब्दानां हि गौर्हेतुश्चन्द्रकान्तोऽम्भसामिव ।

प्ररोहाणामिव प्लक्षः स हेतुः सर्वदेहिनाम्<sup>2</sup> ॥

इतीश्वरादीनेव जगत्कर्तृन् वदन्ति । तथालयविज्ञानवादिनोऽपि आलयविज्ञानं  
सकलभावोपलम्भव्रीजाश्रयत्वेन सर्वव्रीजं वदन्ति । अयमेव विशेषः यदीश्वरो  
नित्यः आलयविज्ञानमनित्यमिति ॥

(138,15) यस्मादियं प्रवचनस्य व्यवस्था प्रसिद्धा ।

संविद्यतेऽतः परतन्त्ररूपं

प्रज्ञप्तिसद्वस्तुनिबन्धनं यत् ।

बाह्यं विना ग्राह्यमुदेति सच्च

सर्वप्रपञ्चाविषयस्वरूपम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ४७ ॥

परतन्त्ररूपमिदमवश्यमभ्युपगन्तव्यम् । यस्मात्तदशेषकल्पनाजालाश्रय-  
मिष्यते । न हि रज्जुनिमित्तकः सर्पभ्रमस्तामनपेक्ष्य युज्यते । घटादिभ्रमो  
भूम्यादिनिमित्तको भूम्यादिमनपेक्ष्य नाकाशप्रदेशे उदेति । तथात्रापि बाह्यार्थं  
विना नीलादिकल्पना किञ्चिन्मिता स्यात् । अतः कल्पनाकारणमवश्यं परतन्त्र-

1. Tib. dños. po. yod. pa.

2. Compare तत्त्वसङ्ग्रहपञ्जिका P. 76.

ऊर्णनाम इवांशूनां चन्द्रकान्त इवाम्भसाम् ।

प्ररोहाणामिव प्लक्षः स हेतुः सर्वजन्मिनाम् ॥

and Prajñāpradīpa (B. I) P. 19.

3. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 23. On प्रज्ञप्तिसत् see मध्य० वृत्ति P. 28. n. 1.



रूपमुपगन्तव्यम् । संक्षेपव्यवदानयोर्हेतुत्वात् । एवं च यत्र यदसत् तत्तेन शून्यमिति समनुदृष्टिः यदत्राधिकमवशिष्टं तदत्र सत्यमस्तीतीयं यथाभूतप्रज्ञा च हि शून्यतायामविपर्ययेनावतारः<sup>1</sup> इत्यादिना शून्यतापि सुगृहीता भवति ॥

तदपि<sup>2</sup> सर्वप्रपञ्चाविषयस्वरूपम् । अभिधानं तु प्रज्ञाप्याकारग्रहणार्थम् । यावदभिधानमस्ति । तावन्न वस्त्वभिधानम् ।

(139,19) तस्मात् संक्षेपतोऽत्र परतन्त्ररूपे त्रयं व्यवस्थाप्यते । ज्ञेयं विना स्ववासनात् एवोत्पत्तिः सत्त्वं प्रपञ्चाविषयत्वं चेति । प्रज्ञासिद्धस्तु-  
निबन्धनता तु सत्त्वेनैव सिद्धा । इति न सा त्रयादतिरिक्ता । इति चेत् ।  
अत्रोच्यते ।

बाह्यं विना क्व यथास्ति चित्तं

इतीदमेव पुनः सम्यग्विचारणीयम् । आह ।

स्वप्ने यथा चेत्

अत्यल्पे गृहेऽन्तःसुप्तो निद्राविपर्ययेण महामत्तहस्तिगणमन्तर्गृहं  
पश्यति । न कदाचिदयं विद्यते । तस्मात् बाह्यविषयं विनैव विज्ञान-  
मिदमवश्यमुपेयम् ॥

(140,11) अत्राप्यसारताप्रदर्शनायाह ।

इदमेव चिन्त्यम् ।

किं पुनस्तत् । आह ।

स्वप्नेऽपि मे नैव हि चित्तमस्ति

यदा तदा नास्ति निदर्शनं ते<sup>3</sup> ॥ ४८ ॥

मत्तपूर्णहस्तिगणाकारकं तत् ज्ञानं तु विषयवन्नास्त्यस्माकम् । अनुत्पन्न-  
त्वात् । असति च विज्ञाने उभयोः प्रसिद्धनिदर्शनाभावात् बाह्यं विना ज्ञानं नास्ति ॥

1. This seems to be an extract from some other work.

But compare शि० स० P. 357 L. 10: योनिशः प्रयुक्तो हि.....

बोधिसत्त्वो यदस्ति तदस्तीति प्रजानाति । यन्नास्ति तन्नास्तीति प्रजानाति ।

2. परतन्त्रम् ।

3. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 23. (L. V. P.)

(141,1) अथ स्वप्ने भ्रान्तं विज्ञानं नास्ति । तदा विबुद्धः स्वप्नानुभवं न स्मरेत् इति । इदमपि न युज्यते । तथा हि ।

स्वप्नस्य बोधे स्मरणान्मनोऽस्ति  
यद्यस्ति बाह्यो विषयोऽपि तावत् ।

कस्मात् ।

यथा मया दृष्टमिति स्मृतिस्ते  
बाह्येऽपि तद्वत् स्मृतिसंभवोऽस्ति<sup>1</sup> ॥ ४९ ॥

यथा स्वप्नानुभवस्मरणान्चित्तमस्त्येव । तथा विषयानुभवस्मरणसत्त्वाच्च विषयोऽप्यस्ति । अथवा विज्ञानमपि नास्तीति निश्चेतव्यः ॥

(141,13) अत्राह । यदि महागजादिरूपमस्ति स्वप्ने । तद्गृहीतुं चक्षुर्विज्ञानमपि भवतु । तत्तु नास्ति । निद्राव्याकुलतया पञ्चविज्ञानसामग्र्य-संभवात् । तथा हि ।

चक्षुर्विज्ञानोऽसंभव एव मिद्धे  
नास्त्यस्ति वै मानसमेव चेतः ।  
तदाकृतौ बाह्यतया निवेशः  
स्वप्ने यथेहापि तथा मतं चेत्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ५० ॥

स्वप्ने चक्षुर्विज्ञानं सर्वथा नास्ति । तद्विना चक्षुरायतनग्राह्यं तन्महा-गजादिरूपं नास्ति । मनोविज्ञानं त्वस्ति । तस्मात् बाह्यं रूपमसदेव । विज्ञानाकोरे बाह्यतयाभिनिवेशस्त्वविवादः । यथा स्वप्ने बाह्यं विना विज्ञानमात्र-मुदेति । तथेहापि स्यात् । इति चेत् ॥

(142,7) मैवम् । स्वप्ने मनोविज्ञानोद्भवासंभवात् । तथा हि ।

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.* fol. 24. (L. V. P.) the reading मिद्धे is adopted from the Tib. But the verse as cited in सुभा० reads सिद्धे ।

बाह्यो यथा ते विषयो न जातः  
स्वप्ने तथा नैव मनोऽपि जातम् ।

अतः

चक्षुश्च चक्षुर्विषयश्च तज्जं  
चित्तं च सर्वं त्रयमप्यलीकम्<sup>1</sup> ॥ ५१ ॥

यथा रूपदर्शने चक्षुरूपं मनश्चैतत्त्रयं संनिहितम् । तथा स्वप्नेऽपि  
विषयपरिच्छेदे त्रयं संभूय आलम्ब्यते । यथा तत्र चक्षुरूपोभयं नास्ति ।  
तथा चक्षुर्विज्ञानमपि नास्ति ।

(142,19) यथैतानि त्रीणि तथा

श्रोत्रादि शिष्टं त्रयमप्यजातम्,

श्रोत्रादीति । आदिना शब्दः श्रोत्रविज्ञानं यावन्मनो धर्मधातुर्मनोविज्ञानं  
च संगृह्यन्ते । तस्मात् स्वप्ने एतत्त्रयं सर्वमलीकम् । अतः स्वप्ने मनोविज्ञान-  
मस्तीत्येतन्न युक्तम् ॥

(143,5) कश्चित्तु मन्यते मनोविज्ञानग्राह्यं धर्मायतनगतं रूपं  
स्वप्नेऽस्ति । अतो विज्ञानं विषयं विना न कचिदस्तीति । तदप्ययुक्तमेव ।  
सर्वथा स्वप्ने त्रयासंभवात् ॥

(143,10) यदि परसमयप्रत्याख्यानाय तथोपगम्यते तदा स्वप्नदृष्टान्तो  
निरर्थक एव स्यात् । सोऽमृषार्थक एव दार्ष्टान्तिकवस्तुनस्तु । मृषार्थकत्वेन  
कथनासंभवात् ॥

(143,13) यस्मात् स्वप्ने त्रिकमप्यसत्यम् । तस्मात् प्रसिद्धद्वारा  
असिद्धसिद्धिसाधनाय प्रबोधेऽपि सर्वो धर्मो निःस्वभाव एव साध्यत इत्याह ।

स्वप्ने यथात्रापि तथा प्रबोधे ।

भावा मृषा सन्ति मनोऽस्ति तन्न

निर्गोचराक्षाय्यपि वै न सन्ति ॥ ५२ ॥

यथा स्वप्ने विषय इन्द्रियं विज्ञानं च मृषा । तथा प्रबोधेऽपीति ज्ञेयम् ।  
तस्मात् सुभाषितम् ।

यथा मायिकाः सत्त्वा उपलभ्यन्ते

सदृश्या अपि तत्त्वतो न तथ्याः ।

मायाकाराः स्वप्नसमानाश्च

तथा धर्मः सुगतेन देशितः<sup>1</sup> ॥ इति ।

तथा

सुपिनोपमा भगवगी (सकला)

नेह कश्चि जायति न चो म्रियते ।

नाम सत्त्वं लभ्यति न जीवु नरो

इमि धर्मं फेनकदलीसदृशाः ॥ <sup>2</sup>इत्यादि च ।

(144,12) अतो विबुद्धज्ञानमपेक्ष्य त्रिकमप्यजातमुक्तम् । स्वप्ने  
स्वप्नायमानज्ञानमपेक्ष्य तु

यथात्र यावत्खलु बुध्यमानो

नाबोधि तावत्त्रयमस्ति तस्य ।

यथा सत्यामप्यज्ञाननिद्रायां तदतिरिक्तनिद्राविरहेण कस्यचित् विबुद्ध-  
स्याविद्यानिद्रया स्वप्नायमानत्वादुपलब्धं त्रिकं स्वात्मत्वेनाजातमप्यस्ति । तथा  
अनपगतनिद्राणां स्वप्नावस्थात अनुत्थितानामपि तथास्वभावकं त्रिकमस्ति ।

त्रिकं विबुद्धस्य च नास्ति मोह-

निद्राविबोधात्किल तत्तथैव ॥ ५३ ॥

यथा विबुद्धस्य निद्राक्षयात्स्वप्नोपलब्धं त्रयं न विद्यते । तथोन्मूलिता-  
शेषाविद्यानिद्राणां साक्षात्कृतधर्मधातूनामपि न त्रिकमस्तीति बाह्यं विना  
न विज्ञानं विद्यते ॥

1. Not identified and rendered into prose.

2. Cited from समाधिराजसूत्र in म० वृत्ति, P. 109, L. 7, 549, L. 11.

where it has न च in the place of नाम and न हि for नेह (L. V. P.).

(145,10) अथ तैमिरिकेन अविद्यमानकेशाद्युपलम्भात् बाह्यं विनापि विज्ञानमस्तीति<sup>1</sup> चेत् । तदप्यनुपपन्नम् । कस्मात् ।

बुद्ध्या यया तैमिरिकेन्द्रिया यान्  
पश्यन्ति केशान् तिमिरप्रभावात् ।  
सत्यं द्विकं बुद्धिमपेक्ष्य तां च  
व्यक्तार्थदृष्टेर्द्वयमप्यलीकम् ॥ ५४ ॥

स्वप्नतावत् द्रष्टव्यम् । तैमिरिकदर्शनमपेक्ष्य केशाकारः पुनरस्ति ।  
अतैमिरिकदर्शनमपेक्ष्य तूभयमप्यजातमेव । विषयं विना ज्ञानस्य दुर्नि-  
श्चयत्वात् ॥

(146,1) एतद्व्यवश्यमेष्टव्यम्<sup>2</sup> । मैवम् ।

ज्ञेयं विना वै यदि बुद्धिरस्ति  
तत्केशदेशान्वितलोचनस्य ।  
स्यात्केशधीस्तैमिरिकेतरस्य<sup>3</sup>  
तथा न तस्मान्न च विद्यते तत् ॥ ५५ ॥

यदि तैमिरिकस्य केशान् विना केशाकारकं ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते । यत्र देशे  
तैमिरिकः केशान् पश्यति तत्र <sup>4</sup>समर्पितलोचनस्यातैमिरिकस्यापि <sup>5</sup>तत्सदृश-  
केशबुद्धिः भवेत् । विषयाभावस्य समानत्वात् । तस्माद्विषयं विना विज्ञान-  
मुत्पद्यत इत्येतदयुक्तम् ॥

(146,12) अत्राह । भवेदेतदेवं यदि विषयसत्ता विज्ञानोत्पत्तिहेतुः ।  
<sup>6</sup>किं तर्हि । पूर्वमाहितविज्ञानवासनापाकापाकौ विज्ञानोत्पत्त्यनुत्पत्तिहेतुः ।  
तस्माद्यस्य केशाकारकविज्ञानान्तराहितवासनापरिपाकोऽस्ति । तस्यैव तदाकारकं

1. P. 145, L. 11. Read yod-pa-yin for yod-pa-ma-yin

2. तैमिरिकदर्शनमपेक्ष्य इति शेषः ।

3. Lit. अतैमिरिकस्य.

4. P. 146, L. 9. Read gtad-pahi.

5. P. 146, L. 9. Read de-dai-hdra-bar (L. V. P.).

6. 'न हि विषयसत्ता हेतुः' इति मध्ये योज्यम् ।

विज्ञानमुदेति । नान्यस्य । इति । एतदप्ययुक्तमित्याह ।

यस्मदपका खलु <sup>1</sup>पश्यतां धी-  
शक्तिस्ततो नास्ति मतिश्च तेषाम् ।  
न ज्ञेयसद्भावविलोपना चेत्  
तच्छक्त्यभावाच्च हि सिध्यतीदम् ॥ ५६ ॥

ज्ञेयसद्भावविलोपनं ज्ञेयासत्त्वमित्यर्थः । यदि शक्तिरिति <sup>2</sup>केवलमस्ति ।  
तदा तत्पाकापाकयोः सतोर्विज्ञानोद्भवानुद्भवौ स्याताम् । <sup>3</sup>अत इदमसिद्धम् ॥

(147,7) कथं पुनः शक्तिर्नास्ति । आह ।

जातस्य शक्तेर्न हि संभवोऽस्ति  
नाजातरूपस्य च शक्तिरस्ति ।

अत्रेयं परिकल्पिता शक्तिर्वर्तमानविज्ञानसम्बन्धिनी स्यादाहोस्वित्  
अतीतानागतविज्ञानसम्बन्धिनी वा । तत्र न तावज्जातस्य विज्ञानस्य शक्तेः  
संभवोऽस्ति । यदा शक्तेरिति षष्ठी । तदा फलरूपं विज्ञानं हेतुतयाप्यस्तीति<sup>4</sup>  
युक्तं स्यात् । <sup>5</sup>यद्यस्ति । निर्हेतुकं फलं स्यात् । जाताङ्कुरोऽपि बीजो  
न नङ्क्ष्यात् । तस्माज्जातस्य विज्ञानस्य शक्तिर्न संभवति । यदा तु शक्तेरिति  
पञ्चमी । तदा जातस्य विज्ञानस्य शक्तेरुद्भवो न युक्तः । विद्यमानत्वादिति  
पूर्वं प्रतिपादितम् । एवं तावज्जातस्य शक्तेर्न हि संभवोऽस्ति ।

(148,3) अजातस्वभावस्यापि विज्ञानस्य शक्तिर्नास्ति । यस्मात्

1. अतैमिरिकाणाम् इति शेषः । prof. L. V. Poussin suggests the reading 'mthoñ-ba-med-la = अपश्यतां ( केशान् ) i.e. अतैमिरिकाणाम् ।

2. P. 147, L. 4. If we read hḡah-shig (= किञ्चित्) for hḡah-shig (= केवल) we get a better meaning.

3. 'न तु नास्ति' इति मध्ये योज्यम् ।

4. This is a kind of प्रसङ्ग. So the particle 'ma' (= नञ्) introduced in The Tib. text by Prof. L. V. Poussin seems unnecessary.

5. यदि विज्ञानं हेतुतयाप्यस्ति । फलरूपा शक्तिः निर्हेतुका स्यात् । स्वसमान-कालीनविज्ञानस्य हेतुत्वासंभवात् इत्यर्थः । See here L. V. poussin's foot-note.

of Tolkāppiyānār to denote the subject of the verb as other technical expressions like *vērrumai*, *peyar*, *vinai*, *payanilai* to denote case, noun, verb and predicate respectively. If so *vērrumai-p-peyar* which means 'the *vērrumai* named *peyar*' may be taken as the subject and *eluvāy-tōṇru-nilai* as the predicate. In that case the meaning would be the nominative case is used to denote *eluvāy*.

Note 2.—Cēṇāvaraiyar on the other hand seems to think that this sūtra deals with the *form* of the noun in the nominative case. This does not seem to be sound for three reasons: (1) The meaning of the nominative case as *ceyvatū* or doer should be mentioned in this chapter since mention is made of it in the sūtra

*Viṇai-y-ē ceyvatū ceya-p-paṭu poruḷē*  
*Nilai-ē kūlaṇ karuvi y-eṇṇā*  
*Inṇataṭ k-itu-payan-āka v-eṇṇum*  
*Anṇa marapi n-iraṇṭōṭu-n tokaii*  
*Ā-y-eṭ t-eṇṇa toḷiṇ-muta nilai-y-ē.*

(Tol. Col. 112.)

as one of the eight requisites for an action to take place. (2) The sūtras 71, 73 etc. deal directly with the *meaning* of the accusative case, the instrumental etc. (3) That there is no suffix for the nominative case is easily inferred from the two sūtras Tol. Col. 64 and Tol. Elut. 114 which respectively deal with the names of cases and the case-suffixes.

66. பொருண்மை சுட்டல் வியங்கொள வருதல்  
 வினையில யுரைத்தல் வினாவிற் கேற்றல்  
 பண்புகொள வருதல் பெயர்கொள வருதலென்று  
 அன்றி யனைத்தும் பெயர்ப்பய னிலையே.  
*Poruṇmai cuṭṭal viyaṇ-koḷa varutal*  
*Viṇai-nilai y-uraittal viṇā-v-iṭ k-ēṇṇal*  
*Panbu-koḷa varutal peyar-koḷa varutal-eṇṇū*  
*Anṇi y-anaittum peyar-p-paya nilai-y-ē.*

The predicate to a subject may denote one of the following:—the existence of the subject, the wish or order of another relating to the subject, the kind of action of the subject, question relating to the subject, the quality of the subject, and the number class, order etc. of the subject.

Ex. *Poruṇmai-cuṭṭal*:—

...Curattum

G

Tām-ē cellum tāyar-um uḷar-ē. (Tol. Poruḷ. 40.)  
(There are mothers who themselves go to the desert.)

*Viyañ-koḷa-varutal.*

Vāṭuka v-iraiva-niṇ kaṇṇi y-onṇār  
Nāṭu-cuṭu kamaḷ-pukai y-eṛitta l-āṇ-ē. (Pura. 3, 21, 22.)  
(Oh king, let your garland fade on account of the fire  
with fragrant smoke burning the enemies' country.)

*Viṇai-nilai-y-uraittal.*

Tāyi rūvā-k kuḷavi pōla  
Ōvātu kūu-niṇ ṇ-uṭarriyōr nāṭē. (Pura. 4, 18, 19.)  
(Your enemies' country cries un-interruptedly like  
children devoid of mothers.)

*Viṇā-v-iṛ-k-ēṛṛal.*

Entai yāṇṭ-uḷaṇ kol? (Pura. 135, 16.)  
(Where is my lord?)  
Ivar yār? (Pura. 201.)  
(Who are these?)

*Paṇṇu-koḷa-varutal.*

Avar-ē.....Kaṇṇu-k-k-iṇiyar. (Pura. 167.)  
(But they are beautiful to look at.)

*Peyar-koḷa-varutal.*

Yāṇ-ē tantai-tōḷaṇ. (Pura. 201.)  
(I am (their) father's friend.)

*Note 1.*—This sūtra deals with the classification of the *paya-nilai* or predicate in a sentence. Is Tolkāppiyāṇār justified in dealing with the classification of *payaṇilai* without giving out its meaning? It is one of the technical terms used by his ancients which he has made use of. In such cases he does not give the definition. Cf. *vēṛṛumai*, *viṇai* etc. Besides, the previous sūtra deals with *eluvāy* or the meaning of the first case. *Eluvāy* cannot exist without a predicate. Hence Tolkāppiyāṇār has dealt with the classification of *payaṇilai* here.

*Note 2.*—Almost all the commentators think that this sūtra and the previous one suggest that the definition of *peyar* or noun is that which is capable of taking case-suffixes or being followed by a predicate. This is open to one objection. If *uruṭṭēṛṛal* or the taking of case-suffixes is a definition to *peyar*, the flaw of *anyōnyāśraya* or inter-dependence comes in:—A word becomes a noun if it is capable of taking case-suffixes and case-suffixes are suffixed only to nouns:—Hence it may be said that according to



Tolkāppiyaṇār, *peyar* or noun is that which denotes a *poruḷ* or object. This is evident from the designation *peyar* given to the noun. He suggests this in the sūtra

*Ellā-c col-l-um poruḷ kurittāṇa-v-ē.* (Tol. Col. 155.)

The commentators may have taken *uruḷḇērral* as a definition of *peyar* on the model of Sanskrit grammarians like Pāṇini who take *subāntam* as the definition of noun. The flaw mentioned above does not arise in Sanskrit since the case-suffixes are added there to the *prātipadika* (the base of a noun as *dēva*) and not to nouns. Tolkāppiyaṇār may be said to agree with the definition given to noun in R. V. Prātiśākhya—‘*Dravyābhidhāyakam nāma*’.

*Note 3.*—Cēṇāvaraiyar says that, in the sentence *ū pala* (cows are many), *pala* is in the nominative case, though it is not followed by a predicate; for it is capable of being followed by a predicate in other sentences like *pala uḷa* (there are many). According to other commentators, it cannot be taken so since it is not followed by a predicate and since they take the previous sūtra to mean that the noun in the nominative case is followed by a predicate.

*Note 4.*—Though the purpose served by the expression *peyar-koḷa-varuṭal* in the sūtra may be said to be served by any one of the remaining five mentioned :—*poruṇṇai-cuṭṭal*, *viyaṇ-koḷa-varuṭal*, *viṇai-nilai-y-uraittal*, *viṇā-v-iṛ-k-ērral* and *paṇṇu-koḷa-varuṭal*, yet Tolkāppiyaṇār seems to have mentioned it to show that words which are nouns in *form* and are used as logical predicates may be taken as predicates in grammar also.

67. பெயரி னுகிய தொகையுமா ருளவே

அவ்வு முரிய வப்பா லான.

*Peyar-i u-ūkiya tokai-yu-m-ā r-uḷa-v-ē*

*A-v-v-u m-uriya v-a-p-pū l-ūṇa.*

There are also compounds made up of nouns which, when they take predicates after them, are in the same category (*i.e.*) they stand in the nominative case.

Ex. *Paḷa-mutir-cōlai-malai-kiḷavōṇ peral-arum-paricil-nal-kumati.* (Tirumuru. 317, 295.)

([God Murukaṇ] the owner of the hill named *Paḷamutir-cōlai* will give (you) a reward which is very rare to get.)

*Note 1.*—The expression ‘*peyarin-ūkiya-tokai*’ does not only mean compounds all of whose members are nouns, but also

compounds like *kol-kaliṛū* (elephant that killed, kills or will kill) whose final members are nouns. *A-p-pāl-āṇ-a* literally means 'in that case'. Hence it means here 'when they take *ṭayanilai* after them'.

*Note 2.*—Though it appears that there are two sentences '*ṭeyariṇ-ākiya tokai-y-um uḷa*' and '*a-v-v-um uriya a-p-pāl-āṇa*' in the sūtra, yet it is really one sentence. The prose order is *a-p-pāl-āṇa* (those that stand in that category), *a-v-v-um uriya* (those that deserve it (*i.e.*) those that can stand in the nominative case), *ṭeyariṇ-ākiya tokaiyum* (the compounds made up of nouns also), *uḷa* (are). *A-p-pāl-āṇa* and *a-v-v-um uriya* stand in adjectival relation to *ṭeyariṇ-ākiya tokai*. *Um* after *tokai* is *ecca-v-ummai*. It suggests that not only *ṭeyar* mentioned in sūtra 65 can stand in the nominative case, but also compounds.

*Note 3.*—Iḷampūraṇar says that, in the opinion of some, the word '*um*' suggests that there are compounds made up of verbs and nouns like *kol-kaliṛū*. But since the expression *ṭeyariṇ-ākiya tokai* itself may be construed as compounds with nouns as their final member, it is better for '*um*' to connect *ṭeyariṇ-ākiya tokai* with *ṭeyar* as is mentioned above.

Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkiniyar, on the other hand, take '*um*' to suggest that there are compounds made up of nouns and verbs. The reason for saying so is that they take the expressions like *nilaṇ-kaṭantāṇ* (he passed through the land) as a compound word and they have no authority to take so in any sūtra of Tolkāppiyam. This seems to me very unnatural for two reasons:—(1) The context is not suited to it. (2) The sūtra will have to be split into two:—*ṭeyariṇ-ākiya tokai-y-um-ār uḷavē* and *a-v-v-um uriya a-p-pāl-āṇa* and the former part should be taken to mean 'there are compounds made up of nouns' and to suggest 'there are compounds made up of nouns and verbs', and the latter part 'they may be in the nominative case and take predicates after them'. Besides the suggested meaning of the former part has to be left out of consideration here. That it is not necessary to take *nilaṇ-kaṭantāṇ* as a compound word will be dealt with in detail under the sūtra

*Ellā-t- tokai-y-u m-oru-con ṭaṭaiya.*

(Tol. Col. 420.)

*Note 4.*—Cēṇāvaraiyar states that Iḷampūraṇar has said that there are compounds like *kol-kaliṛū* made up of verbs and nouns

and condemns that he is wrong in having said so. Both of them agree that expressions like *kol-kalirū* are *vinai-t-tokai* and may stand in the nominative case; but they differ as regards the part *kol*. Iḷampūraṇar takes it to be the curtailed form of the relative participle *konṇa* or *kollum*, while Cēṇāvaraiyar takes it as *dhātu* or root and mentions that the compounds like *kol-kalirū* are *nityasamāsa* or unsplittable compounds. Iḷampūraṇar's opinion seems to be better in consideration of the expression *kālattiyaḷum* in the sūtra

*Vinaiyin rokuti kūlat t-iyalum.*

(Tol. Col. 415).

*Note 5.*—Cēṇāvaraiyar says that according to Iḷampūraṇar, this sūtra sanctions that the compounds may take predicates and the sūtra '*Ellā-t tokaiyu m-oru-conṇaṭaiya*' (Tol. Col. 420.) sanctions that they may be used in the nominative case, and he is wrong in having said so. On careful examination of his commentary on the two sūtras, Iḷampūraṇar does not seem to have had that opinion.

68. எவ்வயிற் பெயரும் வெளிப்படத் தோன்றி

அவ்விய னிலையல் செவ்வி தென்ப.

*E-v-vayir peyar-um velippaṭa-t tōṇṇi*

*A-v-v-iya nilaiyal cervi t-ṇṇa.*

It is said that it is advisable for every noun to be mentioned explicitly in such places (*i.e.*) when they take predicates after them.

Ex. (Nī) niṇ-cor-peyaral. (Pura. 3.)

(You should not break your word.)

*Note 1.*—The word '*cervitū*' in the sūtra suggests that there may be expressions where the subject is not used. For instance verbs in the second, and the first, person are generally used without their subject.

*Note 2.*—Iḷampūraṇar gives a different meaning to the sūtra :—the words mostly assume when they take case-suffixes the same form as the one they take in the nominative case. Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār have given the meaning mentioned above. Nacciṇārkkiniyar gives both. The interpretation of Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār seems to be suitable to the context.

69. கூறிய முறையி னுருபுநிலை திரியாது

ஈறுபெயர்க் காரு மியற்கைய வென்ப.

*Kūriya murai-y-i n-uruṇu-nilai tiriyāti*  
*Ṭṛu-peyar-k k-āku m-iyarkaiya v-enpa.*

The case-suffixes mentioned above (in Tol. Eḷut. 114) are suffixed without any modification in form to the nouns.

*Note 1.*—All the four commentators give the same meaning as is mentioned above. But ḷampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār differ in their opinion regarding the purpose served by the expression '*nilai tiriyāti*' in the sūtra. Nacciṇārkkīyār agrees with Cēṇāvaraiyar. ḷampūraṇar says that, since it is mentioned in the sūtra

*Avaitām,*

*Muṇṇum piṇṇu moli-y-aṭuttu varutalum*

*Tam-mīṇu tiritalum.....* (Tol. Col. 251.)

that *iṭai-c-col* will undergo modification in form, it is stated here that case-suffixes though they are *iṭai-c-col*, do not undergo modification. Cēṇāvaraiyar thinks that the case-suffixes do not become part and parcel of nouns as verbal terminations. Teyvaccilaiyār states that it suggests that nouns in Tamil do not undergo any modification in form when they take case-suffixes as nouns in Sanskrit. ḷampūraṇar's opinion seems to be correct.

*Note 2.*—What is the purpose served by this sūtra? It is this sūtra that explicitly states that the case-suffixes in Tamil are *suffixed* to nouns. The need for this sūtra will be highly appreciated if we note that there are languages in the world which have infixes etc. to denote the case relation.

*Note 3.*—Cēṇāvaraiyar thinks that this sūtra suggests that *urupēṇṇal* comes under the definition of a noun. That it does not appear to be so has already been pointed out.

70. பெயர்நிலைக் கிளவி காலந் தோன்ற

தொழினிலை யொட்டு மொன்றலங் கடையே.

*Peyar-nilai-k kiḷavi kālan tōṇṇā*

*Toliṇilai y-oṭṭu m-onṇ-alaṅ kaṭai-y-ē.*

Nouns except a class of *tolīṇ-peyar* or verbal nouns do not denote time.

Cel-virun t-ōmpi varu-viruntu-pārttirupṇāṇ,

Nal-viruntu vāṇat t-avarkkū. (Kuṇḷ, 86.)

(He who, after welcoming the out-going guests, is expecting the in-coming guests will become a fine guest to gods.)

*Note 1.*—Even though it seems at first sight that this sūtra enjoins what is evident (*i.e.*) that nouns do not generally denote time, yet it is this sūtra that explicitly reveals to us the one

peculiarity of the Tamil language, that the *forms of finite verbs* may be taken as *nouns* and declined. For instance the word *pārttiruppāṇ* in the example mentioned above is in form a finite verb; but here it is used as a noun. It may be declined exactly as a noun :—*pārttiruppāṇai*, *pārttiruppāṇū* etc. It then means he who is expecting.

*Note 2.*—The meaning of this sūtra according to the four commentators is in essence the same. According to all of them the forms like *pārttiruppāṇ* may be used as nouns. But they arrive at it in different ways:—*ḷampūraṇar*, *Cēṇavaraiyar* and *Teyvacilaiyār* take *peyar-nilai-k-kiḷavi* to mean nouns and *tolil-nilai* verb. *Nacciṇārkkiniyar*, on the other hand takes *peyar-nilai-k-kiḷavi* to mean *peyar-k-kiḷavi* (nouns) and *nilai-k-kiḷavi* (verbal nouns of the form *varutal*, *pōtal*, etc.). This splitting of *peyar-nilai-k-kiḷavi* into two parts seems to be unnatural and unnecessary, since its purpose is served by the word *onṟū* in the second line. *Tolil-nilai-y-oṭṭum-onṟū* evidently means one of *tolir-peyar*. *ḷampūraṇar* states that some take *tolinilai* as an adjunct to *peyar-nilai-k-kiḷavi* and interpret the whole expression to denote *tolir-peyar* of the class *varutal*, *pōtal* and take *oṭṭum-onṟū* in the sense (*kālam*) *oṭṭum-onṟū* so that it may denote *tolir-peyar* which take tense-sign. They have done so perhaps on account of the fact that nouns generally have no tendency to denote tense. But taking *tolinilai* to qualify *peyar-nilai-k-kiḷavi* is not natural.

*Oṭṭum* is a particle of comparison in the opinion of *Cēṇavaraiyar* and a relative participle in the opinion of others.

71. இரண்டா குவதே

ஐயெனப் பெயரிய வேற்றுமைக் கிளவி  
எவ்வழி வரினும் வினையே வினைக்குறிப்பு  
அவ்விரு முதலிற் றேன்று மதுவே.

*Iranṭā kuvatē*

*Ai-y-eṇa-p peyariya vēṇṟumai-k kiḷavi*

*E-v-vaḷi varinnum vinai-y-ē vinai-k-kuriṭṭū*

*A-v-v-iru mutaliṟ rōṇṟu m-atu-v-ē.*

The second case called *ai* denotes the direct object of a verb or an appellative verb.

Ex. *Vali-paṭuvōrai val-l-aṟiti* (Pura. 10.)

(You easily understand those that submit.)

*Nalliyakkōṭaṇai y-uṭaiyai* (Pura. 176.)

(You have *Nalliyakkōṭaṇ*.)

Arrai-t-tiṅkaḷ . . .

Entai<sup>1</sup>-y-um uṭai-y-ēm . . .

Irrai-t-tiṅkaḷ yām

. . . entai<sup>1</sup>-y-um ilam-ē. (Pura. 112.)

(We had our father that day, but now we do not have him.)

*Note 1.*—All the four commentators take the sūtra to consist of two sentences:—*ai-y-eṇa-p-peyariya vērrumai-k-kilavi, iranṭākuvalē*, and *atu e-v-vaḷi varinūm vinai-y-ē vinai-k-kurippu a-v-v-iru-mutaliṟ rōṇṟum*. Since *ai* as the second case is known by the sūtra 64, and since, if the sūtra is taken to contain two sentences expressing different ideas, it will give room to *vākya-bhēda* or sentence-split, it is preferable to take the word *iranṭākuvatū* to be the adjunct of *ai-y-eṇa-p-peyariya-vērrumai-k-kilavi* and the compound word *vinai-y-ē-vinai-k-kuripp-a-v-v-iru-mutaliṟ-rōṇ-ṟumatū* as the predicate of *ai-y-eṇa-p-peyariya-vērrumai-k-kilavi*.

*Note 2.*—The terms *iranṭāvatū vērrumai, mūṇṟāvatū vērrumai* etc., to denote the accusative case, the instrumental etc., are in the opinion of the author of *Pirayōka-vivēkam* the translation of *dvitīyā-vibhaktiḥ, tṛtīyā-vibhaktiḥ* etc. found in Sanskrit.

*Note 3.*—All the four commentators agree in the interpretation of the first two lines of the sūtra:—(*i.e.*) the case *ai* is the second. And Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar agree in the sense conveyed by the third and the fourth lines—(*i.e.*) *ai* denotes the direct object of a verb or an appellative verb. But they disagree in the interpretation of the expression *vinai-y-ē vinai-k-kurippa-v-v-iru-mutal*:—Iḷampūraṇar takes it to mean either, that which qualifies a verb or an appellative verb, or, that which has a verb or an appellative verb for its *nimitta* or cause. If we take the former interpretation, the same may hold good for the third case, the fourth case, the fifth case and the seventh case. The latter interpretation is against the sūtra

‘*Vinai-y-ē ceyvatū ceya-p-paṭu poruḷē*

.....

*Ā-y-eṭ t-eṇpa toḷiṇ-muta nilai-y-ē.*

(Tol. Col. 112.)

where it is said that *ceya-p-paṭu-poruḷ* or the direct object is one of the causes for an action to take place. Cēṇāvaraiyar takes the words *vinai* and *vinai-k-kurippu* to mean, ‘the object of *vinai*’

1. The accusative case-suffix ‘*ai*’ is dropped here.

## THE RĀMĀYAṆA IN GREATER INDIA.\*

BY

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The mighty influence exerted by the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki on the literatures and morals of India is a matter of common knowledge. To the scholar the *Rāmāyaṇa* may sometimes be a riddle; to the people it has always been a priceless treasure. Even among scholars there have been few who, being Hindus, have not often let go their critical apparatus and surrendered themselves to the rapturous melody of the *Ādikāvya*. At such moments, we do not ask ourselves if the summary of the story in the first Sarga is different from what it is in the third, if Vālmīki could really have been the contemporary of Rāma, or if parts of the *Bālakāṇḍa* are contradicted later on in the epic. Even the incidents of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, narrated in somewhat feeble verse which often lacks the ring of the genuine Vālmīki, appears in some sense to be a necessary complement to the main story ; possibly because of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. A great deal may be said in favour of so abandoning ourselves utterly to the enjoyment of the story. That is the way of religion and morality ; it is also, very largely, the method of literary enjoyment. The average Indian, the man in the street, has always evinced interest only in the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. To him each incident in it is a real fact that happened literally as it is described, and the conduct of each character in the story is a model or a warning for his own guidance in life. All the popular redactions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, most conspicuously the *Rāma-carita-mānasa* of the greatest poet of mediaeval Hindusthan, have directly endeavoured to harness this sentiment of the common man in the service of morality. It was a stroke of constructive imagination which suggested the idea, whatever our opinion of its merits, of enlisting children in national service under the name of *Vānara-senas*.

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\* A paper read before the Samskr̥ta Academy on the Vālmīki day, 1931.

But the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* outside the limits of India proper, in regions that are coming to be known more and more as Greater India, has not been less great. In making this statement I am thinking not simply of the *Rāmāyaṇa* sculptures in Prambanan in Java, and of the Javanese and Balinese versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the existence of which has now been known for well over a century, but of much fresh evidence from Indo-China and China proper that has been brought to light in recent years, and that is perhaps not so well known here as it deserves to be.

Before taking up the evidence from Indo-China, attention must be drawn to some striking conclusions arrived at by Dr. Stutterheim<sup>1</sup> from a study of Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* literature and sculptures. He has pointed out that the Indonesian versions of the Rāma legend are for the most part not based on the epic of Vālmiki, but on other Indian versions written and traditional, possibly more primitive. The most ancient Javanese representations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the bas-reliefs of Prambanan dating from the ninth century, are clearly Indian in character; but they illustrate, according to Stutterheim, a non-Vālmikian version of the story; whereas the later collection of Panataram (east Java) of about the fourteenth century is specifically Javanese in style, although it follows the text of Vālmiki much more closely.

Besides the Kawi (Javanese) version and the Balinese one based on it<sup>2</sup> to which the remarks of Dr. Stutterheim apply, and the well-known *Daśaratha Jātaka*<sup>3</sup> which starts by making Rāma and Sītā brother and sister, ends by making them husband and wife, and makes no mention either of Rāvaṇa or of Laṅkā, some other accounts of the story have come to light which deserve a brief notice here. In 1903 Professor Sylvain Levi drew attention to a Chinese version of the story dating from about 472 A.D. which closely resembles the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, of which it is perhaps the northern version, in omitting all mention of Rāvaṇa's offence and the expedition to Laṅkā, confining the story to the exile of the two brothers and their subsequent return to the kingdom. This version<sup>4</sup> furnishes fresh proof of the inanity of

1. B. E. F. E. O. Vol. XXVIII, p. 506 and J. R.A.S. 1926 p. 362.

2. B. E. F. E. O. V, p. 172; Eliot—*Hinduism and Buddhism*, III 186.

3. Fausboll—*The Jātaka*, IV, pp. 123—30 (No. 461).

4. B. E. F. E. O. III, 741.



the method which claims to detect successive stages in the growth of the legend. Next year, in 1904, Professor Huber discovered yet another version in a Chinese collection of some Jātaka stories intended to illustrate the six Pāramitās.<sup>1</sup> This is a very early account, having been translated into Chinese in the third century A.D. (222-80) by a monk of Sogdiana. In this Jātaka the names of the characters in the story are not given, but one can easily recognise the exile of Rāma and Sītā, Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā, the resistance opposed by the vulture Jaṭāyu to Rāvaṇa's progress, the strife between Vālin and Sugrīva, the bridge to Laṅkā thrown by the army of monkeys, and the ordeal by which Sītā demonstrated her purity after her release. There are also significant differences. Rāma is not exiled from his kingdom by his father at the instance of his step-mother, but he abandons it voluntarily, in fear of his spiteful uncle who is ruling the neighbouring country, and prepares to oust Rāma from his kingdom by force ; at first Rāma prepares to fight, but quails before the prospect of the ensuing carnage and seeks refuge in flight. When he comes back at the end of his adventures, his wicked uncle is no more, and the way is clear for his ruling his kingdom once more in security. Correspondingly, Vālin is also not the brother, but the uncle of Sugrīva in this story. Again, as in this story Rāma is the Bodhisattva, he does not kill Vālin; seeing Rāma preparing from a distance to aid his friend Sugrīva, Vālin takes fright, turns his back and flees. There is also nothing here of the story of the Uttarakāṇḍa.

The position of the Uttarakāṇḍa may be briefly considered at this point. The *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, believed to have been composed about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.<sup>2</sup>, ignores the Uttarakāṇḍa, which engages so prominently the attention of Kālidāsa and his successors. We shall see presently that the entire Rāmāyaṇa in the form in which we have it, with the Uttarakāṇḍa and all, was known in Champā<sup>3</sup> in the seventh century A.D. On the other hand there seems to have persisted in India till comparatively recent times a sufficiently orthodox tradition that omitted the Uttarakāṇḍa from the reckoning. In a

1. B. E. F. E. O. IV, pp. 698, ff.

2. J. R. A. S. 1904 pp. 395—7.

3. Champā was one of the more powerful states of Indo-China comprising Cochin-China and the southern part of what we now call Annam-Chavannes. *Religieux Eminents*, p. 107, n. 2.

gloss on Nāthamuni's verse on the Tiruvāymoli—"Bhaktāmṛtam etc.," Piḷḷailōkam Jīyar, the annotator draws a parallel between the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Tiruvāymoli* and says : "Aṅgu-ṣaṭkāṇḍa-māyirukkum ; iṅgu ṣaṭpadārttha-pratipādakamāy-ppattu-ppattā-yirukkum ; adu Rāmāyaṇārṇavam ; idu drāviḍa-vēdasāgaram." The Uttarakāṇḍa seems thus to stand more or less in the same relation to the rest of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as the *Atharvaveda* to the rest of the Veda, or as *Mokṣa* to the *Trivarga* in the scheme of *Puruṣārthas*.

To resume our account of the different versions of the Rāma legend outside India. Professor Huber discovered in 1905<sup>1</sup> the existence, in a modern collection of the historical legends of Annam, of yet another version in a short tale entitled "The king of Demons." In this Annamite legend, as Huber points out, Rāma and Sītā receive fanciful names ; but Daśaratha and Rāvaṇa are exactly designated as 'Ten-chariots' and 'Ten-heads' respectively. Daśānana, struck by Sītā's beauty, invades Daśaratha's kingdom with an army and carries the princess off to his kingdom which lay to the South of Daśaratha's. Rāma, at the head of an army of monkeys, built a causeway across the sea, invaded the enemy's country and rescued his wife. The Annamite narrator,—the last redaction of the legend is not earlier than the 18th century,—localises the legend at Champā and says : "The nation of the Ho-ton-tinh (Daśaratha's kingdom in this version) was of a simian race and the Chams of the present day are their descendants." This renders it quite possible, according to Prof. Huber, that the story is a distant echo of what must at one time have been the national epic of the Chams, and now lost. In any case, it seems to have an origin outside the Daśaratha Jātakas of the Chinese Buddhist canon. Lastly, Professor F. W. Thomas recovered less than two years ago, a Rāmāyaṇa story in Tibetan from Chinese Turkestan.<sup>2</sup> He has shown that this "highly peculiar Rāmāyaṇa story" which combines a knowledge of some things from the Uttarakāṇḍa with many incidents of 'a distinctly popular tone' like Rāvaṇa carrying off Sītā along with the plot of ground, 'is in form and substance wholly Indian' and that it must be assigned to a period between 700 and 900 A.D. There is, however, no Indian version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to which the Tibetan text

1. B. E. F. E. O. V, p. 168.

2. *Indian Studies in Honour of C. R. Lanman*, pp. 193 ff.

corresponds; and though it seems generally to follow the narrative in the Vanaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, there are many wide and surprising differences in the incidents and the names of the characters in the story. This Tibetan version might be the translation of "an original in one of the indigenous monosyllabic languages of Chinese Turkestan" or might be derived from a popular form of the Rāma story which had currency in Nepal in the seventh and eighth centuries when Tibet had close relations with that country. "In any case," observes Professor Thomas, "we have in these documents testimony to the early currency of popular Rāma narratives following the general lines and scale of the *Mahābhārata* and departing freely from the classical version of Vālmiki. Some such narrative may have found a place in Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, which in this point may be reflected by the *Kathāsaritsāgara*; the extant portion of Budhasvāmin's *Ślokaṅgraha* does not seem to give it."

To this day, the legend of Rāma remains popular in Cambodia, Laos, Siam and other parts of Indo-China and constitutes one of the most important sources of indigenous art and literature in these Countries.<sup>1</sup> That this widespread appeal of the Rāma story in Indo-China dates back to very early times is borne out by the increasing evidence of the epigraphy, architecture and sculpture of these countries. An inscription from Camboja "of about 600 A.D. relates how Śrīsomaśarman, doubtless a Braman, presented to a temple the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Purāṇa* and the complete *Bhārata* and made arrangements for their recitation."<sup>2</sup> At Trā-kien in the kingdom of Champā, one of its early kings Prakāśadharma (c. 653-679 A.D.) dedicated an image and a temple to Vālmiki as is seen from the very interesting Sanskrit inscription recently discovered of which the following is the text.<sup>3</sup>

Yasya śokāt samutpannam ślokaṁ Brahmābhipūj (ati)  
 Viṣṇoḥ puṁsaḥ purāṇasya mānuṣasyātmarūpiṇaḥ  
 \* \* \* \* ṛtam kṛtyam kṛtam yenābhiṣecanam  
 Kaverādyasya maharṣer v-vālmīkes śru u-ri ha  
 Pūjāsthānam punastasya kṛta \* \* y u-u-  
 Prakāśadharmanṛpatiḥ sarvāriṇasūdanāḥ  
 Vidyāśaktikṣamālakṣmīkīrttidhairyya (guṇānvitāḥ)  
 \* \* ty eṣa jagatkāntaś-śārade ntarite (r)i(pau).

1. L. Finot. B. E. F. E. O. III, p. 92.

2. Eliot III, 120. B. E. F. E. O. XXVIII, p. 149.

3. *Ib.* p. 148.

It has been pointed out<sup>1</sup> that in the epigraphy of Champā we have several instances of the absence of any distinction between the name of the shrine in a temple and the temple itself, in other words, of the name of the god designating the temple itself. The word 'punah' in l. 5 of the inscription points therefore to the restoration of a Vālmīki temple that had been in existence for some time, and was in need of a renovation at the hands of Prakāśadharman also called Vikrāntavarman. This proof of the existence of an official cult of Vālmīki in the seventh century at Champā furnishes striking confirmation of Huber's surmise (noted above) that the *Rāmāyaṇa* might once have been a national epic of the Chams, and provides a rough measure of the extent to which the *Rāmāyaṇa* influenced the formation of the classical culture of Champā. It should also be observed that the phrase *Ślokaṁ Brahmābhipūjati* (l. 1.) in the inscription shows that the account of Brahmā's visit to Vālmīki as it is narrated in the extant version of the Bālakāṇḍa was known in Champā in the seventh century, if not earlier. In another inscription dated in Ś. 579-(658 A.D.) the same king Prakāśadharman is described in the following words :<sup>1</sup>

Daśarathanṛpajo-yam Rāma ity āśayā yam  
Śrayati vidhipurogā śrī-raho yuktirūpam.

Again, Prakāśadharman is said to have built a temple to Kubera Ekākṣaṇḍa in an undated inscription<sup>2</sup> comprising the two following *śloka*s :

- (1) "Mahesśvarasakhasyedam kuberasya dhanākaram  
Prakāśadharmanṛpatiḥ pūjāsthānam akalpayat
- (2) Ekākṣaṇḍaḥ devyā darśanadūṣitaḥ  
Samvardhayatv Īśadhanam pāyāc-cāhitatas-sadā".

These verses recall the story of Kubera losing his left eye by turning it on Pārvatī, when as a result of his performing the Raudra Vrata, Śiva and Pārvatī appeared before him. The incident is narrated in the Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Canto XIII vv. 21-31) and ends with two verses of which our inscription is no doubt reminiscent :

"Devyā dagdham prabhāveṇa yaccha savyam tavekṣaṇam  
Paiṅgalyam yad-avāptam hi devyā rūpanirīkṣaṇāt

1. B. E. F. E. O. IV, p. 920.

2. *Ibid.* p. 928.

Ekākṣipīṅgalītyeva nāma sthāsyati śāśvatam  
Evam tena sakhitvam ca prāpyānujñām ca Śaṅkarāt."

The recurrence in the inscriptions of Prakāśadharman of allusions to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the similarity in incident and even the words employed between the inscriptions and the opening and closing *sargas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* clearly show that the extant version of Vālmiki was fairly well known in Champā in the seventh century A. D. Relatively few bas-reliefs have been found amidst the antiquities of Champā and of these, in the absence of the clue furnished by the inscriptions of Prakāśadharman, G. Maspers, the historian of Champā remarked; "To the rhythm of instruments the dancers mimic the episodes of a poem or a heroic drama of which a reader scanned the verses to the measure of *clauques* of bamboo. What these poems or dramas were we do not know."<sup>1</sup> It is highly probable that they may turn out to be representations of the Rāma story.

From Kāmbhoja, the more powerful neighbour of Champā, we get more copious evidence of the considerable influence exerted by the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the fine arts of the country. In the Musée Khmer at Phnom-Pen are preserved<sup>2</sup> ten groups of ancient paintings of episodes from the Khāmbojan version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. They include such well-known episodes of the Bālakāṇḍa as Janaka finding Sītā, Rāma breaking the bow of Śiva, and his encounter with Paraśurāma on his way back to Ayodhyā after his marriage. It has also an Uttara-Rāmāyaṇa in which Rāma meets and fights his sons without recognising them. Again, at Bēn Mūlā are sculptured scenes<sup>3</sup> in which one can clearly recognise important episodes of the Yuddhakāṇḍa such as the great fight put up by Rāvaṇa himself (sarga 54) after the death of his commander-in-chief Prahasta at the hands of Nīla, and the return to life, thanks to Indra, of the monkey forces killed in the fight (sarga 120). At Angkor-vat, in fine, are bas-reliefs<sup>4</sup> which depict all the important scenes of the story such as the *svayamvara* of Sītā (*Rām.* I. 67), the lifting of Sītā by Virādha (III-2-ff.), the duel between Vālin and Sugrīva, the death of Vālin and the grief of his women (IV-12-ff.), a favourite theme of the Angkor-vat sculp-

1. *Le Royaume de Champā*, p. 40.

2. Parmentier in B. E. F. E. O. XII, No. 3, pp. 47-50.

3. Same, XIII, No. 2, pp. 25-6.

4. Same, XII, No. 6, pp. 2-4.

tors, the meeting between Hanumān and Sitā (V, 32 ff.), the alliance between Vibhīṣaṇa and Rāma (VI-18), the ordeal of Sitā (VI-116) and so on. There is also a very interesting genealogy of a family of learned Brāhmaṇas who served the kings of Kāmbhoja for several generations and were great Sanskrit scholars. One of them Kavīndrapaṇḍita who lived in the 10th century A. D. was not only master of the *Śāstras* of Grammar, polity and religion, but expounded the two great epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>1</sup>

In Siam, the Rāma story is apparently an integral part of popular culture even now, for a few years ago the Museum of the French school of Oriental Learning at Hanoi succeeded<sup>2</sup> in acquiring from Siam a collection of twenty-seven masks representing different heroes of the Siamese Rāmāyaṇa.

The wide sweep of the cultural influences emanating from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and shaping art and life outside India is thus being borne in upon us as each year advances and the work of archæological exploration proceeds in different parts of Asia. In India itself the survivals of Rāmāyaṇa sculptures are not many, though not altogether unknown,<sup>3</sup> and of Rāmāyaṇa paintings we seem to have nothing left to us except the consmmuate manner in which Bhavabhūti introduces them in his *Uttararāmacarita* to deepen the pathos of the opening Act of his play. But the poem lives in the speech of men, and shapes their lives in many subtle ways: and while the prophecy of Brahmā is being fulfilled Vālmiki may be sure of his place :

“Yāvat sthāsyanti girayaḥ saritaśca mahītale  
Tāvadrāmāyaṇakathā lokeṣu pracariṣyati  
Yāvadrāmasya ca kathā tvaṭkṛtā pracariṣyati  
Tāvadūrdhvamadhaśca tvam mallokeṣu nivatsyasi.”

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1. B. E. F. E. O. XXVIII 60.

2. B. E. F. E. O. XXIII p. 536. Also A. K. Coomaraswami—*Indian and Indonesian Art* p. 180.

3. See Coomaraswami *op. cit.* Index s. v. Rāmāyaṇa The most considerable Indian sculptures are those in the Daśavatāra temple (Gupta) at Deogarh, Halēbid (Hoysala) and the Hazāra Rāma temple (Vijayanagar).

## THE DAKṢIṆĀMŪRTI HYMN AND THE MĀNASOLLĀSA

BY

RAI BAHADUR AMARNATH RAY, B.A.

The 'Dakṣiṇāmūrti' Hymn is an exquisite little hymn, the authorship of which is almost universally ascribed to the great Śaṅkara, and the 'Mānasollāsa' is a Vārtika on this hymn, ascribed to Śaṅkara's great disciple, Sureśvara. Vidyāraṇya, Svayamprakāśayati, and others are said to have written commentaries on the hymn, while a commentary on the hymn as well as the Vārtika is attributed to Rāma-Tīrtha. In recent times Pandit A. Mahadeva Sastri has translated the hymn and the Vārtika, while Professor M. Srinivasa Rau of the Mysore University College of Medicine, has based his 'Outlines of Vedānta' on this hymn. Even so careful a scholar as Dr. S. K. Belvalkar has named it among the undoubtedly genuine works of Śaṅkara<sup>1</sup>. I was under the spell of this hymn for a long time and worked rather hard on it, with a view to bring out an edition of the hymn and the Vārtika with the commentaries of Svayamprakāśa and Rāma-Tīrtha, a Bengali translation, and some notes of my own. Prolonged study has led me to the conclusion that the hymn must have been a work by some great Kashmir Śāiva philosopher like Utpaladeva or Abhinava Gupta, and the Vārtika that of a writer of the same (*i.e.*, the Pratyabhijñā) school too, though a few dozen verses have been interpolated into it in order to bring the hymn in conformity with Advaita Vedānta. I find it necessary to deal with the hymn at some length in view of the age and persistence of the tradition which has to be combated.

It is a hymn to the God, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, incarnated as the 'Guru.' The word 'Dakṣiṇāmūrti' literally means 'one who faces the south.' But the 'Dakṣiṇāmūrti Upaniṣad', evidently a late Upaniṣad of the Kashmir Śāiva School, says that the God Śiva is so called because he can be realised by means of 'Dakṣiṇā or 'Śemuṣī', that is, 'Buddhi':—

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1. See Basu Mallik Lectures, by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Pt. 1, P. 222.

“Śemuṣi dakṣiṇā proktā sā yasyābhikṣaṇe mukham|  
Dakṣiṇābhīmukhaḥ proktaḥ Śivo'sau brahmavādibhiḥ||”

—Verse 19.

One of the cardinal doctrines of Kashmir Śaivism is that true knowledge can be attained only by serving Maheśvara as a slave, somehow or other, and that the easiest way to serve Maheśvara is by adoring one's 'Guru' as identical with him. Mādhava, in his account of the Pratyabhijñādarśana in the 'Sarvadarśana-Saṅgraha', quotes the following verse from Utpaladeva's 'Īśvarapratyabhijñā' :—

“Kathañcidāsādyā Maheśvarasya  
Dāsym janasyāpyupakāramicchan|  
Samastasampatsamavāptihetum  
Tatpratyabhijñāmupapādayāmi||”

He then quotes the meaning of the word 'Kathañcit' from Abhinavagupta's Vṛtti on the work, known as the 'Vimarśinī'. The portion of the Vṛtti quoted is thus translated by Gough:—  
“ ‘Somehow or other’, by a propitiation, effected by God, of the lotus feet of a spiritual director identical with God”. The doctrine has its roots in the well-known 'Śvetāśvatara' passage :—

“Yasya deve parā bhaktiryathā deve tathā gurau|  
Tasyaite kathitā hyarthaḥ prakāśante mahātmanah||”

The idea has gradually filtered down to all sects, but I doubt if the God-guru equation can be traced in the early Advaita Vedānta literature, say, in the works of Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara.

I take the hymn as one composed of the ten stanzas with which the 'Mānasollāsa' deals. The four or five additional stanzas, found in some editions of the hymn, are evidently later interpolations. Before proceeding to deal with the hymn, stanza by stanza, I shall request my readers to go through Mādhava's account of the 'Pratyabhijñādarśana' which is largely made up of extracts from the writings of Abhinavagupta.

#### Stanza I.

‘Viśvaṁ’ :—A favourite word with Kashmir Śaivas, it means all created things, 'Āsadāśiva-bhūmyantaṁ', i.e., from Sadāśiva down to the grossest of the elements, earth. 'Darpaṇa-dṛśyamānanagaritulyaṁ' :—A favourite imagery of Kashmir Śaiva philosophers. See the opening lines of Mādhava's account



Compare the following verses from Abhinavagupta's 'Paramārthasāra':—

“ Darpaṇavimbe yadvan'nagaraḡrāmādicitramavibhāgi|  
Bhāti vibhāgenaiva ca parasparaṇ darpaṇādapi ca||  
Vimalatama paramabhairava'bodhāt tad vad vibhāgaśūnyamapi|  
Anyo'nyaṇ ca tato'pi ca vibhaktamābhāti jagadetat||”

—Verses 12-13:

Again,

“ Mayyeva bhāti viśvaṇ darpaṇa iva nirmale ghaṭādīni|  
Mattaḡ prasaraṭi sarvaṇ svapnavicitratvamiva suptāt||  
Ahameva viśvarūpaḡ karacaraṇādisvabhāva iva dehaḡ|  
Sarvasminnahameva sphurāmi bhāveṣu bhā-svarupam-iva||”

—verses 48-49.

See also Yogarāja's gloss on verses 12 and 13, quoted above. The analogy of the images in the mirror is found in the Pañcadaśī, verse 99, Chapter 13. But before the age of this work the 'Dakṣiṇāmūrti' hymn appears to have been accepted as a work of Śaṅkara.

'Yathā nidrayā'—This refers to dream creations. See verse 48. from the 'Paramārthasāra' quoted above. "Yaḡ sākṣātkurute prabodha-samaye" etc. :—A. Mahadeva Sastri vaguely translates 'prabodha-samaye' as 'when awake'. It means "at the time of immediate direct realisation on instruction by a proper 'guru'." This doctrine is common to Kashmir Śaivism and a section of Śaṅkara's followers, though as to the nature of the ultimate reality the views of the two schools are wide apart. Compare the following verses from the 'Spandakārikā' by Kallata :—"Ataḡ satatamudyuktaḡ spandatattva-viviktaye| Jāgradeva nijaṇ bhāvaṇ aciramadhigacchati||"—verse, 215.

Rāmakaṇṭha explains 'jāgradeva' as 'prabuddha eva', and 'nijaṇ bhāvaṇ' as 'ātmīyaṇ pāramārthikīṇ sattām.'

"Prabuddhaḡ sarvadā tiṣṭhej-jñānenālocya gocaram|  
Ekatrāropayet sarvaṇ tato'nyena na pīḡyate||"

Compare also verse, 83, of the 'Paramārthasāra', and Yogarāja's commentary on the same, where he quotes the following verse from the 'Kularatna-mālikā':—"Yadā guruvaraḡ saṇyak kathayet tadasaṇśayam| Muktastatraiva kāle'sau yantravat kevalaṇ vaset||" Compare also verse 51 of the 'Paramārthasāra'.

*Stanza II.*

This verse has given great trouble to the commentators who have tried to read the 'vivarta' doctrine into it, but without success. All that it means is that this universe exists in the beginning, in the Ultimate Reality, as an undifferentiated entity, like the seedling in the seed, and that Reality or Maheśvara, by sheer dint of His will displays it as picturesque in all its variety, in combination with Space and Time, brought about by Māyā. To the doctrine that God created by His Will, Śaṅkara would readily retort in the words of Gauḍapāda—Āptakāmasya kā spṛhā? (See Gauḍapāda-kārikās, I. 8-9).

The analogy of creations at will by Yogins is a favourite one with Kashmir Śaiva philosophers, who hold that God creates by sheer dint of His will without reference to any materials,—that He is the efficient cause of the Universe which has no material cause. See Mādhava's account in the Sarvadarśana-Saṅgraha, and compare the following Sūtra (2) of the 'Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam' by Kṣemarāja :—"Svecchayā svabhittau viśvamunmīlayati".

He explains 'svecchayā' as 'na tu brahmādivat anyecchayā, tathaiva ca, na tu upādānādyapekṣayā.' Compare the following verses :—

"Cidātmaiva hi devo'ntaḥ sthitamicchāvasādbahiḥ|

Yogīva nirupādānamartha-jātaṁ prakāśayet||"

(Īśvarapratyabhijñā, I. 5. 7.)

"Nirupādāna-sambhāramabhittāveva tanvate|

Jagaccitraṁ namastasmai kalāślāghyāya śūline||"

—verse from Vasugupta, quoted by Mādhava.

'Deśakālakalanā'—A favourite expression with these Kashmir Śaivas. Compare 'Dikkāla-kalanāvikalam' (verse 65, Paramārthasāra), and the expression 'Daśādikkālādyairakalita-cidālokavapuṣḥ' (Maṅgalācaraṇam of the Spanda-Kārikā by Kallata).

*Stanza III.*

The last three lines are equally acceptable to Advaita Vedāntins and Kashmir Śaivas, but I do not see how Śaṅkara could have written the first line which may be translated as follows :—"Whose manifestation, though real in essence, appears almost as unreal (i.e., owing to being subject to change and decay)". This does not clearly deny reality to appearances.

Mark also the words 'sphuraṇam' and 'bhāṣate', which Kashmirphilosophers repeat *ad nauseam* in order to stress their 'Ābhāsa doctrine'.

The second line, 'Sākṣāttattvamasīti-veda-vacasā' etc., and the expression, 'Svātmānamevādvayam', in the first stanza, are possibly responsible for the misappropriation of this hymn by Advaita Vedāntins, but to the Kashmir-Śaivas the 'ahamgraha' Upāsanā is the only Upāsanā; though according to them, the 'tat' is Maheśvara, all-knowing and all-powerful, whereas to Advaita Vedāntins, it is the attributeless Brahman.

*Stanza IV.*

Mark the word 'spandate' which means 'moves or flows out'. 'Spanda' is a characteristic term of Kashmir Śaiva philosophy. I cannot conceive Śaṅkara saying that the consciousness of the Ultimate Reality flows out through the sense organs, like the eye.

The Upaniṣad and Gītā passages referred to in the third line are often quoted by Advaitins, but they are among the few passages from outside authorities quoted by the Kashmir philosophers in support of their 'Ābhāsa' doctrine. I do not think it possible for Śaṅkara to have said, as is done in the third line, that all this universe shines after Him alone shining in the Consciousness 'I know' after having interpreted the sutra 'Jñā'ta eva' (Brahma Sūtras, II. 3. 18), in the way he has done.

*Stanza V.*

What is said in the first two lines would be acceptable to both the schools, but Śaṅkara could not possibly hold that Māyā was a Śakti of the Ultimate Reality. In para 18 of the prose 'Upadeśa-sāhasrī', wrongly attributed to Śaṅkara, Brahman is said to be endowed with 'Ananta-Śakti', and then, again, with 'acintya-Śakti'. This and the stanza under discussion have misled some of Śaṅkara's exponents to hold that, according to Śaṅkara, 'Māyā' is a 'Śakti' of Brahman. Śaṅkara begins his exposition of the Brahma-Sūtras by saying that Brahman is omniscient and omnipotent, but he makes his position clear beyond doubt in his exposition of the Sūtra "Tadananyatvam etc." (B. S. II. 1. 14) and elsewhere. According to Kashmir Śaivas 'Māyā' is a Śakti of Maheśvara. Compare the following verses from the 'Īśvara pratyabhijñā' with reference to the first and second lines of this stanza respectively :—

“ Bhede tvekarase bhāte 'hamtayānātmanikṣite|  
 Śūnye buddhau śarīre vā māyā-śaktivijṛmbhite||

(III. I. 18).

Māyā-śaktyā vibhoḥ saiva bhinna-saṁvedya-gocarā|  
 Kathitā jñāna-saṅkalpa-vyavasāyādīnāmabhiḥ||”

(I. 5. 8).

(Śaiva = Sā eva, Sā being equivalent to Vimarśa-śakti).

In Kashmir philosophy the word ‘vyāmoha’ is used repeatedly to express the effect of the working of ‘Māyā’. See Sūtra 12 of the Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam :—“Tadaparijñāne svaśaktivyāmohitatā saṁsāritvam.” In this little book, the word ‘vyāmoha’ is used several times.

#### Stanza VI.

The first two lines have been translated by A. Mahadeva Sastri as follows :—“The Atman who, going to *suṣupti* on the withdrawal of sense-organs, becomes the One Existence, enshrouded by Māyā, like the sun or the moon in eclipse”. I am afraid the learned Pandit is wrong, as will appear from the following verse of the Mānasollāsa :—

“ Suṣupti-samaye'pyātmā satyajñānasukhātmakaḥ|  
 Sukhamasvāpsamityevam pratyabhijñāyate yataḥ||”

(Verse 21 of the 6th Ullāsa, A. Mahadeva Sastri's Ed., p. 125.)

These two lines describe figuratively the soul's state of bondage and mean that the Ātman, who is, in the ultimate analysis, ‘Sat’ or mere existence, goes to deep sleep on the withdrawal of the sense-organs, being enveloped by māyā, like the sun or the moon in eclipse. Note the word ‘pratyabhijñā’ in the third line, which means ‘is recognised’. This ‘pratyabhijñā’ or recognising one's self as identical with the Ultimate Reality after removal of the covering of ‘māyā’ is the aim of the Kashmir Śivādvaitin's *Sādhana* and the entire philosophy has come to be named after this doctrine. With this stanza compare the following verse of the ‘Paramārthasāra’, and Yogarāja's commentary thereon :—

“ Jāgradviśvaṁ bhedaṁ svapnastejaḥ prakāśamāhātmyāt|  
 Prājñāḥ supṭāvasthā jñānaganatvāttataḥ paraṁ turyam||”

Verse 35.

Both Svayamprakāśayati and Rāma-Tīrtha have made a mess of the first two lines.

*Stanza VII.*

There is nothing in this verse which cannot be made to fit in with Śaṅkara's System. But the words 'Sphurantam', and 'Mudrayā bhadrayā' should be marked. It has already been shown that the first word is used frequently in Kashmir Śaiva philosophy. For the expression 'Mudrayā bhadrayā' note the following *dhyaṇa* of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the Upaniṣad of that name:—

“Sphaṭikarajatavarṇaṁ mauktikīmakṣamālā-  
Mamṛtakalāśavidyāṁ jñānamudrāṁ karāgre.”

It should also be noted that stanza VII once more stresses 'recognition', through the grace of the 'Guru'.

*Stanza VIII.*

There is nothing in this stanza which conflicts with either of the two schools of thought.

With the first three words of the first line, compare the following verse introducing Abhinava Gupta's Commentary on the 'Īśvarapratyabhijñā', Bk. II. āhnika 4 :—

“Bhāvānābhāsayan karttā nirmale svātmadarpaṇe|  
Kāryakāraṇabhāvaṁ ca yaccitraṁ taṁ stumaḥ śivam||”

*Stanza IX.*

I cannot conceive that Śaṅkara could have said that the five elements, the sun, the moon, and the Puruṣa were the eight Mūrtis of the ultimate Reality, who is the only Subject of the inquirer's pursuit. Note the word 'Vimṛśatām'. The word 'vimarśa' is a characteristic word of Kashmir Śaivism. The whole stanza is Śaiva in idea. Compare stanza 26 of the Mahimnāḥ-stava.

*Stanza X.*

This kills Śaṅkara Vedānta outright. No one could I believe, conceive that Śaṅkara would envisage a *sumnum bonum* like this. According to him, on Self-realisation, a man would shake off all *upādhis* and become one with the Brahman without attributes; only one who holds that the ultimate Reality is Īśvara could think of attaining Īśvaratva with its attendant Aṣṭa-siddhis.

With the idea underlying this stanza, compare 'Īśvarapratyabhijñā', verse IV. 1. 1., and verses 59, 60 and 82 of the Paramārtha Sāra, and also Yogarāja's Commentary on verse 59.

*The Mānasollāsa.*

It is not possible to deal in detail, in an essay like the present one, with this work of about 360 or 361 verses. It will suffice to observe that the entire work from the 'Maṅgalā-caraṇam' down to the last verse, with the exception of some rather unskilful interpolations, is the work of a Kashmir Śaiva writer. The hymn coming to be taken for Śaṅkara's work, the Vārtika had to be ascribed to Sureśvara almost as a matter of necessity. The presence of the following verse in the first *ullāsa* might also have strengthened this belief :—

“Anādimāyayā supto yadā jīvaḥ prabudhyate|  
Ajamanidramasvapnam advaitaṁ budhyate tadā||”;

for it occurs in Gauḍapādā's Kārikās; but it occurs in one or two minor Upaniṣads as well and the idea is as much in keeping with Kashmir Śivādvaita as with Śaṅkara's philosophy.

The questions with which the Vārtika starts are not such as one willing to acquaint himself with Advaita Vedānta would ask. They are directed towards eliciting knowledge about an Ultimate Reality possessing Omniscience and Omnipotence. In the Second Ullāsa, the Vārtika-kāra enumerates the 36 categories of the Śaiva Āgamas and practically finishes the work with a reference to the same, in verse 45 of the ninth Ullāsa, the tenth Ullāsa dealing merely with 'phalaśruti' stanza of the hymn. Some of the words of the Kashmir Śaiva terminology might be found in Advaita Vedānta literature, but it would be futile to argue that Śaṅkara and Sureśvara, between them, could have been familiar with practically the entire terminology of that school which came into being after their time.

The following verses of the Mānasollāsa appear to me to be interpolations :

(a) Second Ullāsa, verses 53-56, which are inconsistent with what has gone before and also with the hymn ;

(b) Third Ullāsa, verses 16-7, which explain 'Tattvamasi' in the manner of an Advaitin; also verses 27-30, which evidently substitute the five Taittirīya 'kośas' for the 'kañcukas' of Kashmir Śaivism;

(c) Verses 9-16 of the eighth Ullāsa, which propound the 'mithyātvā' of the world, a doctrine foreign to the hymn; and

(d) Verses 20-41 of the ninth Ullāsa which deal with the eight-fold Yoga of which we hear nothing in the hymn, for the

simple reason that Kashmir Śaivism does not contemplate a resort to Yogic practices for the attainment of *siddhis* which are automatically attained as a result of 'pratyabhijñāna' or recognition. Verse 46 of the ninth Ullāsa appears to have been tampered with for the same reason.<sup>1</sup> A few more cases of interpolation might have escaped my notice.

Repeated perusal of the hymn and the Vārtika work has led me to the belief that both are Kashmir Śaiva works wrongly attributed to Śaṅkara and Sureśvara respectively. From what I know of Abhinavagupta's writings I feel inclined to ascribe the authorship of the hymn to him, and of the Mānasollāsa to one of his disciples, such as Kṣemarāja, the author of the 'Pratyabhijñā-hṛdayam',—though these must necessarily be mere conjectures.

#### EDITORIAL NOTE.

In this Article, an honest endeavour is made to connect the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-stotra* and the *Mānasollāsa* with the *Pratyabhijñā* literature of Kashmir. It is where the author of this article conjectures that these two works were perhaps produced by Abhinavagupta and his disciples, that research may easily be shown to have overreached itself and overstepped its limits. It must be remembered that *Śrī-Śaṅkara* was the greatest of the teachers who inherited the philosophical heritage of an old type of *Śaivādvaita*, which was represented in the Upaniṣadic period by basic texts like the *Svetāśvataropaniṣad*, and in the post-Upaniṣadic period, by authoritative works like the *Sundara-pāṇḍya-vārtika* and Śaṅkara's own Bhāṣyas and devotional hymns. The parallelisms between the *Pratyabhijñā*-literature and the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-stotra*, which the author of this article points out, will show, if pursued further, that the *Pratyabhijñā*-philosophy itself is a bye-product of the blend of Śaṅkara's *advaita* and Upaniṣadic *Śaivism*.

“साक्षात्तत्त्वमसीति वेदवचसा यो बोधयत्याश्रितान्”—This line refuses to yield to the *Pratyabhijñā*-obsession; and this is clearly fatal to the conclusions set forth in this article. S. K. Sastri.

1. The verses are numbered as in A. Mahadeva Sastri's Edition of the work.

# HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL.

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## 2. SANDHI.

2.1. 'Avoidance of hiatus and assimilation are the leading principles on which the rules of sandhi are based'.<sup>1</sup>

2.11. *Ancient Period*: 2.111. *Classification*: Tolkāppiyaṇār classifies the nature of sandhi into two kinds, one having change in sounds and the other having no change.<sup>2</sup> The former is of three kinds:—*meypīritātal*<sup>3</sup> or assimilation, *mikutaḷ* or insertion and *kunṇal* or elision.<sup>4</sup> & <sup>5</sup> And the latter is called *iyalpu*. As

1. M. V. G. 20.

2. *Avairuḷ*

*Nirutta colli n-irū keluttotū*  
*Kurittu-varu kiḷavi mutaleḷut t-iyaiya-p*  
*Peyarotū peyarai-p puṇarkkuṇ kālum*  
*Peyarotū tolilalai-p puṇarkkuṇ kālun*  
*Tolilotū peyarai-p puṇarkkuṇ kālun*  
*Tolilotū tolilalai-p puṇarkkuṇ kālum*  
*Mūṇrē tiripīṭa nōṇrē y-iyalpeṇa*  
*Āṅkan nāṇkē molīpuna r-iyalpē.* (Tol. E. 109).

3. Assimilation and substitution are both taken as assimilation.

4. *Avaitām*

*Meypīri tātāṇ mikutaḷ kunṇaleṇṇū*  
*Ivveṇa molīpa tiriya m-ārē.* (Tol. E. 110).

5. It seems possible that the classification of sandhi into four and their names are adapted mostly from those found in Prātiśākhya. *Meypīritātal*, *mikutaḷ*, *kunṇal* and *iyalpu* respectively are close translation of the words *vikāra* or *varṇavikāra*, *āgama*, *lōpa* and *prakṛti* which are found in the following quotations:—

*Varṇasya vikāra lōpau* (Tai. P. i. 56.)

*Vināśō lōpah* (Tai. P. i. 27.)

*Aḥkāra āgama vikāri lōpiṇām* (Tai. p. i, 23.)

*Tamiti vikārah* (S. Y. V. P. i, 133.)

*Tānētyāgamah* (S. Y. V. P. i, 137.)

*Varṇasyādarśanam lōpah* (S. Y. V. P. i, 141.)



regards insertion, it is a peculiarity with Tamil, as Tolkāppiyāṇār says, that the *cāriyai* or the flexional increments are generally inserted between the base of the noun and the case suffix<sup>1</sup> on the one hand, and between the verbal base and the verbal termination on the other. He then classifies sandhi into *vērrumai-p-puṇarcci* or case-relation sandhi and *alvali-p-puṇarcci* or non-case-relation sandhi according as the two words which undergo change in sandhi stand in case-relation to each other or not.<sup>2</sup>

2.112. *Treatment of the same by Tolkāppiyāṇār*: He treats in *urupiyal* the *cāriyai* or flexional increments that are inserted between the base of the noun and the case-suffix and in the latter half of *puṇariyal*, the special changes that take place in sandhi between the final member of the base and the initial member of the flexional increment; in *tokai-marapu*, he generally deals with the changes which the initial member of the 'following word'<sup>3</sup> undergoes, and the final member of the 'standing word,' etc. In *uyir-mayaṅkiyal* and *puḷli-mayaṅkiyal* he respectively deals with the sandhi which takes place when the final members of the

*Prakṛtyā padāntīyaḥ* (S. Y. V. P. iii, 90.)

*Pragṛhyaśca prakṛtyā* (A. V. P. iii, 33.)

*Prakṛtyantūḥ pādamaṇḍapare* (P. 6. 1, 115.)

*Adarśanam lōpaḥ* (P. 1, 1, 60)

*Lōpāgama varṇavikārajñōhi samyak śabdāñ jñāti* (M. B. 1 1 15.)

As regards the term *kuṇṇal*, Tolkāppiyāṇār seems to have incorporated the meaning of *lōpa* as *vināśa* as mentioned in Taittiriya Prātiśākhya and not *adarśanam* as mentioned in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī or Śukla Yajurvēda Prātiśākhya, and as regards *meypirītūtal*, he has translated the word *vikāra* or *varṇavikāra* found in Prātiśākhyas and not *ādēśa* mentioned in Pāṇini's sūtras in '*ādēśa pratyayaḥ*' (P. 8. 3. 59.).

1. *Nirutta colluṅ kuṇṇittu-zaru kiḷaviyūm*

*Aṭai-yōṭu tōṇṇiṇṇuṁ puṇar-nilai-k k-urīya.* (Tol. E. 111).

It seems to me that this is due to making the syllable containing the oblique case suffix so heavy that it must be clearly pronounced.

2. *Vērrumai kuṇṇitta puṇar-mōli nilaiyūm*

*Vērrumai y-alvali-p puṇar-mōli nilaiyūm*

*Eluttē cāriyai y-āyiru paṇṇiṇ*

*Oḷukkal valiya puṇaruṅ kālai.* (Tol. E. 113.)

3. If sandhi takes place between two words, the former is called by Tamil Grammarians, *nilaimōli* and the latter, *varumōli*. I have, in this thesis, translated them literally as *standing word* and *following word* respectively.

standing words are vowels or consonants. Since *kurriyalukaram* is a peculiarity of Dravidian languages and the changes that take place in sandhi when the final member of the standing word is *u* are different from those that take place when it is *ū*, the latter are separately treated in the last section.

When two words, one ending in a vowel and the other beginning with a vowel come together, it is stated that no one is prevented from writing between them an *uṭam-ṭaṭu-mey* or an intervocalic consonant that suits them<sup>1</sup>. This shows that it was not compulsory in his time to insert *y*, *v*, etc. between two vowels as it was at the time of the later grammarians. *This is borne out by the absence of uṭamṭaṭumey in some places in some inscriptions.*<sup>2</sup> & <sup>3</sup> Nor does Tolkāppiyāṇār state what such *uṭamṭaṭu-mey* is.

I will now deal in detail, with (1) the inserted flexional suffixes, (2) the changes in sandhi in such cases, (3) the changes which the initial consonant of the following word undergoes (4) the changes when the final member of the standing word is a vowel other than *kurriyalukaram* (5) the changes when the final member of the standing word is a consonant and (6) the changes when the final member of the standing word is 'ū'.

#### 2.1121. The Inserted flexional suffixes<sup>4</sup>.

Final Member of the Base.	Flexional increment inserted.
<i>General rule:</i>	
<i>a, ā, u, ū, ē, au</i>	<i>iṇ</i> (e.g. <i>viḷa + ai = viḷa-v-iṇ-ai</i> )
<i>Exceptions:</i>	
<i>a</i> in <i>ṭalla</i>	<i>vaṛṇu</i> also (e.g. <i>ṭallavaṛṇai</i> )
<i>ā</i> of interrogative <i>yā</i>	Do. (e.g. <i>yāvāṛṇai</i> )
<i>a</i> & <i>ā</i> (of names of trees)	<i>attu</i> also (in the 7th case)
<i>u</i> in <i>atu, itu, utu</i>	<i>aṇ</i> also, when the final <i>u</i> is dropped. (e.g. <i>alu + ai = atu + aṇ + ai = ataṇai</i> )

1. *Ellā molikku m-uyir-varu valiyē*

*Uṭam-ṭaṭu mey-y-i ṇ-uruvu-koḷal varaiyūr.* (Tol. E. 141.)

2. Note that in the compound *mā-irumperum buṇar kūviri*, there is no *uṭamṭaṭumey* between 'ā' of *mā* and 'i' of *irum*. (1. A. Vol. 22. p. 70-M. M. P.)

3. *Malar māṅgai-oḍu* (line 46); *ṭū viri-um* (line 93); *kūviri-iṇ* (line 93); *maṇi-imaikkum* (line 81) of Ep. I. Vol. XVII, Part VII, V. G.

4. The sūtras dealing with these are found in *urupiṇal-Sūtras* 174-203.

*General rule:**ai* of *avai*, *ivai*, *uvai**ai* of interrogative *yā**i* of *nī**ō**ñ*, *n**v* of *av*, *iv*, *uv**v* of *tev**General rule:**m**m* of *num**m* of *tām*, *nām* and *yām**m* of *ellām**m* of *ellārum* (3rd person)  
andof *ellīrum* (2nd person)*ṇ* of *tāṇ* and *yāṇ**ṇ* of *alaṇ* and *ṇalaṇ**ḷ* of *ēḷ**General rule:**ū**Exceptions:**varru* also (e.g. *avaiyarrai*)Do. (e.g. *yāvarrai*)*i* is shortened to *i* and *ṇ* is inserted (e.g. *ninṇai*)*on* (e.g. *kō onai*)<sup>1</sup>*in* (e.g. *uriñ + ai = uriñṇai*)*varru* (e.g. *avarrai*)<sup>2</sup>*iṇ* (e.g. *tevinai*)*attu* and sometimes *iṇ*. (e.g. *ma-ram + ai = marattai*; *urumṇai*—no insertion; but *m* is doubled. (e.g. *num-m-ai*)<sup>3</sup>no insertion; but *ā* is shortened in the first two cases and *yā* is changed to *e* in the third case and *m* is doubled. (e.g. *tam-mai*, *nammāi*, *emmai*)*varru* when it refers to neuter nouns and *nam* when it refers to *uyartṇai*, before the case-suffix and *um* after the case-suffix. (e.g. *ellām + ai = ellā-varrai* *um* or *ellānammai* *um*)*tam* and *num* respectively; but the final *um* is taken after case suffix. (e.g. *ellārum + ai = ellārtammai* *um*, *ellīrum + ai = ellīrnummai* *um*)no increment; but *ā* is shortened to *a*, *yā* is changed to *e* and *ṇ* is doubled. (e.g. *tannai*, *ennai*)*attu* or *iṇ**aṇ* (e.g. *ēḷaṇai*)<sup>4</sup>*iṇ* (e.g. *nākiṇai*)

1. This is a case where *hiatus* is allowed.
2. *av*, *iv*, *uv* are neuter demonstrative plurals.
3. This shows that the accent is possible on the case-suffix.
4. The original *ēḷ* meaning seven is now pronounced by adding *n* at the end as *ēḷu*, although *u* cannot follow *ḷ* according to Tol. E. 36.

- i* following a long vowel generally no insertion; but the final consonant is doubled. (e.g. *yāṭṭu* + *ai* = *yāṭṭai*: sometimes *yāṭṭinai* also.)
- i* at the end of words denoting *an* (e.g. *onraṇai*) number.
- i* in *ompaṣṭu*, *irupaṣṭu*, etc. *ān*, and *aṣṭu* is dropped. (e.g. *orupāṇai*.)
- i* of *yāṭṭu*, *aṣṭu*, *iṣṭu* & *uṣṭu*. *an*, but *ṣ* is dropped (e.g. *yāṭaṇai*, *ataṇai*.)
- i* at the end of words denoting No insertion; but 'i' with the directions before the seventh preceding consonant is dropped. (e.g. *vaṭakkū* + *kaṇ* = *vaṭakkaṇ*.)

In the last sūtra he says that, if other increments are used in literature, we will have to take them also.

2.1122. *The changes which the flexional increments undergo in Sandhi:*<sup>1</sup>

(a) *i* of *iṇ* is optionally dropped after *ā* (e.g. *ā* + *iṇ* + *ai* = *āṇai*; also *āvinai*.)

(b) *v* of *varru* is dropped after *avai*, *ivai*, *uvai*. (e.g. *avai* + *varru* + *ai* = *avai-y-arrai*.)

(c) *ṇ* of *iṇ* is changed to *ṛ* before *ku*, the fourth case-suffix (e.g. *viḷa-v-iṇ-ku* = *viḷavirṇū*.)

(d) *ṇ* of *āṇ* is changed to *ṛ* when it is preceded by a word denoting star and is followed by a word beginning with a voiceless consonant. (e.g. *paraṇi* + *āṇ* + *koṇṭāṇ* = *paraṇi-y-ār-koṇṭāṇ*.)

(e) *a* of *attu* is dropped after *a* (e.g. *makam* + *attu* + *kai* = *maka* + *attu* + *kai* = *makattu-k-kai*)

(f) *i* of *ikku* is dropped after *i* and *ai* (e.g. *āṭikku-k-koṇṭāṇ*; *cittiraikku-k-koṇṭāṇ*)

(g) *ku* of *akku* is dropped if it is followed by a voiceless consonant (e.g. *tamiḷ* + *akku* + *kūttū* = *tamiḷ-ak-kūttū*)

(h) *m* of *am* is assimilated to *ṇ*, *ṇ̄* and *n* when it is respectively followed by *k*, *c*, and *t*.

(i) *m* of *am* is dropped if it is followed by a nasal or a semi-vowel (e.g. *puḷiyaṇeri*)

(j) *iṇ* is dropped before the case suffix *iṇ*.

1. The sūtras under this heading are all found in *puṇariyal* of Tolkāppiyam (121, 123 to 127, 129 to 132 and 134),

(k) The consonant preceding *attu* and *varru* is dropped and that which follows is doubled if it is a voiceless consonant (e.g. *kalam* + *attu* + *kurai* = *kalattu-k-kurai*.)

2.1123. The Changes which the initial consonant of the following word undergoes.

<sup>1</sup>(a) *t* and *n* which follow *l* and *ṇ* are respectively changed to *ṛ* and *ṇ*, (e.g. *kal* + *tīṭu* = *kaṣṛīṭu*; *ṣoṇ* + *naṇṇu* = *ṣoṇṇaṇṇu*, etc.)

<sup>2</sup>(b) *t* and *n* which follow *ṇ* and *l* are respectively changed to *ṭ* and *ṇ* (e.g. *maṇ* + *tīṭu* = *maṇṭīṭu*; *maṇ* + *naṇṇu* = *maṇṇaṇṇu*, etc.)

2.1124. The Changes when the final member of the Standing word is a vowel other than 'i',<sup>3</sup>.

Final member of the standing word.	Initial member of the following word.	Change in sandhi.
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'A'

Non-case relation sandhi:  
a (of nouns)

*k, c, t, p*

*k, c, t, p* are respectively inserted. (e.g. *vilā* + *kuritū* = *vilā-k-kuritū*.)

a (of verbal participles, particles denoting comparison, *eṇa* and *āṇka* and demonstrative roots)

*k, c, t, p*

*k, c, t, p* are respectively inserted. (e.g. *a-k-kor-ṛaṇ*)

a (demonstrative root)

*ñ, n, m*

*ñ, n, m* are respectively inserted (e.g. *a-ñ-ñāṇ*.)

Do.

*y, v*

*v* is inserted (e.g. *a + yāl* = *a-v-yāl*.)

Do.

any vowel

*v* is inserted (e.g. *a + ilai* = *a-v-ilai*)

Do.

Do.

*a* is also lengthened in verse (e.g. *a + irutiṇaiyum* = *ā-y-irutiṇaiyum*)

Case-relation sandhi:

a

*k, c, t, p*

*k, c, t, p* are respectively inserted.

1. *La-ṇa veṇa-varūm pulli muṇṇar-t*

*Tana v-eṇa-varir ṛa-ṇa-v-ā kum-m-ē*. (Tol. E. 150).

2. *Na-la-v-eṇ pulli-muṇ ṭa-ṇa-v-eṇ-t iṭṇṇum* (ibid. 151).

3. The sūtras under this heading are found in *uyirmayāṅkiyal* of Tolkāppiyam (sūtras 204 to 296).

<i>a</i> (of names of trees)	do.	<i>ñ, ñ̃, n, m</i> are respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>viḷa + kōṭṭu = viḷañkōṭṭu</i> )
<i>a</i> (of <i>maka</i> , the name of a tree.)	do.	The flexional increment <i>iṇ</i> or <i>attu</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>m a k a + k a i = makaviṇkai</i> or <i>makat-tukkai</i> .)
‘ <i>Ā</i> ’		
<i>Non-case-relation sandhi:</i>		
<i>ā</i> (of nouns)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted (e.g. <i>tārā + kaṭṭiṭṭi</i> )
<i>ā</i> (of verbal participles)	do.	Do. (e. g. <i>uṇṇā-c-ceṇ-rāṇ</i> )
<i>ā</i> (of nouns when compounded with another noun in <i>ummaittokai</i> or dvanda compound)	do.	<sup>1</sup> <i>a</i> with one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> is respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>irā-a-p-pakal</i> .)
<i>Case-relation-sandhi:</i>		
<i>ā</i>	do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>tārā + kāl = tārā-k-kāl</i> etc.)
<i>ā</i> (in words whose vowel previous to the final <i>ā</i> is short or in words of one syllable.)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<sup>2</sup> <i>a</i> with one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> is respectively inserted (e.g. <i>palā-a-k-kōṭṭu</i> )
<i>Exceptions:</i>		
<i>ā</i> (of <i>nilā</i> )	do.	The flexional increment <i>attu</i> is inserted (e.g. <i>nilā + koṇṭāṇ = nilā + attu + koṇṭāṇ = nilāttukkoṇṭāṇ</i> .)
<i>ā</i> (of <i>irā</i> )	do.	Only <i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>irā + koṇṭāṇ = irākkōṇṭāṇ</i> )
<i>ā</i> (of the word <i>ā</i> )	<i>pī</i>	<i>p</i> is inserted and the final <i>ī</i> is shortened to <i>i</i> (e.g. <i>ā + pī = āppī</i> )

1 & 2. These are cases where hiatus is allowed; but some Tamilians seem to think that the *a* after *ā* denotes that *ā* has 3 mātrās and as such is not a separate sound; but here in this sūtra the expression ‘*akaramikumē*’ is found. Here *mikum* shows that it is a separate sound according to Tolkāppiyāṇār. But now *a* and *ā* are pronounced only as *ā3*.

## ‘I’

## Case-relation sandhi:

<i>i</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>kīli</i> + <i>kāl</i> = <i>kīli-k-kāl</i> .)
<i>i</i> (of <i>vali</i> , <i>paṇi</i> (season))	do.	Flexional increments <i>attu</i> & <i>in</i> are inserted.
<i>i</i> (of <i>uti</i> (tree))	do.	<i>ñ, ñ̃, n, m</i> are respectively inserted.
<i>i</i> (of <i>puḷi</i> (tree))	do.	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted.
<i>i</i> (of <i>puḷi</i> (not denoting tree))	do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> or <i>ñ, ñ̃, n, m</i> are respectively inserted.
<i>i</i> (at the end of words denoting star)	do. of verbs.	Flexional increment <i>āṇ</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>paraṇi</i> + <i>koṇṭāṇ</i> = <i>paraṇi-āṇ</i> + <i>koṇṭāṇ</i> = <i>paraṇi-y-ār-koṇṭāṇ</i> .)
<i>i</i> (at the end of words denoting month)	do.	Flexional increment <i>ikku</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>āṭi</i> + <i>koṇṭāṇ</i> = <i>āṭi</i> + <i>ikku</i> + <i>koṇṭāṇ</i> = <i>āṭikku-k-koṇṭāṇ</i> .)

## Non-case-relation sandhi:

<i>i</i> (of <i>ini</i> , <i>aṇi</i> , verbal participle, and demonstrative root)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>ini</i> + <i>koṇṭāṇ</i> = <i>ini-k-koṇṭāṇ</i> .)
<i>i</i> (of <i>inri</i> , verbal participle)	in verse	<sup>1</sup> changes to <i>u</i> . (e.g. <i>up-piṇṇurupurkai</i> where <i>in-ru</i> is found for <i>inri</i> .)
<i>i</i> (of demonstrative)	<i>ñ, n, m</i>	<i>ñ, n, m</i> are respectively inserted.
Do	<i>y, v</i> , & any vowel.	<i>v</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>i</i> = <i>yāl</i> = <i>i-v-yāl</i> .)

## ‘Ī’

Ī (both in non-case-relation sandhi and in case-relation sandhi) agrees with the final *ā*.

## Exceptions:

1. This change of *i* to *u* may be due to the influence of the initial *u* in *uppu* or *u* in *purkai*, in which case this is an illustration of harmonic sequence of vowels.

$\bar{i}$ (of $n\bar{i}$ , $p\bar{i}$ )	$k, c, t, p$	No change, (e.g. $n\bar{i} + kur\bar{i}yai = n\bar{i}kur\bar{i}yai$ , etc.)
$\bar{i}$ (of $m\bar{i}$ )	Do.	No change, or $k, c, t, p$ are respectively inserted. (e.g. $m\bar{i} + k\bar{o}l = m\bar{i}k\bar{o}l$ or $m\bar{i}kk\bar{o}l$ , etc.)
$\bar{i}$ (of $n\bar{i}$ when it takes the flexional increment $i\bar{n}$ )	Do.	$\bar{i}$ is shortened, $n$ is inserted after it. (e.g. $n\bar{i} + kai = n\bar{i}n\bar{k}ai$ .)

‘U’

In non-case-relation sandhi it mostly agrees with the final  $a$  with the following exceptions:—When  $atu$ ,  $itu$  and  $utu$  are followed by verbs beginning with  $k, c, t, p$ , it has no change; but when followed by  $anr\bar{i}$  in verse,  $u$  of  $atu$ , etc., is changed to  $\bar{a}$ , e.g.  $at\bar{a}anr\bar{i}amma$ .

Even in case-relation sandhi, it mostly agrees with the final  $a$  with the following exception:—When  $atu$ ,  $itu$  and  $utu$  are followed by  $k, c, t, p$ , the flexional increment  $i\bar{n}$  is inserted.

‘Ū’

Both in case-relation sandhi and non-case-relation sandhi  $\bar{u}$  agrees with  $\bar{a}$ , i.e., if it is followed by  $k, c, t, p$ , one of them is inserted.

*Exceptions:*

(a) When its preceding vowel is short or when it is the final of a single-syllabled word,  $u$  is inserted in addition to one of  $k, c, t, p$ . (e. g.  $u\bar{t}\bar{u} + kur\bar{i}ai = u\bar{t}\bar{u}n-kur\bar{i}ai$ .)

(b) After  $\bar{u}$  in the word  $p\bar{u}$ , the nasal also is optionally inserted. (e.g.  $p\bar{u}-k-ko\bar{t}i$  and  $p\bar{u}-\bar{n}-ko\bar{t}i$ .)

(c) After  $\bar{u}$  in  $\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{u}$  and  $ma\bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{u}$ , the flexional increment  $i\bar{n}$  is optionally added. (e.g.  $\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{u}n-v-i\bar{n}-kai$ .)

Final member of the standing word	Initial member of the following word	Change in sandhi
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‘E’

$e$ (at the end of verbs of 2nd person)	$k, c, t, p$	$k, c, t, p$ are respectively inserted.
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$e$ (at the end of nouns added for emphasis)	Do.	No change, (e. g. $\bar{e}ckon-t\bar{a}n$ .)
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‘Ē’

*General rule:*

$\bar{e}$ (both in case-relation and non-case-relation sandhi)	$k, c, t, p$	$k, c, t, p$ are respectively inserted. (e.g. $c\bar{e} + ka-tit\bar{u} = c\bar{e}-k-ka\bar{t}it\bar{u}$ , etc.)
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*Exceptions:*

$\bar{e}$ (at the end of nouns to denote negation, interrogation, number)	$k, c, t, p$	No change. (e.g. $y\bar{a}n\bar{e}$ - $ko\eta\bar{t}\bar{e}n$ in the sense $y\bar{a}nko\eta\bar{t}\bar{i}l\bar{e}n$ , etc.)
$\bar{e}$ (of the word $c\bar{e}$ denoting a tree)	Do.	Corresponding nasal is inserted (e.g. $c\bar{e}nko\eta\bar{t}\bar{u}$ .)
$\bar{e}$ (of the word $c\bar{e}$ denoting <i>perram</i> )	Do.	Flexional increment $in$ is inserted. (e.g. $c\bar{e}$ - $v$ - $in$ - $ko\eta\bar{t}\bar{u}$ .)

‘AI’

*Case-relation Sandhi:*

$ai$ (at the end of nouns)	$k, c, t, p$	$k, c, t, p$ are respectively inserted (e.g. $y\bar{a}nai$ + $ko\eta\bar{t}\bar{u}$ = $y\bar{a}nai$ + $ikk\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{u}$ , etc.)
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*Exceptions:*

$ai$ (at the end of words $pa\eta ai$ , $arai$ , $\bar{a}virai$ )	Do.	Flexional increment $am$ is inserted. (e.g. $pa\eta ai$ + $k\bar{a}y$ = $pa\eta ai$ + $am$ + $k\bar{a}y$ = $pa\eta a\bar{n}k\bar{a}y$ .)
$ai$ (at the end of $pa\eta ai$ followed by the word $att\bar{u}$ )		$ai$ changes to $\bar{a}$ . (e.g. $pa\eta\bar{a}att\bar{u}$ .)
$ai$ (at the end of the word $malai$ )	Do.	$attu$ is inserted. (e.g. $malai$ - $y$ - $attu$ - $k$ - $ko\eta\bar{t}\bar{a}n$ .)
$ai$ (at the end of words denoting month and star)	Do.	Flexional increment $ikku$ is inserted. (e.g. $citti$ - $rai$ + $ko\eta\bar{t}\bar{a}n$ = $cittirai$ - $k$ - $ko\eta\bar{t}\bar{a}n$ .)

‘O’

*Non-case-relation Sandhi:*

$\bar{o}$ (at the end of nouns)	$k, c, t, p$	$k, c, t, p$ are respectively inserted. (e.g. $\bar{o}$ - $k$ - $ka\eta\bar{t}\bar{u}$ .)
$\bar{o}$ (at the end of nouns denoting negation, interrogation or doubt.)	Do.	No change.
$\bar{o}$ (in case - relation sandhi)	$k, c, t, p$	$o$ and one of $k, c, t, p$ are inserted. (e.g. $\bar{o}$ - $o$ - $k$ - $ka\eta\bar{t}\bar{u}$ .)
$\bar{o}$ (followed by the word $il$ )		<sup>1</sup> No change. (e.g. $k\bar{o}$ - $v$ - $il$ , $k\bar{o}$ - $y$ - $il$ .)

1. Iḷampūraṇar gives  $k\bar{o}yil$  for the example and Nacciṇārkkii-  
niyar  $k\bar{o}vil$ ; but it seems to me that  $k\bar{o}$ - $il$  ought to have been the ex-

$\bar{o}$  (at the end of some words in literature.)  $k, c, t, p$  Flexional increment  $\bar{o}n$  is inserted. (e. g.  $k\bar{o}n-kai$ .)

$au$  (both in case-relation sandhi and non-case-relation sandhi)  $‘AU’$   
 $k, c, t, p$   $u$  and one of  $k, c, t, p$  are inserted. (e. g.  $kau + kaṭitū = kauv-u-k-kaṭitū$ .)

2.1125. *The Changes when the Final Member of the Standing word is a Consonant.*<sup>1</sup>

Final Member of the standing word	Initial Member of the following word	Change in Sandhi
Nasal	$k, c, t, p$	<sup>2</sup> Corresponding nasal is substituted. (e. g. $maram + kuritū = maraṅkuritū$ .)
$\tilde{n}, n$	$yā$ or $\tilde{n}ā$ .	No change. (e. g. $man + yātta = manyātta$ , etc.)
Any consonant preceded by a long vowel		<sup>3</sup> Generally dropped. (e. g. $kōl + nanrū = kōnanrū$ .)
Any consonant preceded by a short vowel		<sup>4</sup> The final consonant is doubled. (e. g. $pon + akal = ponṇakal$ .)
$\tilde{n}, \tilde{n}, n, m, l, \tilde{n}$ (of verbal nouns in both kinds of sandhi)	$k, c, t, p$	<sup>5</sup> $u$ and one of $k, c, t, p$ are inserted. (e. g. $uri\tilde{n} + kaṭitū = uri\tilde{n}-u-k-kaṭitū$ .)
$\tilde{n}, \tilde{n}, n, m, l, \tilde{n}$ (of ver-	$\tilde{n}, n, m, v$	<sup>6</sup> $u$ is inserted. (e. g.

ample referred to by Tolkāppiyaṇār since he uses the word *iyarkai* in the sūtra and in his opinion (Tol. E. 141) the insertion of *uṭampāṭumey* is only optional.

1. The rules noted here are mostly found in Tolkāppiyam, Eḷutatikāram, Puḷḷimayaṅkiyal, except the first four which are found in Tokaimarapu, 144, 147, 161.

2. This is a clear case of assimilation.

3. This generally happens when the initial member of the following word is a consonant.

4. This generally happens when the initial member of the following word is a vowel.

5. & 6. These may be called cases of epenthesis according to Vendreyes (cf. Language, p. 61) though Brugman gives the same name to a slightly different phenomenon.

bal nouns in both kinds of sandhi)			<i>uriñ-u-ñāṇṇatū.</i> )
<i>ṇ</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Changed to <i>ṭ</i> (e.g. <i>maṇ + kuṭam = maṭkuṭam.</i> )	
<i>Exceptions:</i>			
<i>ṇ</i> (of the words <i>āṇ</i> and <i>peṇ</i> )	Do.	No change. (e.g. <i>āṇkai.</i> )	
<i>ṇ</i> (of <i>āṇ</i> denoting tree)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>āṇ + kōṭū = āṇ-añ-kōṭū.</i> )	
<i>ṇ</i> (of <i>eṇ</i> denoting food in non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	Optionally changes to <i>ṭ</i> (e.g. <i>eṇ + kaṭitū = eṭ-kaṭitū.</i> )	
‘ <i>M</i> ’			
<i>m</i> (in case-relation sandhi).	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>m</i> is dropped and the succeeding consonant is doubled. (e. g. <i>maram + kōṭū = mara-k-kōṭū.</i> )	
Do.	<i>a</i> or <i>ā</i>	<i>m</i> is dropped and the preceding <i>a</i> is optionally lengthened or is followed by intervocalic <i>v</i> . (e.g. <i>maram + aṭi = marā-aṭi<sup>1</sup></i> or <i>maravaṭi.</i> )	
Do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>m</i> is dropped and sometimes the corresponding nasal is inserted instead of <i>k, c, t, p</i> , (e.g. <i>kuḷam + karai = kuḷakkarai</i> or <i>kuḷañkarai.</i> )	
<i>m</i> (in non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	<i>m</i> is changed to the nasal corresponding to <i>k, c, t, p</i> . (e.g. <i>maram + kuṟitū = marañkuṟitū.</i> )	
<i>m</i> (of <i>āyiram</i> )	word denoting number	<i>m</i> is dropped and <i>attu</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>āyiram + onṟū = āyiratonṟū.</i> )	
<i>m</i> (of <i>āyiram</i> )	word denoting measure and	<i>m</i> is dropped and <i>k, c, t, p</i> are doubled. (e. g.	

1. This is a case of hiatus ; but now *āa* is pronounced like *pluta* in Sanskrit.

	weight begin- ning with <i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	<i>āyiram</i> + <i>pānai</i> = <i>āyi- ra-p-pānai</i> .)
<i>m</i> (of <i>num</i> )	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	<sup>1</sup> <i>m</i> is dropped and the nasal corresponding to <i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>num</i> + <i>kai</i> = <i>nuñ-kai</i> .)
<i>m</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>m</i> is shortened to $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>mātrā</i> . (e. g. <i>nilam</i> + <i>valitū</i> = <i>nilamvalitū</i> .)
<i>m</i> (of words denoting star)	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	<i>m</i> is dropped and <i>attu</i> and <i>āṇ</i> are inserted. (e.g. <i>makam</i> + <i>koṇṭāṇ</i> = <i>makattārkoṇṭāṇ</i> .)
	‘ <i>N</i> ’	
<i>ṇ</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	changed to <i>r</i> . (e.g. <i>poṇ-kuṭam</i> = <i>poṛkuṭam</i> .)
<i>ṇ</i> (of words <i>maṇ</i> , <i>ciṇ</i> , <i>āṇ</i> , <i>īṇ</i> , <i>muṇ</i> , <i>piṇ</i> of verbal participle)	Do.	changed to <i>r</i> . (e. g. <i>piṇ koṇṭāṇ</i> = <i>piṛkoṇṭāṇ</i> .)
<i>ṇ</i> (of <i>avvayin</i> , <i>ivvayin</i> , <i>uvvayin</i> , <i>evvayin</i> )	Do.	Do.
<i>ṇ</i> (of <i>mīṇ</i> )	Do.	Optionally changed to <i>r</i> . (e. g. <i>mīṇkoṇṭāṇ</i> or <i>mīṛkoṇṭāṇ</i> .)
<i>ṇ</i> (of <i>tēṇ</i> )	Do.	(1) No change; (2) <i>ṇ</i> is changed to <i>r</i> ; (3) <i>ṇ</i> is dropped and the following consonant is doubled; or (4) nasal is inserted. (e. g. <i>tēṇkuṭam</i> , <i>tēṛkuṭam</i> , <i>tēkkuṭam</i> or <i>tēṇkuṭam</i> .)
<i>ṇ</i> (of words <i>miṇ</i> , <i>piṇ</i> , <i>paṇ</i> and <i>kaṇ</i> )	Do.	<i>n</i> and <i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i> are inserted. (e. g. <i>miṇṇu-k-kaṭumai</i> .)
<i>ṇ</i> (of the word <i>cāṭṭaṇ</i> the name of a person)	<i>tantai</i> (denoting relationship)	<sup>2</sup> <i>ṭaṇ</i> of <i>cāṭṭaṇ</i> is dropped. (e. g. <i>cāṭṭaṇ</i> + <i>tantai</i> = <i>cāṭṭantai</i> .)
<i>ṇ</i> (of the words <i>āṭaṇ</i> and <i>pūṭaṇ</i> )	Do.	<sup>3</sup> Do. (e.g. <i>āṭaṇ</i> + <i>tantai</i> = <i>āṇtai</i> .)

1. This is may be otherwise stated that *m* is assimilated to *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*.

2 & 3. These are cases of *haplology*.

<u>n</u> (of <i>tān</i> , <i>pēn</i> , <i>kōn</i> )	<i>tantai</i> (denoting relationship)	<sup>1</sup> No change. <i>tān</i> + <i>tan-tai</i> = <i>tānṛantai</i> .)
<u>n</u> (of <i>tān</i> , <i>yān</i> in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	<i>tān</i> is changed to <i>tan</i> and <i>yān</i> to <i>en</i> . (e.g. <i>tān</i> + <i>ai</i> = <i>tanṇai</i> , <i>yān</i> + <i>ai</i> = <i>enṇai</i> .)
<u>n</u> (of <i>tān</i> , <i>yān</i> in non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	No change.
<u>n</u> (of <i>mun</i> )	<i>il</i>	<sup>2</sup> <i>r</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>munṛil</i> .)
<u>n</u> (of <i>alan</i> )	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	<u>n</u> is dropped and the succeeding consonant is doubled. (e.g. <i>alan-kūtam</i> = <i>alakkūtam</i> .)

## ‘Y’

<i>y</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i> are respectively inserted, and in some cases <i>ñ</i> , <i>ṇ</i> , <i>n</i> , <i>m</i> are also respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>nāy</i> + <i>kāl</i> = <i>nāykkāl</i> ; <i>vēy</i> + <i>kurai</i> = <i>vēykkurai</i> , <i>vēyṇkurai</i> .)
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## Exceptions:

<i>y</i> (of the word <i>tāy</i> )	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	No change, (e.g. <i>tāykai</i> )
<i>y</i> (of the word <i>tāy</i> preceded by <i>makan</i> )	Do.	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i> are respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>makan-rāykkālām</i> .)

## Non-case-relation Sandhi:

<i>y</i>	Do.	No change. (e. g. <i>nāy-kaṭitū</i> )
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## ‘R’

<i>r</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i>	<i>k</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>tēr</i> + <i>kāl</i> = <i>tērkkāl</i> .)
<i>r</i> (in non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	No change.
<i>r</i> (of words <i>ār</i> , <i>vetir</i> , <i>cār</i> and <i>pīr</i> )	Do.	<i>ñ</i> , <i>ṇ</i> , <i>n</i> , <i>m</i> are respectively inserted.

1. Though ‘*n*’ does not change here, ‘*t*’ of the following word changes to ‘*r*.’

2. Here the words *il* and *mun* are first of all interchanged. This may be taken as a case of *metathesis* of whole words.

<i>r</i> (of <i>cār</i> )	<i>k</i> of <i>kāl</i>	<i>k</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>cār</i> + <i>kāl</i> )
<i>r</i> (of <i>pīr</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>pīr</i> + <i>kōṭū</i> = <i>pīr-añ-kōṭū</i> .)
‘ <i>L</i> ’		
<i>l</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>l</i> is changed to <i>r</i> . (e.g. <i>kal</i> + <i>kurai</i> = <i>karurai</i> ).
Do.	<i>ñ, ñ, n, m</i>	<i>l</i> is changed to <i>ṇ</i> . (e.g. <i>kal</i> + <i>muri</i> = <i>kaṇmuri</i> .)
<i>l</i> (in non-case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Either no change or <i>l</i> is changed to <i>r</i> . (e.g. <i>kal</i> + <i>kuritū</i> = <i>kalkuritū</i> or <i>karukuritū</i> .)
Do.	<i>t</i>	<i>l</i> is optionally changed to <i>ṣ</i> when <i>t</i> is changed to <i>r</i> . (e.g. <i>kal</i> + <i>tītū</i> = <i>kaṣṛītū</i> or <i>karrītū</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>nel, cel, kol</i> and <i>col</i> in non-case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>l</i> is changed to <i>r</i> .
<i>l</i> (of <i>il</i> denoting negation)	Do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are optionally inserted with <i>ai</i> or <i>a</i> before it; or no change. (e.g. <i>il</i> + <i>korran</i> = <i>illaikkorran</i> ; <i>il-lākkōrran</i> , <i>illaikkorran</i> ; <i>en</i> + <i>il</i> + <i>kuṇam</i> = <i>enṇil-kunam</i> )
<i>l</i> (of <i>val</i> )	Do.	<i>u</i> with one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> is respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>val</i> + <i>kaṭitū</i> = <i>vallu-k-kaṭitū</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>val</i> followed by <i>nāy</i> and <i>palakai</i> )		<i>a</i> alone or <i>a</i> and <i>p</i> are inserted. (e.g. <i>vallanāy</i> , <i>valla-p-palakai</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>pūl</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>pūl</i> + <i>kōṭū</i> = <i>pūlañkōṭū</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>veyil</i> )	Do.	<i>attu</i> is inserted.
‘ <i>V</i> ’		
<i>v</i> (of <i>av, iv, uv</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>varru</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>av</i> + <i>kōṭū</i> = <i>av-varru-kōṭū</i> = <i>avarrukkoṭū</i> .)

<i>v</i> (of non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	<i>v</i> is changed to <i>ṣ</i> (e.g. <i>av</i> + <i>kaṭiya</i> = <i>aṣkaṭiya</i> .)
<i>v</i>	<i>ñ, n, m</i>	<i>ñ, n, m</i> are respectively inserted.
<i>v</i>	semi-vowels or vowels.	No change.
<i>v</i> (of <i>tev</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>u</i> with one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> is respectively inserted (e. g. <i>tev</i> + <i>kaṭitū</i> = <i>tev-v-u-k-kaṭitū</i> .)
‘L’		
<i>ḷ</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>pūl</i> + <i>kāl</i> = <i>pūl-k-kāl</i> .)
<i>ḷ</i> (of the word <i>tāl</i> )	<i>k</i> of the word <i>kōl</i>	<i>akkū</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>tālakkōl</i> .)
<i>ḷ</i> (of the word <i>tamil</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>akkū</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>tamil</i> + <i>kūttū</i> = <i>tamil-akkūttū</i> .)
<i>ḷ</i> (of the word <i>pāl</i> )	Do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> or <i>ñ, n, m</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>pāl-k-kiṇarū</i> , <i>pāl-ñ-kiṇarū</i> .)
<i>ḷ</i> (of <i>ēḷ</i> )	Do.	<i>an̄</i> is inserted. ( <i>ēḷ</i> + <i>kāyam</i> = <i>ēlan̄kāyam</i> )
<i>ḷ</i> (of <i>ēḷ</i> when followed by words denoting measure and weight)		<i>ē</i> is shortened to <i>e</i> and <i>u</i> is inserted after <i>ḷ</i> . (e.g. <i>eḷu-kalam</i> )
<i>ḷ</i> (of <i>ēḷ</i> when followed by <i>āyiram</i> )		<sup>1</sup> only <i>ē</i> is shortened to <i>e</i> . (e. g. <i>ēḷ</i> + <i>āyiram</i> . = <i>eḷāyiram</i> .)
<i>ḷ</i> (of <i>ēḷ</i> when followed by <i>nurāyiram</i> )		No change. (e.g. <i>ēlnur-āyiram</i> .)
<i>ḷ</i> (of <i>ēḷ</i> when followed by <i>tāmarai</i> , <i>veḷḷam</i> , <i>āmpal</i> denoting number)		No change.
<i>ḷ</i>	Vowels.	No change.
<i>ḷ</i> (of <i>kīḷ</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are optionally inserted. (e.g. <i>kīḷkuḷam</i> or <i>kīḷkkuḷam</i> .)

1. In Modern Tamil, *ēḷāyiram* is used instead of *eḷāyiram*. But on the other hand, *eḷun̄ūrū* is used instead of *ēln̄ūrū*.

‘*l̥*’

<i>l̥</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>l̥</i> is changed to <i>t̥</i> . (e. g. <i>mul̥ + kurai = mut̥-kurai</i> .)
Do.	<i>ñ, n, m.</i>	<sup>1</sup> <i>l̥</i> is changed to <i>n̥</i> . (e.g. <i>mul̥ + maram = mun̥-maram</i> .)
<i>l̥</i> (in non-case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Either no change or <i>l̥</i> is changed to <i>t̥</i> . (e. g. <i>mul̥-kaṭitū</i> or <i>mut̥-kaṭitū</i> .)
Do.	<i>t</i>	<sup>2</sup> <i>l̥</i> is also changed to <i>ṣ</i> while <i>t</i> is changed to <i>t̥</i> (e.g. <i>mul̥ + t̥itū = muṣ-t̥itū</i> ; also <i>mut̥t̥itū</i> .)
<i>l̥</i> (of the word <i>irul̥</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>at̥n</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>irul̥attukkōṭṭān̥</i> .)
<i>l̥</i> (of <i>puḷ</i> and <i>vaḷ</i> )	Do.	<i>u</i> and one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> respectively are inserted. (e. g. <i>puḷlukkaṭitū</i> etc.)

2.1126. *The changes when the final member of the standing word is ū.*

*Non-case-relation sandhi:*<sup>3</sup>

<i>ū</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	No change. (e. g. <i>nākū-kaṭitū</i> .)
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*Exceptions:*

<i>ū</i> (at the end of words like <sup>4</sup> <i>kokkū, pākū</i> , where there is doubling of consonant in the middle)	Do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>kokkū + kaṭitū = kokku-k-kaṭitū</i> .)
<i>ū</i> (at the end of words beginning with demonstrative roots <i>a, i</i> and <i>u</i> lengthened and the interrogative <i>yā</i> ) <sup>5</sup>	Do.	Do. (e. g. <i>āṅkū + koṇṭān̥ = āṅku-k-koṇṭān̥</i> .)

1. In modern days we find the word *mul̥maram* also.
2. This is a case of both progressive and regressive assimilation.
3. *Allatū kiḷappi n̥-ellū mol̥iyuñ*  
*Colliya paṇṇi n̥-iyarkai y-ākum*. (Tol. E. 426.)
4. *Vallorū-t̥ toṭar-mol̥i val̥leluttu mikum̥*. (ibid. 427.)
5. *Cuṭṭu-c-cin̥ai n̥tiya men̥roṭar mol̥iyum*  
*Yā-viṇā mutaliya men̥roṭar mol̥iyum*  
*Ā-yiya ririyā val̥lelutt̥ tiyarkai*. (ibid. 428).



<i>i</i> (at the end of words beginning with interrogative <i>yā</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Optionally no change. (e. g. <i>yāñkū-konṭān</i> )
<i>Case-relation sandhi:</i>		
<i>ū</i> (at the end of words with <sup>2</sup> a single long vowel or with two or more vowels other than <i>ū</i> in the word)	Do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>yāṭṭū + kāl = yāṭṭū-k-kāl</i> ; <i>vara-kū + ceṭi = varakūcceṭi</i> .)
<i>ū</i> (at the end of words with <sup>3</sup> a conjunct consonant or <i>ṣ</i> in the middle)	Do.	No change. (e.g. <i>teḷkū-kāl</i> or <i>eṣkū-kāl</i> .)
<sup>4</sup> <i>ū</i> (at the end of words having a double voiceless consonant in the middle or a voiceless consonant preceded by a like nasal)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are inserted respectively ; in the second case, the voiced consonant in the middle is optionally made voiceless. (e.g. <i>kokkū-k-kāl</i> ; <i>kurañkū-k-kāl</i> ; <i>kurakkū-k-kāl</i> .)
<i>ī</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>y</i>	<i>ī</i> is changed to <i>ī</i> . (e. g. <i>nākū + yāṭṭi = nākiyāṭṭi</i> .)
<i>ū</i> (at the end of words <sup>6</sup> denoting trees)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>teñkū + kāy = teṅkanikāy</i> ) <sup>7</sup> .

1. *Yā-viṇṇā molīyē y-iyal pu m-āḱum*. (ibid. 429).

2. *Īreluttū molīyu m-uyir-t-toṭar molīyum*  
*Vērrumai y-āyi n-orriṭai y-iṇa-mikat*  
*Tōrram vēṇṭum valleluttū mikuti*. (ibid. 412).

3. *Īṭai-y-orru-t toṭaru m-āyṭa-t toṭarum*  
*Naṭaiyā y-iyala v-eṇmaṇṇār pulavar*. (ibid. 414).

4. *Vaṇṇōṭar molīyu meṇṇōṭar molīyum*  
*Vanta vallelut t-orriṭai mikumē*  
*Melloṛru-t toṭar-mōi mellor r-ellām*  
*Vallor r-iṭuti kīlai-y-or r-ākum*. (ibid. 415).

5. *Yakaram varu-vaḷi y-ikaran kuṛukum*  
*Ukara-k-kīḷavi tuvara-t tōṇṇūtū*. (ibid. 411.)

6. *Mara-p-peyar-k kīḷavi-k k-ammē cāriyai*. (ibid. 416.)

7. In the example *teṅkanikāy* three points are worth noting :—(1) when *ū* of *teñkū* is joined with *a* of *am*, *ū* is dropped. Whenever *ū* is followed by a vowel, it is dropped. But this rule is not given in *kurriyalukara-p-puṇariyal*; In *puṇariyal* there is a sūtra '*kurriya l-ukaramu m-arreṇa molīpa*' (Tol. E. 106) where the commentator Īampūraṇar says that it allows itself to be absorbed by the succeeding vowel as a

<i>ü</i> (of <i>puṇkū</i> , etc.) <sup>1</sup>	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<sup>2</sup> <i>am</i> is inserted; but the medial nasal is not changed to the corresponding voiceless consonant. (e. g. <i>puṇkū</i> + <i>kōṭū</i> = <i>puṇkaṅkōṭū</i> .)
<i>ü</i> (of <i>astū</i> , <i>iastū</i> , <i>ustū</i> in <sup>3</sup> non - case - relation sandhi.)	any vowel	No change.
Do. <sup>4</sup>	any consonant.	æ is dropped

Tolkāppiyāṇār explains in about 50 sūtras the changes which *ü* at the end of Tamil numbers from one to thousand undergoes when it is followed by words denoting number, measure and weight. Here two sūtras dealing with the formation of the words *toṇṇū* (ninety) and *toḷḷāyiram* (nine hundred) are worth noting. They are—

*Onṇā ṇ-okaramicai-t takara moṇṇum*  
*Muntai y-orṇē ṇakāra m-iraṭṭum*  
*Paṣṭeṇ kiḷavi y-āyta-paka raṇ-keṭa*  
*Niṇṇal vēṇṭu mukārak kiḷavi*  
*Oṇṇiya takaram rakara m-ākum.* (Tol. E. 446.)

*Onṇāṇ mutaiṇilai muntu-kiḷan tarṇē*  
*Muntai y-orṇē lakāra m-iraṭṭum*  
*Nuṇē kiḷavi nakāra meṇ-keṭa*  
*Ūv-ā v-āku m-iyarkai-t t-eṇ pa*  
*Āyiṭai varuta l-ikāra rakāram*  
*Īṇmey keṭuttu makara m-orṇum.* (ibid. 464.)

consonant does, but this commentary does not suit well since the consonant sound does not allow itself to be absorbed by the succeeding vowel. (2) *tēkkaṅkūy* is now used as *tēṅkūy*; this is an illustration of haplology. (3) the *ē* in *tēṅkūy* is the lengthened form of *e* in *teṅkū*; the lengthening here ought to have been done as compensation for the loss of the succeeding sounds; the same cannot be said of *ē* in *tēkkaṅkūy*.

1. *Melloṇṇu valiyā mara-p-peyarū m-ulavē.* (Tol. E. 417.)
2. It is worthy of note that *ṇ* in *puṇkū* is not assimilated to *k* and consequently changed to *ṇ*; but, in modern days, in spoken Tamil it is changed to *ṇ* also.
3. *Muṇṇ-uyir varum-iṭa-t t-āyta-p pulli*  
*Maṇṇal vēṇṭu m-alvali y-āṇa.* (Tol. E. 424.)
4. *Ēṇai-muṇ varinē tūṇilai y-iṇṇē.* (ibid. 425.)

## WRITERS QUOTED IN THE ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ\*

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The Abhinavabhāratī of Abhinavagupta, the only available commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra opens our eyes to a vast vista of the Nāṭya literature that existed before Abhinavagupta, independent treatises on drama, dance and music, as also regular commentaries on the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata. Its importance to the student of the history of Nāṭya and Saṅgīta cannot be over-emphasised. Though we know of the antiquity of Nāṭya and Saṅgīta, it seems that their study had a renaissance in Kashmir in the time of Jayāpīḍa. Earlier works as of Mātṛgupta existed but it was a period of more vigorous study that began in the time of king Jayāpīḍa. Kalhaṇa says in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī (IV 422—484) that while wandering incognito with the name Kallaṭa, in the kingdom of Pauṇḍhravardhana ruled by prince Jayanta, Jayāpīḍa saw in a temple the presentation of Nāṭya by courtezans according to the science of Bharata which he knew well. Jayāpīḍa lived sometime with one of those courtezans, Kamalā by name and brought her with himself to Kashmir as a queen. Naturally Jayāpīḍa evinced great enthusiasm for Nāṭya and asked his court-poet, Udbhaṭa to write a commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata. Udbhaṭa's commentary is the first and it inaugurated an era of vigorous study of the Nāṭya Śāstra. This period produced innumerable works and it closed with the time of Abhinavagupta, after which the Śāstra began to flourish in Central and South India.

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\* Mention of many of the writers quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī is already made by Dr. Sankaran, in his book, 'Theories of Rasa and Dhvani', chap. VIII, pp. 92-96. A few names have also been noticed by Mr. R. Ramamurti. *Vide* J. O. R. previous numbers. This paper of mine brings to light more writers on Dramaturgy who have not been noticed previously and further collects the fragments of some of the writers quoted, explains the quotations wherever possible and discusses related issues also.

Abhinavagupta's life was a full and rich one. He was a great Śaivite Ācārya who had written numerous works on Śaivism. His family itself was full of scholars. After he became a Śaivācārya, 'शिवस्मृतिहृतार्थ' as he himself says, he took to Poetics and Dramaturgy. Rather it was drama that he studied at first. His first guru was Bhaṭṭa Tota or Tauta, whose work, the Kāvya-kautuka, as we shall see presently, generally spoke of poet and poetry, specially contributed a theory of Rasa-realisation and dealt with Dramaturgy at length. On this Abhinava commented, as he himself says in his commentary on the Dhvanyāloka, III p. 178. Abhinava was studying the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata under Tauta, the good Brahmin, 'सद्भिप्रतोत', as he describes his teacher in the introductory verses at the beginning of the Abhinavabhāratī. But meantime he had sought Bhaṭṭendurāja, a poet, and had studied the Dhvanyāloka under him, the result of which study is the commentary on the Dhvanyāloka by him, called the Locana, which by its excellence displaced the older commentary called Candrikā, written by one of Abhinava's own ancestors. (pp. 123 and 185 Locana.) It is after writing the Locana that Abhinava took up the stupendous task of writing a commentary on the Nāṭya Veda. The talents required to undertake that task must be of a many-sided nature, possessing mastery over Alaṅkāra Śāstra, the Daśarūpaka, Dance and Music. The problems of the Nāṭya Śāstra are many. Unless the bulk of early literature such as Kohala's work etc. is unearthed, these problems cannot be solved. Most of the ancient works were available to Abhinavagupta. Even then we can see that explanations in many places are imaginary or merely grammatical. This is true of many things in the text of the Bhāratīya Nāṭya Śāstra itself. But Abhinava's was the best commentary and it became a famous authority read widely. Śāradātanaya says that he wrote his Bhāvaprakāśa basing it on the work of Abhinavagupta, though as a matter of fact, this is only a courteous remark, Śāradātanaya being no follower of Abhinava. But in his time and afterwards the Abhinavabhāratī became the one standard work on Nāṭya. As far as needed in the Alaṅkāra Śāstra, Hemacandra freely reproduced its passages. Rāmacandra's Nāṭyadarpaṇa, in its Vṛtti, completely reproduces many a passage of the Abhinavabhāratī. So also Catura Kallinātha's commentary, Kalānidhi, on Śārṅgadeva's Saṅgītaratnākara. The Saṅgītaratnākara itself bases its last chapter, the Nartanādhyāya on the Abhinavabhāratī.

As for instance, *see* the section on Nāṭyadharmī and Lokadharmī.

As a great scholar, master of many Śāstras, Abhinava has occasion to quote authorities of many branches of study in his voluminous commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra. Thus while commenting on the word 'संप्रवर्तते' chap. X, p. 317, Vol. II, Mad. Ms. he quotes Bharṭṛmītrācārya, a scholar of Mīmāṃsā and Vyākaraṇa. Bharṭṛmītrācārya was one of those who made the Mīmāṃsā, Lōkāyata. *vide* Śloka Vārttika, p. 4. Chowk. edn. Pārthasārathi comments on Śl. 10 thus—

“मीमांसा हि भर्तृमित्रादिभिः अलोकायतैव सती लोकायतीकृता ।”

As a grammarian, he is quoted in Mukula's Abhidhāvr̥tti-mātrkā, p. 17, Nir. S. edn. He is given there as the author of the well known Kārikā on the 5 kinds of लक्षणा, अभिधेयेन संबन्धात् etc. which is quoted by all writers. Abhinava quotes him to show how sometimes the origin of a new significance to a root as a result of the added Upasarga is not a rule. After briefly speaking of this अनित्यत्व of the उपसर्गार्थयोग on the authority of Bharṭṛmītrācārya, Abhinava says that he stops this grammatical discussion since it will tire the प्रकृताधिकारिन्s, (*i.e.*) students of Nāṭya. This reference is to show the nature of the sort of references occurring in the Abhinavabhāratī. I shall mention one by one the authors and works thus quoted, giving less attention to writers of extraneous subjects and more to writers on Nāṭya and Saṅgīta. I do not deal with any of the poets whose verses are quoted. The poets quoted must be the subject of a separate paper. There are many valuable names, one such being Hāsa,<sup>1</sup> who

1. P. 251. Gaek. edn. The editor suggests in the brackets that Hāsa may be Bhāsa. The name Hāsa and one Anuṣṭubh verse of his on Śakāra are again found on p. 433, Vol. II, Mad. Ms. “अथ च (तथा च) हासस्य श्लोकः, ‘प्राकृतेऽपि शकारस्य विभूतिर्न प्रसिद्धये । तद्विभूतिरपभ्रंशतावत्स्वैव प्रकाशिता ॥” Hāsa may be a mistake for Bhāsa or Hāla or for anything. But why should not there be a poet and dramatist called Hāsa ?

[The references in the printed portion of the Abhinavabhāratī are to page number of Vol. I of the edition of the Nāṭya Śāstra with the Abhinavabhāratī in the Gaek. series. The references in the unprinted portion are to page number of the manuscript of the Abhinavabhāratī in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.]

is twice quoted. I shall make one exception and mention one poet, belonging to the family of Abhinavagupta.

At the end of the *Parātrīṃśikā*, written for the sake of one Karna and Abhinava's own brother named Manoratha, Abhinava gives his geneology thus: The Kūṭastha is Atrigupta; Abhinava's father is Cukhala and grandfather Varāhagupta. This father Cukhala or Cukhalaka is given in the Mad. Ms. of the Abhinava-bhārati as दुःखल.

इत्थं दशममध्यायं व्यचष्टे च समासतः ।

शिवस्मृतिवृत्तार्थोऽपि परार्थं दुःखलात्मजः ॥ Vol. II, p. 325.

This दुःखल is evidently a mistake for चुखल, which seems to be the correct name since it is so given many times in the *Parātrīṃśikā* and the *Mālinītantravārtika*.

The Abhinavabhārati, at the end of chapters 20 and 27 mentions another guru of Abhinava besides Tota and Bhaṭṭendurāja. He is called Nṛsiṃhagupta alias Mukhala and is given as the teacher of Abhinavagupta in the lore of music.

“नृसिंहगुप्तायतिनेत्यमत्र वृत्तिस्वरूपं प्रकटं व्यधायि ।

यत्तत् त्रिणेत्रेण हृदन्तरात्मस्वरूपमेव प्रकटं व्यधायि ॥

Vol. III, p. 14.

“नृसिंहगुप्तापरनामधेयो विद्यावदातो मुखलामिधानः ।

यं गेह(य)विद्याभिरयूयुजत्स प्रयोगसिद्धिं कृतवान् महार्थम् ॥”

Vol. III, p. 93.

Originally, from the ‘gupta’ in the Satiskr̥ta name and from the vernacular name Mukhala, which resembles Cukhala, the name of Abhinava's father, I thought that this music-teacher of Abhinava might be one of Abhinava's family. Recently I came across a Ms. called Īśvara Pratyabhijñā Vimarśinī Vyākhyā, an anonymous commentary on the commentary of Abhinava on the Īśvara Pratyabhijñā of Abhinava's Paramaguru, Śrīmad Utpaladeva. It is described under R. No. 4353. p. 6399 in the Triennial catalogue of the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, 1922-23 to 1924-25. From the opening sentence of that work we are able to identify that this Nṛsiṃhagupta is none else than Abhinava's own father. The Īśvara Pratyabhijñā Vimarśinī Vyākhyā says—

“इह विश्वानुजिघृक्षापरः परमशिव एव सकलभूमण्डलोत्तरे श्रीमच्छारदादि-  
व्यक्तीडासदने श्रीकाश्मीरदेशे श्रीनरसिंहगुप्तसहधर्मचारिण्यां श्रीमत्यां विमलायां  
लीलया अवतीर्य श्रीमदभिनवगुप्तनाथ इति प्रख्याताभिधानः ....

....  
....  
श्रीमदुत्पलदेवाचार्यमुखोद्गीतं श्रीमदीश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाख्यं शास्त्रं व्याचिख्यासुः ....  
....  
....

Thus the father of Abhinava whose vernacular name alone as Cukhala, we knew till now, had the Samskr̥ta name as Nṛsimhagupta or Narasimhagupta. Abhinava learnt the Geya-Vidyā under his own father. The name ‘Mukhala’ as given in the Ms. may be a mistake for Cukhala. We also come to know now that Abhinava’s mother was named Vimalā.

From the Abhinavabhāratī we know of two more members of Abhinava’s family. One is Abhinava’s paternal uncle, वामनगुप्त, a poet, one of whose verses, Abhinava quotes to illustrate Hāsya-bhāsa.

“तत्र हास्याभासो यथा अस्मत्पितृव्यस्य वामनगुप्तस्य—

लोकोत्तराणि चरितानि न लोक एष

संमन्यते यदि किमङ्ग वदाव(म?) नाम ।

यत्त्वत्र हासमुखतस्त्वममुष्य तेन

पार्श्वोपपीडमिह को न विजाहसीति ॥ p. 297, Gaek. edn.

The other name is यशोराग. Abhinava says that Yaśorāga is his own father’s maternal grandfather. Such a distant relative to be specially referred to, in a manner which shows that Abhinava seems to be proud of his connection with him, should have been a great man. But of him we know little except what is said in this reference. Abhinava ends his commentary on the sixteenth chapter thus—

“इति षोडशमध्यायं ग्रन्थ(न्थं) निर्ग्रन्थिकं व्यधात् ।

यशोराशेर्यशोरागनामो(म्नो) दौहित्रदेहनः(जः) ।

Abhinavabhāratī, Vol. II, p. 420, Mad. Ms.

BHAṬṬA TAUTA.

Coming to Abhinava’s विद्याकुल — we already know that Bhaṭṭa Tauta is his guru in Nāṭya Śāstra. It is really Tauta that is a prominent figure of landmark in the history of the Nāṭya Śāstra and it is a pity that his Kāvya-kautuka is lost. The few

available glimpses, speaking so amply of the greatness of that work, only heighten our sorrow. Tota's definition of प्रतिभा very soon became classic and Kṣemendra quotes it in his Aucitya-vicāracarcā, mentioning Bhaṭṭa Tauta by name, while many others quote it anonymously.

“यदाह भट्टतौतः—प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता—इति ।”

Au. V. C. K. M. Gucch. I, p. 155.

Tota's definition of Kavi and Kāvya are equally famous and are quoted by many anonymously, as for instance by Hemacandra. p. 3, K. M. edn. Māṇikyacandra quotes it, mentioning the source by name. Mammaṭa adopts Tota's definition and briefly says of poetry that it is लोकोत्तरवर्णनानिपुणकविकर्म. Commenting on this, Māṇikyacandra says—

“तथोक्तं काव्यकौतुके—

प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता ।

तदनुप्राणनाजीवद्वर्णनानिपुणः कविः ॥

तस्य कर्म स्मृतं काव्यम् ।”

p. 7, Mysore edn. K. Pr.

With reference to these definitions of Tota's of Pratibhā, Kavi and Kāvya, we have to consider a similar quotation by Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita in his Kāvyaadarpaṇa.

“स्मृतिर्व्यतीतविषया मतिरागामिगोचरा ।

बुद्धिस्तात्कालिकी प्रोक्ता प्रज्ञा त्रैकालिकी मता ॥<sup>1</sup>

प्रज्ञां नवनवोन्मेषशालिनीं प्रतिभां विदुः ।

द्वे वर्तनी गिरां देव्याः शास्त्रं च कविकर्म च ।<sup>2</sup>

प्रज्ञोपज्ञं तयोराद्यं प्रतिभोद्भवमन्तिमम् ॥”

Vol. I, p. 7, Vāṇī Vilās edn.

Tauta's definition of Pratibhā occurs here with a slight change. This quotation is anonymous. It will be surprising if it is a fact that at such a distant time, in the south, Rājacūḍāmaṇi had access to Tota's Kāvya-kautuka; in case we grant that, these verses may occur in some other place in the Kāvya-kautuka. Perhaps some later writer adopted Tota's definition into his.

1. Cf. “त्रिधा च सा (बुद्धिः), स्मृतिः मतिः प्रज्ञेति । अतिक्रान्तस्य अर्थस्य स्मर्त्री स्मृतिः । वर्तमानस्य मन्त्री मतिः । अनागतस्य प्रज्ञात्री प्रज्ञेति । सा त्रिप्रका-  
शापि कवीनामुपकर्त्री ।” Rājaśekhara's Kāvya Mīmāṃsā, I. 4, p. 10, Gaek.  
edn.

2. Cf. “इह हि वाङ्मयमुभयथा, शास्त्रं काव्यं च ।” Ibid. I. 2, p. 2.



Tota's definition of Kāvya quoted by Hemacandra and Māṇikya-candra is quoted in the commentary on the Vyaktiviveka printed in the Triv. series.

“कविव्यापारः । अनेन कवेः कर्म काव्यमिति काव्यकौतुकविहितां काव्यस्य शब्दव्युत्पत्तिं कविमूलकाव्यत्वप्रतिपादि(तां?)कां दर्शयति । तत्र ह्युक्तं ‘तस्य कर्म स्मृतं काव्यम्’ इति ।

p. 13.

There is another quotation in Hemacandra from Tota, in which Tota speaks of the greatness of the poet, whom he calls as Sage and Seer. Hemacandra quotes the verses of Tota while speaking of the etymology of the word Kavi. The Kavi has ‘Darśana’ and ‘Varṇanā’. Without the latter the Sage and Seer does not become a poet. Mere thought is not poetry but only thought in poetic cast called Varṇanā.

तथा चाह भट्टतोतः

“नानृषिः कविरित्युक्तः ऋषिश्च किल दर्शनात् ।

विचित्रभावधर्माशतत्त्वप्रख्या च दर्शनम् ॥

स तत्त्वदर्शनादेव शास्त्रेषु पठितः कविः ।

दर्शनाद्वर्णनाच्चाथ रूढा लोके कविश्रुतिः ॥

तथा हि दर्शने स्वच्छे नित्येऽप्यादिकवेर्मुनेः ।

नोदिता कविता लोके यावज्जाता न वर्णना ॥

p. 316, K. M. edn. K. A.

Tota is the first teacher of Abhinava in Alaṅkāra and Abhinava's commentary on Tota's Kāvya-kautuka is Abhinava's first work in Alaṅkāra. Abhinava refers to this commentary of his in his Locana, III. Ud. ‘Kāvya-kautukavivarṇa’ seems to be its name. The context where Abhinava refers to it in his Locana is Śānta Rasa. There seems to be a brilliant exposition of the Śānta Rasa as the greatest Rasa in the Kāvya-kautuka.

“मोक्षफलत्वेन चायं परमपुरुषार्थनिष्ठितत्वात् सर्वरसेभ्यः प्रधानतमः । स चायमस्मदुपाध्यायभट्टतौतेन काव्यकौतुके अस्माभिश्च तद्विवरणे बहुतर-कृतनिर्णयः ।”

p. 178.

Tota is not often referred to in the Locana, which often quotes the views and verses of Abhinava's other guru, Bhaṭṭeṇḍu-rāja, who taught him the Dhvanyāloka. There are however two more references to Tota in the Locana. The first of these two is on p. 29.

“यदुक्तमस्मदुपाध्यायभट्टतौतेन—

‘नायकस्य कवेः श्रोतुः समानोऽनुभवस्ततः ।’”

The second occurs on p. 149. Though as a rule references to ‘Upādhyāya’ in the Locana refer to Bhaṭṭendurāja, one such reference on the etymology of the word ‘Nāṭya Veda’ refers only to Bhaṭṭa Tota.

“ग्रीत्यात्मा च रसः, तदेव नाट्यम्, नाट्य एव च वेद  
इत्यस्मदुपाध्यायाः ।” p. 149.

Further it is Tota who demolished the theories of Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka on the subject of Rasa-realisation and probably expounded also a little in his Kāvya-kautuka the theory which Abhinava laterly expounded. Abhinava after stating the view of Śrī Śaṅkuka says at the beginning of its refutation—

“तदिदमपि अन्तस्तत्त्वशून्यं न विमर्दक्षममित्युपाध्यायाः ।

p. 275, Gaek. edn.

Tota has criticised Śaṅkuka’s ideas of Naṭa’s Anukaraṇa in his work. In this same context, Hemacandra and Māṇikya-candra have in the place of the above sentence of Abhinava, the following: ‘नैतदपीति भट्टतौतः ।’ Thus the order of the Rasa-Theorists is Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Tota, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta. The theory propounded by Abhinava is a slight change of that of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and might have been taught by Tota himself. There is no evidence of Tota having refuted Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka also. It is not unlikely that the Hṛdayadarpaṇa, which in style and execution, is a work that can be compared to the Kāvya-kautuka, came after Tota wrote his work.

References to Bhaṭṭa Tota in the Abhinavabhāratī are innumerable. References to him as the teacher of Abhinava in Nāṭya are two, one in the beginning of the commentary and the other at the end of the commentary on chapter XIX.

“सद्विप्रतोतवदनोदितनाट्यवेद-

तत्त्वार्थमर्थिजनवाञ्छितसिद्धिहेतोः ।

माहेश्वराभिनवगुप्तपदप्रतिष्ठः

संक्षिप्तवृत्तिविधिना विशदीकरोति ॥ p. 1, Gaek. edn. Śl. 4.

द्विजवरतोतनिरूपितसन्ध्यध्यार्थतत्त्वघटनेयम् ।

अभिनवगुप्तेन कृता शिवचरणाम्भोजमधुपेन ॥

last verse, Chap. XIX, p. 543, Mad. Ms.

There are many references to the interpretations of difficult texts suggested by Tota. These are not given here; but only fragments of his Kāvya-kautuka, quoted by Abhinava, so that scholars may have an idea of the further nature of that work. Anuvādas or references to the views of Tota in his Kāvya-kautuka occurring in the Abhinavabhāratī are also given.

1. Commenting on the text of Bharata— 'त्रैलोक्यस्यास्य सर्वस्य नाट्यं भावानुकीर्तनम्'—Abhinava, at great length, explains the significance of the word अनुकीर्तनम्, differentiates it from अनुकरणं or 'Imitation', criticises Anukarṇa and says that the text of the Kāvya-kautuka also on this subject must be taken to mean this.

“तस्मादनियतानुकारो नाट्यमिति न भ्रमितव्यम् । अस्मदुपाध्यायकृत-  
काव्यकौतुकेऽप्येवमेव अभिप्रायो मन्तव्यः न त्वनियतानुकारोऽपि ।”

p. 37, Gaek. edn.

Abhinava's point is this. Drama is not exactly Imitation—Anukarṇa. That is, the idea of Anukarṇa must be modified. Imitation which is Drama is not the imitation which is the basis of laughter, of the Hāsyarasa.

परचेष्टानुकारणात् हासः समुपजायेत ।

N. Ś. VII. 116

Some others seem to have modified अनुकार into अनियतानुकार. Abhinava refutes this and says that the proper word for it is what Bharata has given—अनुकीर्तनम्, which he explains as अनुव्यवसाय.

“—तदिदमनुकीर्तनमनुव्यवसायविशेषो नाट्यापरपर्यायो नानुकार इति  
भ्रमितव्यम् ।”

p. 37, Gaek. edn.

“तेन अनुव्यवसायविशेषविषयीकार्यं नाट्यम् ।

“तस्मात् अनुव्यवसायात्मकं कीर्तनं रूपितविकल्पसंवेदनम् नाट्यम् ।”

p. 38, Gaek. edn.

2. In his commentary on the fourth chapter, Abhinava quotes Tota on the dances in the Pūrvaraṅga.

यथोक्तं भवति भट्टतोतेन—‘पर्यायशस्त्रस्य प्रयोगः’ इति

p. 187, Gaek. edn.

3. In chapter Six, on Rasas, Abhinava quotes Tota. Tota opines that Rasas are primarily in Nāṭya only, for it is necessary for Rasa-realisation that a thing must be made ‘प्रत्यक्ष’ by acting. This Rasa-realisation can also be in दृश्यकाव्य, if the descriptions

are powerful enough to make the story appear so vivid as drama enacted before our minds' eye.

“न नाट्य एव च रसाः काव्येऽपि, नाट्यायमान एव रसः, काव्यार्थ-  
विषये हि प्रत्यक्षकल्पसंवेदनोदये रसोदय इत्युपाध्यायाः । यदाहुः काव्यकौतुके—

‘प्रयोगत्वमनापन्ने काव्ये नास्वादसंभवः ।’

‘वर्णनोत्कलिकाभोगप्रौढोक्त्या सम्यगर्पिताः ।

उद्यानकान्ताचन्द्राद्या भावाः प्रत्यक्षवत्स्फुटाः ॥’ इति ।”

pp. 291-2, Gaek. edn.

There is no possibility of delectation unless the poem attains the state of dramatic presentation—प्रयोगत्वमनापन्ने. Therefore Rasa is realised perfectly only in drama.— नाट्यायमान एव रसः. Such Rasa-realisation can be from a Kāvya also if the description is brilliant, if it is as powerful and living as if enacted before our eyes. The masterpoet's प्रौढोक्ति has that power to make things like garden, heroine, moon etc. appear as if they are seen with the eyes—प्रत्यक्षवत्स्फुटाः. Others however hold a different view of Rasa-realisation in Kāvya but Abhinava follows his teacher and says that Kāvya is in essence dramatic, and hence Rasa-realisation. But he adds that greater than the narrative and descriptive Māhā-Kāvya, it is drama that is Kāvya par excellence. He quotes Vāmana here: सन्दर्भेषु दशरूपकं श्रेयः ।

“अन्ये तु काव्येऽपि गुणालंकारसौन्दर्यातिशयकृतं रसचर्वणमाहुः ।  
वयं तु ब्रूमः, काव्यं तावन्मुख्यतो दशरूपकमेव । ... .... तत एवोच्यते  
‘सन्दर्भेषु दशरूपकमिते(ति ?) ।’ .... काव्यं च नाट्यमेव .... ”<sup>1</sup>

4. The fourth quotation from the Kāvya-kautuka is on the 10 Avasthās of Śṛṅgāra.

“यदा तु विप्रलम्भाङ्गता न भवति, तदा स्वातन्त्र्यम् । तदुक्तम्  
अस्मदुपाध्यायभट्टतोतेन—

‘स्वातन्त्र्येण प्रवृत्तौ तु सर्वप्राणिषु सम्भवः’ इति ।” p. 310, Gaek. edn.

Bharata discusses the question, how in Śṛṅgāra, which is रतिप्रभव, developed from the Sthāyin called Rati, there appear Bhāvas of the Karuṇa Rasa? The reply is that these Bhāvas appear in the second aspect of Śṛṅgāra called Vipralambha, which

1. Vide Hemacandra, K. A. Viveka, II, p. 68 for an epitome of this portion of the Abhinara-bhārati.

is of ten stages or states as shown in the Vaiśika Śāstras. It is only as विप्रलम्भाङ्ग that these ten states appear in the Nāyaka or Nāyikā. There are other places where independently or in the absence of Śṛṅgāra, these states appear. These can appear in all beings and have nothing to do with Vipralambha, when they are thus 'Svatantra.' Abhinava gives the illustration of the states in Rāvaṇa, where also they are Svatantra, since in Rāvaṇa, it is a case of Rasābhāsa.

5. In the commentary on chap. XIII Tota is quoted on Nātyadharmī and Lokadharmī.

“यथोक्तमस्मदुपाध्यायैः

‘यदत्रास्ति न तत्रास्य कविर्वर्णनमर्हति ।

यन्नासंभवती तत्र न स्यात् तद् ग्यम् ॥(?)

Vol. II, p. 358, Mad. Ms.

6. The next reference is in chap. XIV.

“यत्तु उपाध्यायैः काव्यकौतुके ‘रसोद्देशपरश्लोकः’ इत्यादि निरूपितं तदुत्तानार्थतयैव न ग्रहीतव्यम् ।”

Vol. II, p. 364, Mad. Ms.

7. The seventh quotation from the Kāvya-kautuka is in the fifteenth chapter.

“यद्यपि नाटकादिरूपकविरचनकाले पठितत्व(स्व)प्रज्ञस्य (?) न क्रम-  
प्रतिभासः, तथाप्यपोद्धारधिया कल्प्यत इत्याहुः । प्रथमस्ये ये (?) युक्तोऽभ्यासः  
तन्निष्पत्तिः प्रबन्धाभ्यासः । तत्संपत्तिरभिनयार्थनिर्वर्तनं तदभिनयारोपणमिति ।  
स एव क्रम इत्युपाध्यायाः । यदाहुः—

“महाकवीनां पदवीमुदात्तामाततक्षताम् ।

ये संस्पृश्य पदस्पर्शात् संपत्सोपानपद्धतिः ॥”

Vol. II, p. 377—378.

8. In chapter 16, in the commentary on the section on the 36 Kāvya Lakṣaṇas, which has 2 recensions in the text of the N.S. Abhinava says that he follows mainly the Upajāti recension which has been handed down to him from his teacher.

“उद्देशक्रमस्तु अस्मदुपाध्यायपरम्परागतः ।”

Vol. II, p. 384.

There is evidence to show that the Kāvya-kautuka dealt with the 36 Lakṣaṇas. *Vide* my paper on Lakṣaṇa published in the last issue of this Journal. Abhinava, on p. 404, in the same chapter, refers also to the view of Tota that Alaṅkāras multiply by

mixing with the Lakṣaṇas. In a quotation from Tota found in a further context, there is mention of Lakṣaṇa along with Alaṅkāra, Guṇa etc.

9. In chapter XIX, on the Sandhis of a drama, Abhinava quotes Tota who says that all actions have the five stages, प्रारम्भ etc. The text is bad and this much can be reproduced here.

“उपाध्यायास्त्वादुः, ‘सर्वत्रैवेतिवृत्तं पञ्चसन्ध्येव । न हि कश्चिदपि व्यापारेण ... .... ।” Vol. II, p. 495.

10. The fragment No. 5 given above is again quoted along with its following verse. The text is better in this second quotation but still much of what it means is not easily made out. This quotation is in chap. XIX.

“रसोपयोगी तथाविधः कालविशेषो ग्रहीतव्यः । तथा च रत्नावल्यां भूयसा चन्द्रोदयो वर्णितः, ‘संप्रत्येष सरोरुहद्युतिमुषः’ इति, ‘उदयतटान्तरितम्’, इति, ‘वक्त्रेन्दौ तव सत्ययं यदपरः शीतांशुरुज्जृम्भते’ इत्येवं रसोपयोग्यलौकिककालविशेषग्रहणप्रच्छेदकादुपजीवितः । यदादुरुपाध्यायपादाः—

‘यदत्रास्ति न तत्रास्य कविर्वर्णनमर्हति ।

यन्नासम्भवि तत्राढ्यतद्वर्ण्यं सौमनस्यदम् ॥

देशादिदंतुरो बौर्वा तटिकुण्डलमण्डिता ॥

....कृष्णाथवा न सत् किं कदाचन कुत्रचित् ॥’

इत्यादि ।”

p. 535, Vol. II.

11. The biggest quotation from the Kāvya-kautuka, containing four verses, is the following. It describes वाच्याभिनय or वाचिकाभिनय, the text of a drama.

“अलौकिकवैचित्र्यसरो हि रसः । तथा चोक्तं भट्टतोतेन—

‘लक्षणाळकृतिगुणा दोषाः शब्दप्रवृत्तयः ।

वृत्तिसन्ध्यङ्गसंरम्भः संहारो यः कवेः किल ॥

अन्योऽन्यस्यानुकूल्येन सम्भूयैव समुत्थितैः ।

झटित्येव रसा यत्र व्यज्यन्ते ह्लादिभिर्गुणाः(णैः) ॥

वृत्तैः सरलबन्धैर्यन्मुग्धैश्चूर्णपदैरपि ।

अ(सु)श्लिष्टद्वयघटनभाषया सुप्रसिद्धया ॥

यच्चेदृक् काव्यमात्रं सत् रसभावानुभावत(भावकम्, भावनम्) ।  
समान्येऽभिनये प्रोक्तं वाच्याभिनयसंज्ञया ॥” Vol. II, p. 541.

12. In chapter XXIII, while speaking of the ten Avasthās of Kāma, upon which Abhinava quoted Tota in an earlier instance also, given above as no 4.—Abhinava again quotes Tota.

“तथा च भट्टतोतेन उक्तम्—

‘कामावस्था न शृङ्गारः कचिदासां तदङ्गता ।’ ” Vol. III, p. 55.

13. In the Tālādhyāya, (chap. XXXII) there is a reference to an opinion of Tota expressed in his Kāvyaakautuka and there is also a small quotation from it. The point in discussion and the reference to Tota appeared earlier also. *Vide* p. 173, Gaek. edn. The text is very bad and its import cannot be made out.

“तथा च डोम्बिकासु स एवार्थः प्रधानभूत इति चूडामणौ स्पष्टमेव उक्तम् । ‘चोरि अमिकुणभवं महसा कुकुमे हितइ’ इति । तथा च चिरन्तनोऽयं प्रवादं(दः) पडमचूडामणीया इति । तदेतत् भट्टतोतेन काव्यकौतुके वितत्य दर्शितं च ‘सरैस्तु नये नुष्यते’ इति । लोके शास्त्रान्तरे चैवं प्रधानाङ्गानां प्रधानन्यायिनाम् अन्योन्यमनुनयसंमतमेवेति यावत् । (?)”

The earlier reference to the same point mentioned above is in the discussion on the difference between Nāṭya and Nṛṭtya.

“अत एव चूडामणिडोम्बिकायां प्रतिज्ञातम् ‘बिन्दुगुणं वमि सहि इहोदिवचो अमिदुगधं । महसारक गेते उं(?)’ अत एव सहृदयाः स्मरन्ति ‘वध(स)मचूडामणिआ ।’ तस्मान्नुत्तं च नाट्यादभिन्नं तल्लक्षणोपेतत्वात् ।”

p. 173, Gaek. edn.

The Dombikā is an Uparūpaka, a Nṛṭtyaprabandha. The Cūḍāmaṇi Dombikā which Abhinava refers to more than once is an example of it. It can be inferred from another reference that one Rāṇaka was the author of this Cūḍāmaṇi Dombikā.

“अत एवैतत्स्थानोपजीविभिरेव श्रीराणकादिकविभिः डोम्बिकादौ चतु-  
रपसारकः प्रयोगः ।”

p. 190, Gaek. edn.

14. On p. 184, Vol. III there is a discussion on the language to be used in the Lāsyaṅga called शीर्षक. This Aṅga of Lāsya

called शीर्षक is considered as the greatest, since it is described as Uttamottama and naturally we find a variety of views on the subject of the language to be used in it. Some say it is Sanskr̥t; others, Prākṛt. Bhaṭṭa Tota is quoted here as holding the view that since the context is one speaking of the Saindhavī Prākṛt, the Śiṛṣaka must be in the Saindhavī Prākṛt.

“यत्र भाषानियमो नोक्तः तत्र प्राथम्यात् संस्कृतैव । यथेच्छमित्यन्ये ।  
स्त्रीपुंभावाश्रयत्वात् प्राकृतभाषैवेत्यपरे । सैन्धव्येव प्रकरणात् इति भट्टतोतः ।  
यदाह काव्यकौतुके—

‘न भाषानियमः पात्रे काव्ये स्यात् सैन्धवीमिति ।’ Vol. III, p. 184.

15. In the Sāmānyābhinaya chapter, Bharata has given Vākya (*i. e.*) Vācikābhinaya as one of the six varieties of Śārīrābhinaya. Surely speech is physical, Śārīra, but in that case even Bhāvas would have to be called similarly. In connection with this difficulty, Abhinava quotes a peculiar definition of Vācikābhinaya itself offered by his teacher Tota. The text here is bad, though a reference to Tota can be clearly seen. The text can be thus given.

“तत एव—

‘.....रसभावानुभावकम् ।’

तदा तदेव वाक्का(व्या)भिनयः.... ॥”

This then, Abhinava explains and thus concludes—

“इत्युपाध्यायेनायमेकीयोऽभिप्रायो दर्शितः ।”

Vol. IV, p. 40.

### BHAṬṬENDURĀJA.

All the ‘Upādhyāyas’ occurring in the Abhinavabhārati refer only to Bhaṭṭa Tota. Bhaṭṭendurāja is quoted as a poet, his verses occurring as illustrations for the Lakṣaṇas etc. As in the Locana, here also he is extravagantly praised by Abhinava and in one place he is classed along with Vyāsa and Kālidāsa for प्रतिभाज्ञानातिशय ! Vol. II, P. 378. On p. 35 Vol. III, there is one noteworthy reference to him. The context is the Alaṅkāras of the Nāyikās, *viz.*, Śobhā, Vilāsa etc., coming under Sāmānyābhinaya. While illustrating Vibhrama comes the verse from K. S. I. ‘गतेषु लीलान्वितविभ्रमेषु.’ An emendation of this by some one who is



described as तन्त्रज्ञ is given by Abhinava, viz., गतेषु लीलाञ्छितसुन्दरेषु. Abhinava refutes this emendation, proudly referring to himself as Bhaṭṭendurāja Śiṣya. 'नेति भट्टेन्दुराजशिष्यः.' The Tantrajña here referred to may be Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka for Abhinava often pricks the Mīmāṃsaka in him.

### UTPALADEVA.

Having treated here of the teachers of Abhinava, we can speak here also of Abhinava's Paramaguru in Śaivism, Śrīmad Utpaladevapāda, whose life seems to have been as rich as Abhinava's. The Abhinavabhāratī reveals to us that this Śaivācārya and grand-preceptor of Abhinava is also a Saṅgītācārya, and wrote a work on music. Abhinava quotes him in the Geyādhikāra four times.

1. "अन्ये त्वाहुः स्वरा इत्यलंकारैकदेशाः प्रयोज्यायां तु (?) ज्ञाताः ।  
श्रीमदुत्पलदेवपादास्तथा मन्यन्ते ।"

Chap. XXIX. जात्यध्यायः Vol. IV, p. 21, Mad. Ms.

2. "परमगुरुश्रीमदुत्पलदेवपादानां मते वर्णानां पदनिबन्धनत्वे तदा-  
श्रितालंकारगीतविप्रयोगयोः .... " p. 22.

3. In this third instance, Abhinava differs from his Paramaguru.

"उत्पलदेवपादास्तु अस्मत्परमुखो व्याचक्षते ....  
.... निर्गुण्यमानमस्तीति । वयं तु मन्यामहे वीप्सायामपि .... ."

Chap. XXXI, p. 84, Vol. IV.

The word 'व्याचक्षते' does not mean so much as Utpaladeva actually commented on Bharata, but means only that he interpreted a particular text of Bharata in a certain way in his independent work on music. This particular text is—

त्रयो भेदा हि तालस्य द्विगुणा द्विगुणाः स्मृताः ।

तालाध्यायः Śl. 26, p. 344, N. S. Kāśī edn.

4. तस्मादुक्तधर्मोपजीवनमेव परमगुरुनिरूपयितं (पितं) युक्तम् । यथोक्तं  
श्रीमदुत्पलदेवपादैः —

स्थितस्थायित्वसंपन्नात् प्रस्तुतस्थमयोजनम् ।

ध्रुवास्तु यद्यदन्येभ्यस्तद्वत्प्रज्ञोपकल्पयेत् ॥(?)

Vol. IV, p. 188.

The Abhinavabhāratī is the only source of information as regards Utpaladeva having written a work on music. Śārṅgadeva's list and the lists in other music works, cataloguing the Saṅgītā-cāryas do not mention him. There seems to be however one reference, perhaps to this work of Utpaladeva on music in the Śivatattvaratnākara of Basavarāja, in its Saṅgīta Chapter. This work is a thesaurus like Someśvara's Abhilaṣītārthacintāmaṇi otherwise called Mānasollāsa, to which the Śivatattvaratnākara is much indebted. Chapter six of this work of Basava treats of the fine arts. The concluding verses of this chapter give the authorities of the Śāstras. The following refer to the Saṅgīta section.

“दत्तिलेन कृतं नन्दिभृङ्गिकोहलकादिभिः ।

भरतं चादिभरतं गीतरत्नाकरं तथा ॥

उत्पलाद्यं परिमलं कृतिं शार्ङ्गधरस्य च ।”

Most likely the text of the last line is somewhat corrupt. Anyhow we have a mention here, among authorities on Saṅgīta, of a name, Utpala.

Early Nāṭya literature is also early Saṅgīta literature. Saṅgīta itself was not music, vocal or instrumental, but both kinds of music and also dance.

गीतं नृत्यं च वाद्यं च त्रयं संगीतमुच्यते ।

Therefore the works of the early period dealt completely with these three, though they were called works on Nāṭya. Works, as of Kohala's, dealt at length with both Nāṭya and music. Certain others were primarily works on Nāṭya but contained a section on music. Certain others dealt primarily with music and to this class belongs the work of Dattila. Many of the old authorities quoted by Abhinava are writers on both Nāṭya and music. The most important among these is Kohala. His work must have been very big, treating elaborately and completely of drama, dance and music. Kohala is attributed by all writers on dramaturgy with the introduction of the Uparūpakas. His personality is clouded in mythology and it appears in the Nāṭya Śāstra itself. Many a work with his name is seen in the Mss. libraries. One work at least, we surely know as written by Kohala and as being called Saṅgīta Meru. It must be a stupendous treatise on the Nāṭya Śāstra. It is set in the style of dialogue between Kohala and Sage Śārdūla and large extracts from this on the Karavarttanās of dance are given by Kallinātha, in his commentary on the last

chapter of the Saṅgīta Ratnākara. There are many references to Kohala in the Abhinavabhāratī, in the Nāṭyādhikāra as well as in the Geyādhikāra. Of Kohala and writers like Dattila we cannot speak much.<sup>1</sup> Dattila is also quoted often by Abhinava, but only in the section on music, which means that the work of Dattila is important only for its section on music. As a work on Nāṭya Śāstra it must be big and the very small music work called Dattilam published in the Triv. series is perhaps only a very much abridged copy of the Music-section of the original Dattilam. But Mr. Rāmākṣṇakavi says<sup>2</sup> that since all quotations found in the name of Dattila are traceable in the Triv. दत्तिलं, it is genuine and that the original work of Dattila is only small and that this small Dattilam had a commentary called प्रयोगस्तवक. Another such writer, a Saṅgītācārya who is often quoted by Abhinava is Viśākhilācārya. Nārada is however quoted only twice. The first reference to him is on his Nirvacana of the word Gāndharva as 'प्रीतिवर्धन'. Maṭaṅga, another sage, author of the Bṛhaddeśī, published in the Triv. series, is twice quoted by Abhinava. Kaśyapa is another sage and writer on music whom Abhinava quotes. He is quoted by other writers on music also. In Vol. IV, pp. 6-13, Abhinava gives eight pages of Anuṣṭubhs on the tunes to be used according to each Rasa and Bhāva. These verses are either quotations or a compilation made by Abhinava from Kaśyapa's work. For he says at the beginning—

‘तत्र लक्ष्यप्रबन्धगाने प्रायोगिककश्चपादुद्दिष्टं (कश्यपाद्युद्दिष्टं) विनियोग-  
जातं कथ्यते ।’

p. 5. Vol. IV.

And the Anuṣṭubhs close thus—

‘इत्येष कश्यपाद्युक्तो विनियोगो निरूपितः ।’

This Kaśyapa is a very prominent name in Saṅgīta and is quoted by other writers also. Our interest in him is all the more, since he appears to be one of the early writers on Alaṅkāra also.

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1. Of these writers I have dealt with at length in a paper of mine on "Some names in the Early Saṅgīta literature" read before the Madras Music conference, 1931 and now being published in the Journal of the Music Academy, Madras.

2. References to the views of Mr. R. Kavi in this paper are to those expressed by him to me in a personal discussion I had with him on the writers quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī.

We have the authority of a commentator of the Kāvyaādarśa for taking Kaśyapa as an early writer on Alaṅkāra. The Hṛdayaṅgamā mentions a Kāśyapa along with Vararuci as an ancient writer on Alaṅkāra.

‘पूर्वेषां काश्यपवररुचिप्रभृतीनामाचार्याणां लक्षणशास्त्राणि संहृत्य...’

K. Ā. Mad. edn., p. 3.

If this Kāśyapa is the Kaśyapa of Saṅgīta, we can take that the work of Kāśyapa is a big one dealing completely with Nāṭya Śāstra, a portion of which is Vācikābhinaya, in whose treatment Alaṅkāra Śāstra comes. This Kaśyapa seems to have written two works. Nānyadeva, in his Bharata Bhāṣya or the Sarasvatī-hṛdayālaṅkāra, besides quoting Kaśyapa often, quotes a बृहत्काश्यप also.<sup>1</sup> More about the names in early Saṅgīta literature cannot be said since most of the books are lost and we have only fragmentary quotations to help us. The names are involved in mythology and many of them are Sages and Gods.

#### UDBHAṬA.

Another set of authors which we shall briefly do away with here is of those who wrote regular commentaries on the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata. As we have said above, the earliest known commentator is Udbhaṭa. He is mentioned as one of the commentators on Bharata by Śārṅgadeva. There is now no doubt of his having written a commentary on Bharata for the Abhinavabhāratī confirms Śārṅgadeva. There are four references to Udbhaṭa at distant intervals in the Abhinavabhāratī. The first occurs while Abhinava comments on Śl. 10, Chap. VI, p. 266. Gaek. edn. This verse of Bharata gives the Saṅgraha or brief enumeration of the topics of the Nāṭya Śāstra, numbering eleven.

रसा भावा ह्यभिनया धर्मीवृत्तिप्रवृत्तयः ।

सिद्धिः स्वरास्तथातोद्यं गानं रङ्गश्च सङ्ग्रहः ॥

On this Udbhaṭa is said to have commented thus: this verse gives eleven Aṅgas while according to Bharata's Mata, the Aṅgas are only five, three Abhinayas and music of two kinds, vocal and

1. Chap. VIII, pp. 111-b and 114-a. Ms. of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute. This Ms. was kindly borrowed for my use by my Professor, M. M. U. S. Kuppaswami Sastriar from the Bhandarkar Institute. The work is incomplete and this Ms. contains only the Saṅgīta portion of the Vācikāṁśa, which is a fourth of the whole.

instrumental. This verse with eleven Aṅgas is according to Kohala's Mata, which only restates into eleven the five Aṅgas of Bharata. Further Bharata, in dealing with these Aṅgas one by one, does not follow this order.

“अभिनयत्रयं गीतातोषे चेति पञ्चाङ्गं नाट्यम् । \* \* \* \*  
\* \* अनेन तु श्लोकेन कोहलमते एकादशाङ्गत्वमुच्यते, न तु भरते, तत्संगृही  
तस्यापि पुनरत्रोद्देशात्, क्रमव्यत्यासनादित्यौद्भटाः ।”

pp. 255 and 256, Gaek. edn.

Lollaṭa has criticised this view as can be seen from the next sentence in the Abhinavabhāratī here.

2. The second reference to Udbhaṭa is in the Chapter on Hastābhinaya. Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa is quoted on the Nṛtta Hasta called स्वस्तिकपताक. The text of Bharata on this Hasta is this—

‘उत्तानौ वामपार्श्वस्थौ स्वस्तिकः परिकीर्तितः ।

Śl. 129, p. 123, Kāśī edn. N. S

The reference to Udbhaṭa in the Abhinavabhāratī on this verse is this—

“त्रिपताकः उत्तानः अधस्तलः त्र्यश्वो(श्रो)ऽग्रहो(हस्तो)ऽधोमुख एव  
च पञ्च प्रचारास्तस्येति भट्टोद्भटः पठति ।” Vol. II, p. 307, Mad. Ms.

3. The third reference is in the Daśarūpādhyāya, in the Lakṣaṇa of Samavakāra.

“उष्णिक् सप्तभिः गायत्री षड्भिः....बन्धकुटिलानि विषमार्धसमानि ।  
तान्यत्र समवकारे सम्यक् योज्यानीति । नैव प्रयोज्यान्युद्भटः(ज्यानीत्युद्भटः)  
पठति । स्रग्धरादीन्येव प्रयोज्यानि, नाल्पाक्षराणीति स व्याचष्टे ।” Vol. II, p. 472.

In describing the Samavakāra, Bharata says—

उष्णिग्गायत्री वा यानि तथान्यानि बन्धकुटिलानि ।

वृत्तानि समवकारे कविभिर्नैव प्रयोज्यानि ॥ XX, 80, Kāśī edn.

The Kāśī edn. notes another reading for the last foot in the foot note, viz., कविभिः सम्यक् प्रयोज्यानि. This reading is followed by Abhinava who holds that in a Samavakāra, the metres of small number of syllables and crooked metres must be introduced. Udbhaṭa adopts the reading कविभिर्नैव प्रयोज्यानि and says that those metres must not be introduced and only Sragdharā etc. which are long and smooth must be used.

4. The fourth reference to Udbhaṭa is in the Daśarūpādhyāya. This is a valuable reference and here we have the Anuvāda of a very original view of Udbhaṭa as regards the Vṛttis, Kaiśikī etc. Bharata gives four Vṛttis, Kaiśikī, Ārabhaṭī, Sāttvaṭī and Bhāratī. Udbhaṭa first raises a point that these four Vṛttis are not enough since there are places where there is none of these four. The case of मरण is one such. Death is the result or fruit one gets for some action. The Vṛtti of this state, and of similar states, is फलवृत्ति or फलविवृत्ति. This new Vṛtti, Udbhaṭa first establishes. Then he attacks the four Vṛttis of Bharata and says that they must be cast away. He creates two new Vṛttis in their place. These two plus the first-established Phalavṛtti make three and Udbhaṭa, we can clearly see, holds only these three Vṛttis. The Daśarūpaka and the Bhāvaprakāśa have missed the exact view of Udbhaṭa. The authors of these two works did not note the two Vṛttis Udbhaṭa set in the place of the four of Bharata but were all aware that Udbhaṭa created an additional Vṛtti called फलवृत्ति. This they called by the name अर्थवृत्ति, the word अर्थ being used as a synonym of फल. It is absolutely wrong to attribute five Vṛttis to Udbhaṭa. Surely Bhoja recognises five Vṛttis in his Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa but what is his fifth Vṛtti? As is usual with him, he mixes all the four of Bharata and creates the fifth, called मिश्रवृत्ति. This is no new Vṛtti and has nothing to do with the अर्थवृत्ति or फलवृत्ति of Udbhaṭa, calling which as the fifth is itself wrong. मिश्र can never mean फल and फलवृत्ति is explained at length by Abhinava as Vṛtti of मरण etc. according to its author, Udbhaṭa. Bhoja's Miśravṛtti is the name of the Vṛtti of the Kāvya as a whole, particular portions of it being in any one of the four Vṛttis. Thus the remarks on Udbhaṭa and Vṛttis made by Mr. Ramasvami Sastriyar in his Sanskrit introduction (p. 15) to his recently published edition of the Kāvya-lāṅkārasārasaṅgraha of Udbhaṭa with Tilaka's commentary, (Gaek. series, LV.) are all wrong. More elaborate treatment of this subject, the correct interpretation of Daśarūpaka etc. have been given by me in a paper of mine on the Vṛttis, to be published in the next issue of this Journal. The text of the Abhinavabhāratī, giving the view of Udbhaṭa is long and I have reserved its quotation to the paper above referred to.

There is further a long discussion and refutation of the स्वशब्दवाच्यत्व of Rasa in the beginning of the commentary on chap. XIV, which is the beginning of Vācikābhinaya. Though Udbhaṭa is not mentioned here by name, this section is evidently directed against Udbhaṭa. p. 361—364, Vol. II, Abhi. Bhā.

Further evidence of Udbhaṭa having commented on the Nāṭya Śāstra comes from Kuntaka who refers to him as expert in Bharata, while criticising Udbhaṭa's Ūrjasvi Alaṅkāra.

“ननु भरतनयनिपुणमानसानां परमार्थविदां तत्रभवतां वयं विवदामहे ।”

V. J. III.

### LOLLAṬA AND ŚĀṆKUKA.

The next commentator on the Nāṭya Śāstra is Lollaṭa. He is always seen in the Abhinavabhāratī just after Udbhaṭa whose views Lollaṭa is given as refuting at every step. Thus Lollaṭa is referred to as refuting Udbhaṭa's views on the eleven topics of Nāṭya and on the Vṛttis. This also proves that Lollaṭa's commentary came after Udbhaṭa's. Besides these, there are many references to Lollaṭa althrough the Abhi. Bhā. There can be no doubt of his having written a regular commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra.

Śaṅkuka is also often quoted in the Abhi. Bhā. and he must also have written a regular commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra. His commentary comes next to Lollaṭa's. Rājaśekhara quotes two Āryā verses in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā under the name of one Aparājiti.

“‘अस्तु नाम निस्सीमा अर्थसार्थः । किन्तु रसवत एव निबन्धो युक्तः, न नीरसस्य’ इति आपराजितिः । यदाह—

‘मज्जनपुष्पावचयनसन्ध्याचन्द्रोदयादिवाक्यमिह ।

सरसमपि नातिबहुलं प्रकृतरसानन्वितं रचयेत् ॥

यस्तु सरिदद्रिसागरपुरतुरगरथादिवर्णने यत्नः ।

कविशक्तिख्यातिफलो विततधियां नो मतः स इह ॥”

K. M. p. 45.

The second verse in the above quotation along with its following verse is, as pointed out by the editor in the notes (Gaek. edn.) quoted by Hemacandra under the name Lollaṭa. K. A. p. 215. तथा च लोल्लटः—

‘यस्तु सरिदद्रिसागरनगतुरग पुरारिवर्णने यत्नः ।  
 कविशक्तिख्यातिफलो विततधियां नो मतः प्रबन्धेषु ॥  
 यमकानुलोमतदितरचक्रादिभिदोऽतिरसविरोधिन्यः ।  
 अभिमानमात्रमेतद्भुरिकादिप्रवाहो वा .’ इति

The second verse in this quotation is quoted by Namisādhū anonymously (K. A. p. 35). Whether these verses are from an independent work is not known. They may be Saṅgraha Śloka in Lollaṭa's Commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra itself.

These verses point out some principles of रसौचित्य in Varṇanās and condemn the long descriptions in the Mahā-kāvya that have nothing to do with the Rasa. Thus Āparājīti, son of Aparājita, found in Rājaśekhara is none else than Lollaṭa. A poet called Bhaṭṭa Aparājita is found in the Subhāṣitāvalī (Śl. 1024—an Anyāpadeśa on a dog). He is probably the father of Lollaṭa. Therefore Lollaṭa falls between Udbhaṭa and Rājaśekhara and is earlier to Śaṅkuka, a poet described by Kalhaṇa as the author of a poem called Bhuvanābhyudaya and as having lived in the time of Ajitāpīḍa. C. 814-851. Thus Śaṅkuka is earlier to Ānandavardhana. With Lollaṭa began the theories of Rasa. Udbhaṭa's interpretation of the Rasa Sūtra does not seem to have been noteworthy. On Rasas, we have two views of Udbhaṭa quoted in Pratihārendurāja's Laghuvṛtti on the K. A. S. S. Those two are—

पञ्चरूपा रसाः । and चतूरूपा भावाः । Pp. 48, 49, Nir. S. edn.

The latter refers to the four Bhāvas, विभाव, अनुभाव, व्यभिचारिभाव, and स्थायिभाव. The former contains a point for which Udbhaṭa has been severely criticised. The former says that Rasa is developed from or is in five forms which he thus gives in K. A. S. S. स्वशब्द-स्थायि-सञ्चारि-विभाव-अभिनय-आस्पदम् । Of these the स्वशब्दास्पदत्व of Rasa of Udbhaṭa has been refuted by all writers, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and others. This स्वशब्दवान्यत्व of Rasa is considered as a positive flaw of Rasa. Besides these no peculiar Rasa-doctrine of Udbhaṭa is found anywhere. It is Lollaṭa who began to analyse the experience of the spectator of a drama.

(To be continued.)



EXTRACTS FROM JAYĀNANDA'S COMMENTARY  
ON THE MADHYAMAKĀVATĀRA, CHAP. VI.  
RETRANSLATED INTO SANSKRIT  
FROM THE TIBETAN VERSION

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In the Volume XXV of Tanjore, we find a commentary on the Madhyamakāvatāra of Candrakīrti written by Jayānanda a great pandit (*mahāpaṇḍita*) of Kashmir. The title of the commentary as transliterated and translated into Tibetan goes thus *mādhyamikāvatārasya tīkā arthaprakāśikā nāma*. It is stated in the colophon that the commentary is translated into Tibetan by the commentator himself assisted by novice (*vandya*) Lothsava Kun. dgah. grags (*Ānandakīrti*) in the great monastery called Khyad. par. mkhar. sku. residence of a royal garrison, situated between Chu. bo. Rma (a beautiful river) and the slopes of Ri. bo. rtse. lña (a mountain with five peaks, *pañcaśikha-parvata*) in the country of mi. ñag; and the same is copied by Śākya-bhikṣu Smon. lam. rgal. ba (*prañidhidhvaja*) from a manuscript of Mahāsthavira Suresapahyena. Gyonti.śa (*Surasāhvaya Jyotiṣa*?) in the great monastery called hphags. pa. hbum. gsal. brtegs. pa. The commentator, according to Dr. P. Cordier's catalogue (Vol. III, p. 303) is variously called Jayānanda, Jayaā and Jayaa. We find in the same catalogue (XVII. 3, 8, 12, 13, 16, XXXIII. 88) translators from Kashmir bearing the names Ananta, Ānanta, Jayānanta, Jayānantata and Ānanda which are all treated as equal to Jayānanda by P. Cordier. Whether all these translators and the commentator Jayānanda are one and the same is a question to be solved from further investigations. If we take, however, for granted, at least, the identity of the commentator with one Kashmiri pandit Ānanda [*Jayānanda*] who has revised the Akṣara-Śataka and Akṣara-Śatakavṛtti (Mdo. XVII. 12, 13) assisted by one Lothsava lo. chuñ. grags. hbyor. śes. rab (Junior Kīrtibhūti-prajña) and the latter again identified with Lo. chuñ.

grags. hbyor. śes. rab<sup>1</sup> (Junior Kīrtibhūti-prajña) who was one of the three that remained out of the 21 men who were sent out to India by Lha. lhama. ye. śes. hod the king of Tibet about 1025 A. D.; we may assign the same date to the author of the commentary. The manifold changes of the name Jayānanda, on the other hand, into Ananta and Ānanda etc. as mentioned above, may really persuade one to surmise that the commentator Jayānanda is no other than that Kashmirian pandit Ananta<sup>2</sup> who went to Tibet along with the Buddhist saint Śāntarakṣita as an interpreter to the king and therefore a younger contemporary to Śāntarakṣita. That he is later than Śāntarakṣita is doubtless supported from the internal evidence. While discussing the validity of the sentences (*āgamaṣrāmāṇya*) in his commentary, Jayānanda states in reply to his opponents the definition<sup>3</sup> of the same as given by Śāntarakṣita in his Tattvasaṅgraha. If the equation of Ananta and Jayānanda is correct, one is certainly justified in placing the commentator in the 8th century A. D.; for it is reported that during the reign of the king Thi. sroṅ. detsan one Kashmiri pandit named Ānanda<sup>4</sup> was one of the chief pandits who played a prominent roll in the translation work. But I, for one, prefer to fix the eleventh century as the date of the commentator to any other period;<sup>5</sup> because the Tibetan version of the commentary naturally presupposes the existence of the Madhyamakāvatāra in the Tibetan translation which is said to be done with the assistance of Lothsava Śīlarāja i.e. Nag. tso a contemporary to Atīśa of the eleventh century A. D.

Jayānanda's commentary as it stands in the Tibetan translation, serves us two objects. In the first place it explains very well the meaning of the passages of the text (*mūla*) which are otherwise unintelligible; in addition to that it discusses at length now and then the important topics independently; and secondly it supplies the valuable different readings of the Tibetan version of the Madhyamakāvatāra. It will not, therefore, I think, be

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1. See Pag. sam. yon. Zang (ed. by Saracchandra Das) p. 182.

2. See the article on Indian pandits in Tibet (Journal of the Buddhist text society, Vol. I, part I, p. 2).

3. See page below and Tattvasaṅgraha (Gos) Vol. II, p. 877.

4. See L. A. Waddel, Lamaism (1895) p. 30, n. 1.

5. P. L. Vaidya (Aryadeva et son Catuḥśataka, Introduction p. 54) opines that he is probably of the tenth century after Christ.

uninteresting to give some extracts from the commentary together with retranslation in Sanskrit here.

Tibetan version published in the following pages based on the Narthang edition of Tanjur belonging to the Adyar Library, Madras.

(mdo. ra. fol. 128b. L. 6). sems. bskyed. pa. drug. pa. la. gnas. pai. byañ. chub. sems. dpai. mthsan. ñid. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir | mñon. phyogs. pa[r]shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. gsuñs pa. la. rdsogs. pai. sañs. rgyas. chos. la. mñon. phyogs. śiñ. shes. bya. ba. ni. sa. mñon. du. gyur. pai. ñes. thsig. gsuñs. pa. yin. te | gañ. gi. phyir. śes. rab. kyi. pha. rol. tu. phyin. pa. rab. tu. son. pa. thob. pa. las | stabs (f. 129a) bcu. la. sogs. pa. sañs. rgyas. kyi. yon. tan. rñams. dañ. ñe. bar. gyur. pa. dei. phyir. mñon. du. phyogs. pa. shes. byao ||

=षष्ठचित्तोत्पादस्थ बोधिसत्त्वलक्षणप्रतिपादनायाह । [स्थितो]ऽभिमुख्या-  
मित्यादि । सम्बुद्धधर्माभिमुखीति । अभिमुखीभूमेः निरुक्तिरुच्यते । यस्मात्  
प्रज्ञापारमिताप्रगमनलाभात् दशबलादिबुद्धगुणानां सन्निहिता । तस्मादभिमुखी-  
त्युच्यते ।

hdi. rten. hbyuñ. bai. de. ñid. mthoñ. ba. ste. shes. bya. ba. ni. ma. rig. pa. la. sogs. pai. dños. po. hdi. rñams. la. brten. nas. hdu. byed. la. sogs. pa. rñams. hbyuñ. ba. yin. pas. hdi. la. brten. hbyuñ. ba. ste | rten. ciñ. hbrel bar. hbyuñ. ba. shes. bya. bai. don. to | dei. de. kho. na. ñid. de | rañ. bshin. phyin. ci. ma. log. pa. gañ. gis. mthoñ. ba. de. la. de skad. ces. bya. ba. o | dei. rañ bshin. yañ. stoñ. pa. ñid. de | rten. ciñ. hbrel. bar. hbyuñ. ba. yañ. don. dam. par. na. rañ. bshin. med. pa. yin. pas. skye. ba. med. pa. o || de. ñid. kyi. phyir | 'rten. ciñ. hbrel. hbyuñ. gañ. yin. te | khyed. kyis. de. ñid. stoñ. ñid. hdod.' ces. gsuñs. pas. so||

=इदंप्रतीत्योद्भवतत्त्वदर्शीति । अविद्यादीनिमान् भावान् प्रतीत्य  
संस्कारादीनामुद्भवात् इदंप्रतीत्योद्भवः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद इत्यर्थः । तस्य तत्त्वम्  
अविपरीतस्वभावं यः पश्यति स तथोक्तः । तत्त्वभावश्च शून्यता । प्रतीत्य-  
समुत्पादश्च परमार्थतो निस्वभावत्वेन अनुत्पादः । अत एवोक्तम्—यः  
प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः त्वयेष्टा सैव शून्यता—इति ।

śes. rab. gnas. pas. shes. bya. ba. ni. śes. rab. kyi. pha. rol. tu. phyin. pa. la. gnas. pas. so || hgog. pa. thob. par. hgyur. shes. bya. ba. ni. śes. pa. dañ. śes. bya. mi. dmigs. pai. mthsan. ñid. can. gyi. hgog. pa. thob. par. hgyur. ba. o ||

=प्रज्ञाविहारादिति । प्रज्ञापारमितायां विहारात् । लभते निरोधमिति ।  
ज्ञानज्ञेयानुपलब्धिलक्षणं निरोधं लभते ।

(f. 129b, L. 1) sbyin. pa. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. ni. śes. pa. dañ. śes. bya. mi. dmigs. pai. mthsan. ñid. can. gyi. hgog. pa. yañ. nas. yañ. du. rgyun. gyi[s]. grub. par. mi. nus. so || de. cii. phyir. she. na| byañ. chub. sems. dpah. rnam. kyis. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. gsuñs. te | sbyin. pa. la. sogs. pa. lhag. par. gyur. pas. sbyin. pa. la. sogs. pa. gzugs. brñan. dañ. mthsan. par. rtogs. pa. yin. pas. hgeg. pa. thob. pai. dus. su. gzugs. brñan. dañ. mthsan. pai. rnam. par. rtog. pa. yañ. med. pas. so || sa. lña. par. shes. bya. ba. ni. dañ. po. nas. sa. lña. pai. bar. ro ||

=दानेत्यादि । ज्ञानज्ञेयानुपलब्धिलक्षणं निरोधं पुनः पुनः प्रबन्धतः  
साधयितुं न शक्नोति । तत्कस्मात् । आह । बोधिसत्त्वैरित्यादि । अधिक-  
भूतेन दानादिना प्रतिबिम्बतुल्यदानाद्यवगमेन निरोधासिकाले प्रतिबिम्बतौल्य-  
विकल्पस्याप्यभावात् । पञ्चम्यां भूमाविति । प्रथमतः पञ्चमभूमिपर्यन्तम् ।

mñon. du. gyur. pai. shes. [bya] ñes. thsig. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir | lam. gyi. bden. pa. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. gsuñs. pa. la | lam. gyi. bden. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. śes. pa. dañ. śes. bya. mi. dmigs. pai. mthsan. ñid. can. ni. | dmigs. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. mñon. du. gyur. pa. o || rdsogs. pai. sañs. rgyas. kyis. chos. la. mñon. du. phyogs. pai. phyir. dañ. shes. bya. ba. ni. sña. ma. bshin. no || des. na. lam. la. mñon. du. phyogs. pa. dañ | yañ. dag. par. rdsogs. pai. sañs. rgyas. kyis. chos. la. mñon. du. phyogs. pai. phyir | sa. hdi. la. mñon. du. phyogs. pas. shes. bya. o ||

=अभिमुखीनामनिरुक्तिकथनायाह । मार्गसत्येत्यादि । मार्गसत्यं ज्ञान-  
ज्ञेयानुपलब्धिलक्षणम् आलम्बनम् अभिमुख्यम् । संबुद्धधर्माभिमुख्याच्चेति ।  
पूर्ववत् । तेन मार्गाभिमुख्यात् सम्यक्संबुद्धधर्माभिमुख्याच्च अस्या  
भूमेरभिमुखी नाम ॥ १ ॥

(f. 129b L. 6). ji. [Xyl.: da] bshin. shes. pa. ni. skyes. bu. mig. dañ. ldan. pas. loñ. bai. thsogs. rnam. hgrog. bar. hdod. pai. yul. du. khrid. pa. de. bshin. du. o || yon. tan. shes. bya. ba. ni. sbyin. pa. dañ | thsul. khrims. dañ | bzod. pa. dañ. | brthson. hgras. la. sogs. pa. o || de. rnam. kyañ. yin. te | thar. pa. don. du. gñer. ba. rnam. kyis. goms. par. bya. ba. yin. pas. so || rgyal. ñid. hgrog. shes. bya. ba. ni. sañs. rgyas. ñid. thob. par. byed. pa. o ||

=यथेति । सचक्षुष्कः पुरुषः अन्धसङ्घं जिगमिषितं देशं नयति  
तथा । गुणानिति । दानशीलक्षान्तिवीर्यादयः । तानपि । मोक्षार्थिभिः  
अभ्यस्यमानत्वात् । जिनत्वमेति बुद्धत्वं प्रापयति ।

(f. 130a. l. 1.) pha. rol. tu. phyin. pai. yon. tan. rnam. shes.  
bya. ba. ni. pha. rol. tu. phyin. pai. mthsan. ñid. can. gyi. yon. tan.  
rnam. so. shes. pai. don. no || yañ. dag. pai. lam. dañ. lam. ma.  
yin. pa. mthoñ. bai. rañ. bshin. ñid. yin. pai. phyir. ro || shes. bya.  
ba. ni. śes. rab. rnam. par. dpyod. pai. rañ. bshin. can. yin. la |  
rnam. par. dpyod. pa. yañ. dños. po. hdi. kho. na. ñid. rtogs. pa.  
yin. pas. dei. stobs. kyis. dmigs. pa. dañ. bcas. pai. sbyin. pa. la.  
sogs. pa. la. lam. ma. yin. pai. rañ. bshin. ñid. du. mthoñ. ba yin.  
la | mi. dmigs. pai. sbyor. bas. lam. gyi. rañ. bshin. ñid. du.  
mthoñ. ba. yin. pai. phyir. śes. rab. lam. dañ. lam. ma. yin. pa.  
mthoñ. bai. rañ. bshin. can. no ||

=पारमितागुणान् पारमितालक्षणान् गुणान् इत्यर्थः । तथ्यमार्गमार्ग-  
दर्शनप्रकृतिकत्वात् इति । प्रज्ञा विचारस्वभावा । विचारश्च इदं वस्तु तत्त्व-  
बोधक इति तद्वलेन सालम्बनदानादिषु अमार्गस्वभावत्वदर्शनात् अना-  
लम्बनयोगेन मार्गस्वभावत्वदर्शनाच्च प्रज्ञा मार्गमार्गदर्शनस्वभावा ।

da. [Xyl.: re] ni. thabs. gañ. gis. śes. rab. de. bstan. par. bya.  
bai. phyir. | hdir. smras. pa. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. gsuñs. te |  
hdir. rañ. ñid. kyis. rten. cin. hbrel. bar. hbyuñ. ba. zab. mo. ñid.  
yoñs. su. śes. par. hgyur. ram | hon. te. rañ. bshin. ñid. kyis. luñ.  
[Xyl.: lus.] dag. gi. rjes. su. hbrañs. nas. sam | hcn. te. skyes.  
bu. khyad. par. can. gyis. byas. pai. luñ. phyin. ci. ma. log. par.  
ston. pai. bstan. bcas. mthoñ. nas. yoñs. su. śes. par. hgyur. she.  
na. o || de. la. lan. ni. rañ. ñid. kyis. ni. ma. yin. no. shes. bstan.  
par. bya. bai. phyir | bśad. pa. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. dei.  
rañ. gi. ño. bo. ni. rten. cin. hbrel. bar. hbyuñ. ba. zab. moi. rañ.  
gi. ño. bo. ñid. do | ma. rig. pai. liñ. tog. mthug. pos. bloi. mig.  
ma. lus. par. gyogs. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. ma. rig. pa. ni. mi. śes.  
pa. o | de. ñid. liñ. tog. ste | dños. poi. de. kho. na. ñid. mthoñ.  
ba. la. gegs. byed. pai. phyir || de. yañ. mthug. po. ñid. yin. te |  
thog. ma. med. pai. dus. nas. goms. pa. yin. pas. so || de. yis.  
bloi. mig. ma. lus. par. gyogs. pa. gañ. la. yod. pa. de. la. de.  
skad. ces. bya. o || ma. lus. pa. shes. smos. pa. ni. so. soi. skye. bo.  
rnam. (f. 130b) kyis. rnam. pa. thams. cad. du. mthoñ. bai. yul.  
du. mi. hgyur. shes. bstan. pa. yin. no ||

=संप्राप्तं येन उपायेन प्रज्ञा तत्प्रदर्शनायाह । अत्राहेत्यादि । किमत्र स्वयमेव गम्भीरप्रतीत्यसमुत्पादं परिज्ञास्यति । उत स्वभावत एवागमानुसारात् अथवा विशिष्टपुरुषकृतमविपरीतागमदेशकं शास्त्रं दृष्ट्वा परिज्ञास्यति । तत्र न स्वयमेव इत्युत्तरप्रतिपादनाय उच्यत इत्यादि । तत्स्वरूपं गम्भीरप्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्वरूपम् । अविद्याघनपटलनिर्शेषावृतबुद्धिलोचनानामिति । अविद्या अज्ञानम् । तदेव पटलं वस्तुतत्त्वदर्शनप्रतिबन्धात् । तच्च घनमेव । अनादिकालाभ्यासात् । तेन निर्शेषमावृतं बुद्धिलोचनं यस्य स तथोक्तः । निर्शेषग्रहणं पृथग्जनानां सर्वथा न दृष्टिविषयो भवति इति प्रदर्शयति ।

ho. na. gañ. gis. mthoñ. yul. bai. du. hgyur. she. na | drug. pa. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. gsuñs. pa. yin. te| drug. pa. la. sogs. pa. sa. goñ. ma. la. gnas. pai. shes. bya. ba. ni. sa. drug. pa. nas. brtsams. te | sa. bcu. pai. bar. la. gnas. pa. rnams. so || rten. ciñ. hbrel. bar. hbyuñ. ba. zab. mo. ñid. rtogs. pas. dañ. po. nas. yod. dub. ni. kyañ. sa. dañ. po. la. sogs. pa. rnams. ni. sbyin. pa. la. sogs. pa. lhag. pa. yin. pas. de. rnams. na. śes. rab. rab. tu. son. pa. med. pas. de. rnams. su. rnam. par. bshag. pa. ma. byas. pa. yin. no ||

=तर्हि कस्य दृष्टिविषयो भवति इति चेदाह । षष्ठेत्यादि । षष्ठाद्युत्तमभूमिष्ठानां षष्ठभूमेरारम्य यावद्दशमभूमिं स्थितानाम् । प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादगाम्भीर्यबोधात् । आदितः सक्लेशा अपि प्रथमभूम्यादयः दानाद्यधिका इति तेषु सत्सु [अपि] प्रज्ञाप्रगमनाभावेन तेषु व्यवस्थान कृता ।

(130b. L. 4) des. na. rañ. ñid. kyis. rten. ciñ. hbrel. bar. hbyuñ. bai. zab. mo. ñid. khoñ. du. chud. par. rigs. pa. ma. yin. no || shes. bstan. pa. yin. no || da. ni. rañ. dgar. luñ. [Xyl.: lus] dag. gi. rjes. su. hbrañs. nas. de. kho. na. ñid. khoñ. du. chud. pa. yañ. rigs. pa. ma. yin. no || shes. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir. rgol. ba. ni | gal. te. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. gsuñs. te. go. sla. o |

=तेन स्वयमेव गम्भीरप्रतीत्यसमुत्पादतत्त्वावगमो न युक्त इत्युक्तम् । अधुना स्वतन्त्रमागममनुसृत्य तत्त्वावगमोऽपि न युक्त इति प्रतिपादनाय चोद्यमाह । यदी(नन्वि ?)त्यादि । सुगमम् ।

de. le. lan. ni. de. yañ. yod. pa. ma. yin. te. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. gsuñgs. te| luñ. gi. dgoñs. pa. ñes. par. dkah. bai. phyir. shes. pa. ni. gañ. gi. phiyr. luñ. las. gsuñs. pai. don. gañ. yin. pa. de. so. soi. sbye. bos. ñams. su. myoñ. ba. ma. yin. pas. luñ. gi. dgoñs. pa. ñes. par. dkah. ba. o||

=तत्रोत्तरमाह । नैतदप्यस्तीत्यादि । आगमाभिप्रायस्य दुर्निश्चयत्वादिति ।  
यस्माद्योऽर्थ आगमे उक्तः तस्य पृथग्जनाननुभवादागमाभिप्रायो दुर्निश्चयः ।

gal. te. luñ. gi. rjes. su. hbrañs. pas. de. kho. na. ñid. mi.  
rtogs. na| ho. na. ci. yañ. smra. bar. hdug. cid. ce. na | de. ñid.  
kyi. phyir| rañ. dbañ. ñid. kyi. dbañ. du. byas. nas. de. skad. du.  
brjod. kyis. (f. 131a) shes. pa. gsuñs. te| gal. te. tsad. mar. gyur.  
pai. skyes. bu. byas. pai. bstan. bcos. luñ. phyin. ci. ma. log. par.  
hchad. par. mthoñ. ba. med. na. rañ. dbañ. ñid. kyi. luñ. gi. dgoñs.  
pa. ñes. par. dkah. ba. yin. no. shes. brgod. pa. yin. no ||

=यथागमानुसारेण तत्त्वं न बुध्यते । किं तर्हि पुनर्वचनमस्ति । अत  
एवाह स्वतन्त्रतामधिकृत्यैवमुच्यते इति । यदि प्रमाणभूतपुरुषकृतमविपरीता-  
गमव्याख्यातृ शास्त्रं न दृश्यते स्वतन्त्रमागमाभिप्रायो दुर्निश्चय इत्युच्यते ।

da. ni. thsad. par. gyur. pai. skyes. bus. byas. pai. bstan. bcos.  
luñ. phyin. ci. ma. log. par. hchad. pa. mthoñ. ba. las. luñ. gi.  
dgoñs. pa. phyin. ci. [xyl.; ni] ma. log. par. ñes. pa yin. shes. rañ.  
ñid. bshed. pai. phyogs. ston. pa. ni| thsad. mar. gyur. pai. shes.  
bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. gsuñgs. te| thsad. mar. gyur. pa. yañ. yin. la|  
skyes. bu. yañ. yin. pas. na. thsad. mar. gyur. pai. skyes. bu. ste |  
hphags. pa. klu. sgrub. shabs. la. sogs. pa. o | de. rnam. kyis.  
byas. pai. bstan. bcos. te| dbu. ma. rtsa. bai. śes. rab. la. sogs. pa. o |  
de. yañ. ci. lta. bu. she. ne| luñ. phyin. ci. ma. log. par. hchad.  
pa. o|| de. mthoñ. ba. ni. rna. bai. rnam. par. śes. pas. thos. pa.  
ste| mthoñ. bai. don. thos. pa. la. bya. o || luñ. gi. dgoñs. pa. ñes.  
pa. ni. dei. sgo. nas. luñ. gi. dgoñs. pa. ñes. pa. o|| hdii. don. ni.  
hdi. yin. te| kho. bo. dañ. hdra. ba. rnam. kyis. luñ. gi. dgoñs.  
pa. ñes. par. dkah. ba. yin. gyi | ho. na. kyañ. slob. [xyl.; slod.]  
dpon. klu. sgrub. [xyl.; sgrubs] shabs. kyis. de. kho. na. ñid.  
dños. su. gzigs. pa. yin. pas. des. mdsad. pai. bstan. bcos. kyi. sgo.  
nas. luñ. gi. dgoñs. pa. śes. pa. yin. no. shes. pai. tha. thsig. go||

=इदानीं प्रमाणभूतपुरुषेण कृतं शास्त्रमविपरीतागमव्याख्यातृ दृष्ट्वा  
आगमाभिप्रायोऽविपरीतोऽवधार्यत इति स्वाभिमतं पक्षं वक्तुमाह । प्रमाणभूते-  
त्यादि । प्रमाणभूताश्च पुरुषाश्च प्रमाणभूतपुरुषाः आर्थनागार्जुनपादादयः । तैः  
कृतं शास्त्रं मूलमध्यमकप्रज्ञादि । तच्च कीदृशम् । अविपरीतागमव्याख्यातृ ।  
तद्दर्शनं श्रोत्रविज्ञानेन श्रवणम् । दर्शनार्थं श्रवणक्रिया । आगमाभिप्रायो निश्चीयते ।  
तद्द्वारा आगमाभिप्रायोऽवधार्यते । अस्यायमर्थः । अस्मादृशैरागमाभिप्रायो

दुर्निर्णयः । अथापि आचार्यनागार्जुनपादैर्वस्तुतस्तत्त्वदर्शनेन तत्प्रणीतशास्त्रद्वारा  
आगमाभिप्रायो ज्ञायत इत्यर्थः ॥ २ ॥

chos. shes. bya. ba. ni. phuñ. po. la. sogs. pa. o|| zab. mo. ni.  
ston. pa. ñid. kyi. rañ. bshin. can. no|| rigs. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni.  
dbu. ma. rtsa. bai. śes. rab. la. sogs. pa. gsuñs. las. so|| lphags.  
pa. klu. sgrub. gshuñ. lugs. las. shes. bya. ba. ni. hphags. pa. klu.  
sgrub. shabs. kyis. bsad. pai. dbañ. du. byas. nas. so|| ji. ltar. gnas.  
pai. lugs. bshin. brjod. par. bya. shes. bya. ba. ni. dbu. rtsa. bai  
śes. rab. la. sogs. pa. ji. ltar. rnam. bshag. byas. pa. de. ltar. brjod  
par. bya. shes. pai. tha. thsig. go||

=धर्ममिति । स्कन्धादिकम् । गभीरं शून्यतास्वभावकम् । नयेनेति ।  
मूलमध्यमकप्रज्ञाद्युक्तेन । आर्यनागार्जुनशास्त्रनीत्येति । आर्यनागार्जुनपादवचन-  
मधिकृत्य । यथाव्यवस्थं मतमुच्यत इति । मूलमध्यमकप्रज्ञादौ यथा व्यवस्थापितं  
तथा उच्यत इत्यर्थः ।

ci. lta. ba. ñid. ces. bya. ba. ni. chos. rnam. kyi. (f. 131b)  
rañ. bshin. gañ. yin. pa. o|| chos. rnam. kyi. [bdag. ñid.] yañ.  
dag. pai. (pa. ji?) lta. ba. ñid. ces. bya. ba. ni. ston. pa. ñid. do|| ci.  
ltar. gnas. pa. bshin. du. brjod. par. bya. o|| shes. bya. ba. ni.  
phyin. ci. ma. log. par. brjod. par. bya. o. shes. pai. tha. thsig. go||

=यथातत्त्वमिति । धर्माणां यः स्वभावः । धर्माणां आत्मभावो यथा-  
भूत इति । शून्यता । यथाव्यवस्थमुच्यत इति । अविपर्ययमुच्यत इत्यर्थः ।

luñ. phyin. ci. ma. log. par. ñes. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. gal.  
te. hphags. pa. klu. sgrub. shabs. la. de. kho. na. ñid. khoñ. du.  
chud. pa. hdod. na|| dei. thse. luñ. phyin. ci. ma. log. par. ñes.  
pa. de. la. yod. pa. ñid. du. hgyur. ba. las| de. la. de. kho. na. ñid.  
khoñ. du. chud. pa. yod. dam. med. pa. the. thsom. za. bas. luñ.  
phyin. ci. ma. log. par. ñes. pa. ji. ltar. yod. ce. na| de. la.  
lan. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir| luñ. las. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs.  
pa. gsuñs. te |

=अविपरीतागमनिर्णय इति । यद्यार्यनागार्जुनपादानां तत्त्वावबोध इष्यते,  
तदा तस्याविपरीतागमनिश्चयो भवेदेव । तस्य तत्त्वावबोधोऽस्ति न वेति सन्देहेन  
कथमविपरीतागमनिश्चयः स्यात् । तस्योत्तरप्रतिपादनायाह—आगमादित्यादीति ।

dge. sloñ. shes. bya. ba. ni. ñon. myoñs. pa. bcom. pas. so||  
dpal. dañ. ldan. pa. ni. [xyl.; pai] bsod. nam. kyi. thsogs. dañ.  
ldan. pas. so|| ches. grags. pa. ni. phyogs. bcu. grags. pa. bsgrags.  
pas. so|| klu. shes. bya. ba. ni. klu. sgrub. ces. bya. ste| dper. na.



hjigs. sde. la. hjigs. pa. shes. brjod. la| de. bshin. du. hphags. pa. klu. sgrub. la. klu. shes. brjod. pa. la. skyon. yañ. ma. yin. no|| yod. dañ. med. pai. phyogs. hjig. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. yod. pa. dañ. med. pai. phyogs. dag. pa. [la.] bgag. nas. dbu. mai. thsul. la. gnas. pa. yin. no. shes. bya. bai. tha. thsig. go|| bla. na. med. pa. ni. theg. pa. chen. po. ste| de. las. mchog. tu. gyur. pa. theg. pa. gshan. med. pas. so|| rab. tu. dgah. bai. sa. bsgrubs. shes. bya. ba. ni. thams. cad. kyi. de. kho. na. ñid. mñon. du. mdsad. pai. rab. tu. dgah. bai. sa. thob. nas. so. shes. bya. dai. don. to ||

=भिक्षुरिति । क्लेशभेदनात् । श्रीमान् पुण्यसंभारयोगात् महायशाः दशदिक्षुयशःप्रथनात् । नागाह्वयः नागार्जुन इति यथा भीमसेनस्य भीम इत्युच्यते तथा आर्यनागार्जुनस्य नाग इत्युक्तौ न दोषोऽपि । सदसत्पक्षदारक इति । सदसत्पक्षौ प्रतिषिध्य मध्यमायां नीतौ स्थित इत्यर्थः । अनुत्तरं महायानं तत् उत्तमभूतयानान्तराभावात् । आसद्य भूमिं मुदितामिति । सर्वतत्त्वसाक्षात्कर्त्री मुदितां भूमिं प्राप्येत्यर्थः ।

luñ. gshan. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir. | yañ. hphags. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. gsuñs. te| li. tsi. bi. shes. bya. ba. ni. rus. so|| gshon. nu. shes. bya. ba. ni. lo. ñuñ. bas. so|| mthar. gis. shes. bya. ba. ni. dri. ma. med. pa. la. sogs. pai. sai. rim. pas. so||

=आगमान्तरं दर्शयितुमाह—आर्येत्यादि । लिच्छिवीति कुलम् । कुमार इति । अल्पवयसा । अनुपूर्वेणेति । विमलादिभूमिक्रमेण ।

gal. te. luñ. ji. ltar. thsad. ma. yin. te| hdi. ltar. luñ. ñes. pa. zad. pas. byas. pa. yin. pas. na. thsad. ma. hgyur. ram| skyes. bus. ma. byas. pa. yin| de. la. phyogs. dañ. po. ni. ma. yin. te| ñes. pa. zad. pa. (f. 132a) ni. hdod. chags. la. sogs. pai. ñes. pa. zad. pa. dañ| yañ. dag. pai. don. ji. lta. ba. bshin. du. mthoñ. ba. dañ. ldan. pa. dañ| brtse. ba. la. sogs. pai. yon. tan. dañ. ldan. bya. o|| des. byas. pa. ni. ñes. pa. zad. pas. byas. pa. shes. brjod. par. bya. ba. yin. la| ñes. pa. zad. pas. byas. pa. yin. pas. ñes. par. mi. nus. te| gañ. gi. phyir. gshan. gyi. sems. śes. par. ma. nus. pa. dei. phyir. ro|| hdi. ltar. gshan. gyi. sems. śes. pa. ni. hbras. bui. sgo. nas. yin. la| ño. boi. sgo. nas. ni. ma. yin. te| de. ñid. bsgrub. par. bya. ba. yin. pas. so|| lus. kyi. bya. ba. la. sogs. pai. hbras. bu. yañ. skyes. bui. hdod. pas. gshan. du. bya. bar. nus. pa. yin. te| hdod. chags. dañ. bcas. pa. rnams. hdod. chags. dañ. bral. bai. bya. ba. byed. par. mthoñ. ba. dañ|| hdod. chags. dañ. bral. ba. rnams. hdod. chags. dañ. bcas. pa. bshin. du. bya. ba. byed. par. mthoñ. bas. dei. phyir. ñes. pa. zad. pa. ñid. kyi. rtags. ñes. par. mi. nus.

pas. ñes. par. dkah. ba. yin. no|| des. na. ñes. pa. zad. pas. byas.  
par. mi. ñes. pas. luñ. ñes. pa. zad. pas. byas. ñid. du. ma. grub.  
bo ||

=ननु (lit. यदि) आगमः कथं प्रमाणम् ? तथा हि । आगमः  
क्षीणदोषकृतत्वेन प्रमाणं भवेत् अपौरुषेयत्वेन वा । तत्र नाद्यः पक्षः । क्षीणदोषो  
हि क्षीणरागादिदोषः यथाभूतार्थदृष्टियुक्तो दयादिगुणयुक्तश्च भाव्यः ।  
तत्कृतः क्षीणदोषकृत इत्युच्यते । क्षीणदोषकृत इति तु निश्चेतुमशक्यम् ।  
यस्मात् परचित्तज्ञानमशक्यं तस्मात् । तथा हि । परचित्तज्ञानं कार्यद्वारा ।  
न स्वरूपद्वारा । तत्त्वस्य साध्यत्वात् । कायिकक्रियादिकार्यमपि पुरुषेच्छया  
अन्यथा भवितुं शक्यम् । रागिणो विरागिक्रियाकारिणो दृष्टाः । विरागिणो  
रागिवत् क्रियाकारिणो दृष्टाः । तस्मात् क्षीणदोषत्वहेतुः निश्चेतुमशक्यतया  
दुर्निश्चयः । तेन क्षीणदोषकृतानिश्चयेन आगमः क्षीणदोषकृतत्वेन असिद्धः ।

skyes. bus. ma. byas. pai. luñ. yañ. thsad. ma. ñid. du. mi  
hgrub. ste | hdi. ltar. skyes. bus. ma. byas. pai. luñ. thsad. mar  
smra. ba. rnam. hdi. ltar. brjod. pa. yin. te | skyes. bu. ni. yon.  
tan. dañ. skyon. gyi. rten. du. gyur. pa. yin. pas. dei phyir. de. yis  
byas. pai. ñag. rnam. la. phyin. ci. log. gi. don. yañ. srid. la |  
bden. pai. don. yañ. srid. pas | des. skyes. bu. log. pas. don.  
phyin. ci. log. tu. ston. pai. the. thsom. ldog. pas. skyes. bus. ma.  
byas. pai. thsig. thsad. mar. hdod. pa. yin. shes. pa. o || de yañ.  
hthad. pa. ma. yin. te | gañ. gi. phyir. ñag. rnam. kyi. phyin. ci.  
log. dañ | bden. pa. ñid. kyi. rten. du. gyur. pa. yon. tan. dañ.  
skyon. dañ. ldan. pai. skyes. bu. log. pas. don. med. par. thal. bar.  
hgyur. te | bden. pa. ñid. dañ. brdul. ba. ñid. las. tha. dad. du.  
gyur. pai. rnam. pa. gshan. med. pas. so ||

= अपौरुषेय आगमोऽपि प्रमाणतया न सिद्धयति । तथा हि ।  
अपौरुषेयागमप्रमाणवादिन एवं वदन्ति । पुरुषो हि गुणदोषाश्रयभूतः ।  
तस्मात् तत्कृतवाक्यानां विपरीतार्थश्च संभवति । सत्यार्थश्च संभवति । अतः  
पुरुषनिवृत्त्या विपरीतार्थदशनासंशयनिवृत्तेः अपौरुषेयं वचनं प्रमाणमिष्यते ।  
इति । तदपि नोपपद्यते । यस्मात् वचनानां विपरीतसत्यत्वकारणभूत-  
(lit. आश्रयभूत) गुणदोषविशिष्टपुरुषनिवृत्त्या आनर्थक्यं प्रसज्येत । सत्यत्व-  
मिष्यात्वाभ्यां पृथग्भूतप्रकारान्तराभावात् ।

gshan. yañ. (f. 132b) mgrin. pa. la. sogs. pai. gnas. dañ. byed.  
pas. sgra. rnam. hbyuñ. bar. mthoñ. bai. phyir. ci. thar. na.

skyes. bus. ma. byas. pa. yin. par. hgyur | gal. te. gnas. dañ. byed.  
 pa. la. sogs. pas. sgra. gsal. bar. byed. pa. yin. gyi | skyed. par.  
 byed. pa. ni. ma. yin. no. she. na | de. yañ. mi. rigs. te | gal. te.  
 gsal. bar. byed. na. gsal. ba. ñid. de. sgra. rnams. kyī. rañ. bshin.  
 khyad. par. can. du. hgyur. ba. yin. nam | sgra. la. sgrib. pa. med.  
 par. hgyur. baam | hon. te. śes. pa. skyed. par. byed. pa. yin. te |  
 de. la. sgra. rnams. rañ. bshin. gyi. khyad. par. du. byed. pa. ni.  
 ma. yin. te | rtag. pa. ñid. yin. pa. so | sgrib. pa. dañ. bral. ba. yañ.  
 ma. yin. te | rtag. pa. ñid. yin. pai. phyir. skrib. pas. sgra. la.  
 cuñ. zad. kyañ. ma. byes. yin. pai. phyir. ro || śes. pa. yañ. ma. yin.  
 te | rtag. pai. phyir. sgra. rnams. rgyun. du. śes. pa. skyed. pa. ruñ.  
 ba. yin. pas. so || des. na. gsal. bar. byed. pa. mi. hthod. do || des.  
 na. skyes. bus. ma. byas. pa. ñid. du. ma. grub. pas. luñ. thsad.  
 ma. ji. ltar. yin. she. na ||

= किञ्च कण्ठादिस्थानकरणतः शब्दानामुत्पत्तिदर्शनात् कथमपौ-  
 रुषेयो भवेत् । स्थानकरणादिना शब्दः व्यज्यते । नोत्पाद्यते इति चेत् ।  
 तदपि न युक्तम् । यदि व्यज्यते । व्यक्तेरेव किं तच्छब्दानां  
 स्वभावातिशयकरणं किं वा शब्दानामावरणापगमः उत ज्ञानजननम् ।  
 न तत्र शब्दानां स्वभावातिशयकरणम् । नित्यत्वात् । नाप्यावरणापगमः ।  
 नित्यत्वात् आवरणेन शब्दानामकिञ्चित्करत्वात् । नापि ज्ञान[जननम्] ।  
 नित्यत्वात् शब्दानां सन्ततं ज्ञानजननौचित्यात् । तेन व्यक्तिः नोपपद्यते ।  
 अतः अपौरुषेयत्वासिद्ध्या कथमागमः ग्रमाणम् । इति चेत् ।

de. la. lan. ni. ci. ltar. hjig. rten. pai. thsad. ma. yin. pas. de.  
 bshin. du. luñ. yañ. thsad. ma. yin. te | hdi. ltar. hjig. rten. na.  
 hbrel. ba. dañ. rjes. su. mthun. pai. thabs. dañ. ldan. pa. dañ |  
 skyes. bui. don. rjod. par. byed. pa. dañ | mi. bslu. bai. thsig. ni.  
 thsad. mar. hdod. pa. yin. no || de. la. hbrel. ba. ni. gañ. du. thsig.  
 rnams. kyī. yan. lag. dañ | yan. lag. can. du. gyur. pas. sgrub. pa.  
 am | dgag. paam. | btañ. sñoms. kyī. don. gcig. rtogs. par.  
 byed. gañ. yin. po. o || de. la. gañ. ma. hbrel. bai. thsig. de. ni.  
 thsad. ma. [ma.] yin. te | dper. na. se. hbru. [xyl.: se. hu.] bcu.  
 sgyed. bu. gsum. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. lta. bu. ste | hdi.  
 rnams. gcig. la. ñe. bar. [b]sdu. ba. med. yin. te | phan. chun.  
 hbrel. ba. med. pai. phyir. ro || rjes. su. mthun. pai. thabs. ni.  
 gañ. hbras. bu. sgrub. pai. thabs. sgrub. par. nus. pa. de. la. rjes.  
 mthun. pai. thabs. shes. bya. o || de. lta. bui. thsig. ni. hjig. rten.  
 par. thsad. ma. ñid. du. las. len. gyi | de. las. gshan. pa. ni. ma.

yin. te | dper. [f. 133a] na. dug. shi. bar. bya. bai. phyir. hjog.  
 poi. gtsug. gyi. nor. bu. len. pai. bstan. bcos. bshin. no || de. ltar.  
 gyur. pa. yin. kyañ. gal. te. skyes. bui. don. brjod. pa. ma. yin.  
 par. gyur. na. dei. thse. thsad. ma. ma. yin. te | dper. na. bya. rog.  
 gi. so. rtog. pai. bstan. bcos. bshin. no || de. dag. de. lta. bur. gyur.  
 kyañ. rtog. dpyod. byas. nas. mi. slu. ba. yin. na. dei. thse. thsad.  
 ma. yin. gyi | gshan. du. na. ma. yin. te | dper. na. mñon. sum.  
 dañ. rjes. su. dpag. pa. dañ | lun. gis. gnod. pai. don. lta. bu. o ||.

= तत्र समाधीयते । यथा लौकिकं प्रमाणं तथा आगमोऽपि  
 प्रमाणम् । तथा हि । लोके सम्बद्धम् अनुगुणोपायं पुरुषार्थाभिधायकम् अवि-  
 संवादि वाक्यं प्रमाणमिष्यते । तत्र सम्बद्धम्—यत्र वाक्यानामवयवावयवि-  
 भावेन विहितं प्रतिषिद्धमुदासीनं वा एकार्थं यद्वोधयति । तत्र यद-  
 सम्बद्धं वाक्यं तदप्रमाणम् । यथा दश दाडिमानि तिस्रश्चुल्लय इत्यादि ।  
 एतानि नैकत्रोपसंहृतानि । मिथस्सम्बन्धाभावात् । अनुगुणोपायम्—यत्  
 शक्यानुष्ठानफलसिद्धयुपायं तत् अनुगुणोपायमिति । एवंविधं वाक्यं लोके  
 प्रमाणत्वेन गृह्यते । न ततोऽन्यत् । यथा विषप्रशमनाय तक्षकचूडारत्न-  
 ग्रहणशास्त्रम् । एवंभूतमपि यदि पुरुषार्थानभिधायकं भवेत् तदा न  
 प्रमाणम् । यथा काकदन्तपरीक्षाशास्त्रम् । तदेवंभूतमपि परीक्षां कृत्वा  
 अविंसवादि चेत् तदा प्रमाणम् । नान्यथा । यथा प्रत्यक्षानुमानागमैः  
 बाधितोऽर्थः ।

mi. bslu. ba. shes. bya. ba. ni. ci. lta. bu. she. na | brjod.  
 par. bya. ste | hdi. yul. gsum. ste | mñon. sum. dañ | lkog. tu.  
 gyur. pa. dañ | śiñ. tu. lkog. tu. gyur. pa. o || de. la. bstan. bcos.  
 las. mñon. sum. du. hdod. pai. dños. po. rnams. la. mñon. sum.  
 gyi. yul. gyi. dños. por. gyur. ñid. mñon. sum. gyis. mi. gnod. mi.  
 bslu. ba. ste | dper. na. sñon. po. la. sogs. pa. bshin. no || de.  
 bshin. du. mñon. sum. la. sogs. pa. ma. yin. par. hdod. pai. dños.  
 po. rnams. mñon. sum. ma. yin. pa. ñid. grub. pas. mñon. sum.  
 gyis. mi. gnod. pa. ste | hdi. ltar. gshan. gyis. mñon. sum. ba.  
 ñid. du. bstan. pa. ñid. sañs. rgyas. pai. grub. mthah. las. mñon.  
 sum. ma. yin. pa. la | de. rnams. dpyañ. na. mñon. sum. ma. yin.  
 pa. kho. na. yin. te | dper. na. sgra. la. sogs. pai. rañ. bshin. bde.  
 la. sogs. pa. gañ. yin. pa. ste | gañ. gi. phyir. nañ. gi. bdag. ñid.  
 kho. nar. dgah. ba. dañ. gduñ. bai. rañ. bshin. can. gyi. bde. ba.  
 dañ. sdug. bsñal. ñams. su. myoñ. ba. yin. gyi | sgra. la. sogs. pa.  
 (xyl. add. pai. bde. = सुख) la. gnas. pai. bde. ba. dañ | sdug. bsñal.

ñams. su. myoñ. ba. ma. yin. pas. so || hdi. ni. grañs. can. pai.  
 hdod. pai. dbañ. du. byas. nas. brjod. pa. yin. no || bye. brag.  
 pai. dbañ. du. byas. nas. ni. rdsas. la. sogs. pai. mñon. sum. ma.  
 yin. pa. bshin. no || hdi. ltar. de. rnams. kyī. cha. śas. las. tha.  
 dad. du. gyur. pai. cha. śas. las. hdu. bai. cha. śas. can. [f. 133b]  
 khas. len. pa. dañ | las. kyañ. hdeggs. pa. dañ | hjog. pa. dañ |  
 hgro. ba. dañ | hoñ. ba. dañ | bskum. pa. la. sogs. pas. rdsas.  
 la[s.]tha. dad. du. gyur. pai. mñon. sum. du. hdod. pa. dañ | stod.  
 pa. fiid. la. sogs. pai. spyi. rdsas. las. tha. dad. pai. mñon. sum.  
 fiid. du. hdod. . . . . yin. no || de. rnams. ni. mñon. sum. ma.  
 yin. pa. ste | gañ. [xyl.: gan. zag.] gi. phyir. gzugs. su. la. sogs. pa.  
 las. tha. dad. du. gyur. pai. rdsas. la. sogs. pa. gshan. mñon. sum.  
 pa. yod. pa. ma. yin. te | de. las. lha. dad. du. gyur. pa. ma.  
 dmigs. pai. phyir. ro || de. lta[r]. mthoñ. bai. dños. po. rnams. la.  
 mi. bslu. ba. fiid. śes. par. bya. o ||

= अविसंवादीति कीदृशम् । उच्यते । प्रत्यक्षं परोक्षम् अत्यन्त-  
 परोक्षं चेत्यते त्रयो विषयाः । तत्र शास्त्रतः प्रत्यक्षाभिमतानां भावानां प्रत्यक्ष-  
 विषयभाव एव प्रत्यक्षेण अबाधितः अविसंवादी । यथा नीलादेः । एवम-  
 प्रत्यक्षाद्यभिमतानां भावानामप्रत्यक्षत्वं सिध्यति । अतः प्रत्यक्षेण अबाधितम् ।  
 तथा हि परेण प्रत्यक्षतया देशितानामेव बौद्धसिद्धान्तादप्रत्यक्षाणाम् । तानि  
 विचारे अप्रत्यक्षाण्येव । यथा शब्दादिस्वभावः सुखादि यत् । यस्मात्  
 अध्यात्ममेव हर्षव्यसनस्वभावकं सुखं दुःखं चानुभूयते । न तु शब्दा-  
 दिनिष्ठं सुखं दुःखं चानुभूयते । इदं सांख्यमतमधिकृत्य उक्तम् । वैशे-  
 षिक[मत]मधिकृत्य तु—यथा द्रव्याद्यप्रत्यक्षम् । तथा हि । तेषामवयवात्पृथ-  
 ग्भूतः अवयवसमवेतः अवयवी अङ्गीक्रियते ! उत्क्षेपणावक्षेपणगमनगत्यागा-  
 तिसङ्कोचादिना कर्मापि द्रव्यात्पृथग्भूतं प्रत्यक्षमिष्यते । श्लाघ्यत्वा (=stod.  
 pa. nid) दिसामान्यं द्रव्यात्पृथग्भूतं प्रत्यक्षतयेष्यते । तानि अप्रत्य-  
 क्षाणि । यस्मात् रूपादेः पृथग्भूतं द्रव्यादन्यत् प्रत्यक्षं नास्ति । ततः  
 पृथग्भावानुपलम्भात् । तादृशानां वस्तूनामविसंवादित्वं ज्ञेयम् ।

de. bshin. du. rjes. dpag. gi. yul. lkog. tu. gyur. pai. dños.  
 po. rnams. la. rjes. dpag. gis. de. kho. na. bshin. du. grub. pa. ni.  
 mi. bslu. ba. ste | dper. na. mi. rtag. pa. la. sogs. pa. o || rjes. su.  
 dpag. par. bya. ba. ma. yin. pai. rjes. su. dpag. par. bya. ba. ma.  
 yin. pa. fiid. du. grub. pas. rjes. su. dpag. pas. mi. gnod. pa. ni.  
 mi. bslu. ba. ste | dper. na. gtso. bo. dañ | dbañ. phyugs. la. sogs.  
 pa. bshin. no ||

## A PASSAGE ON PAINTING IN POTANA'S BHĀGAVATA.

BY

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, B. A., (HONS.)

It is a short time back when peeping into the leaves of Potana's Bhāgavata I chanced to light upon a particular passage throwing a flood of light on the method of painting prevalent in the poet's time and his close familiarity with detail. A thought that it would be useful to compare it with the texts on painting giving out rules in the execution of pictures and write a short note pointing out the close observance of the rules in the passage gave rise to this small essay.

In the verse

సరసిజనేత్ర యేటికి వి | చారము నా కుశలత్వ మేర్పడక  
సరసురయక్షకింపురుష | నాగనభచ్ఛరసిద్ధసాధ్యకి  
న్నరవరముఖ్యులం బటము | నక లిఖించిన జూచి నీమనో  
హరుఁ గనిపించె పొమ్మనిన | నప్పుడె వానిని నీకుఁదెచ్చెదక.

Citrālekḥā promises to paint the most beautiful youths of various classes like Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, etc., for Uṣā to recognise and name the particular comely young man she had seen in her dream. The passage that comes next describes the process of Citrālekḥā's work and runs thus:

అని యొడంబటిచి మిలమిలని మంచుతోడం బురణించు ధళ  
ధళయని మెఱుంగులు దుఱంగలిగొను పటంబు నావటంబుసేసి వజ్రంబు  
మెదియించి పంచవన్నియలు వేటువేఱకనకరజతపాత్రంబుల నించి  
కేలం దూలిక ధరించి యొక్క విజనస్థలంబునకుం జని ముల్లోకంబులం  
జేరు గలిగిన వయోరూపసంపన్నులైన పురుషముఖ్యుల నన్వయ  
గోత్రనామధేయంబులతోడ వ్రాసి యాయితంబైన యప్పటంబు దన  
ముందటికిం దెచ్చియుంచి యిప్పటంబునం దగులనివారు లేరు, సావ  
ధానంబున నాకర్ణింపు నుని యిట్లనియె.

First the paṭa or canvas is taken up. It possesses a smooth and shining surface, the result of high polishing. In all texts on painting, the first requisite for a good picture is, it is stated, a highly polished surface on which to paint. Śilparatna gives the following rule :—

एवं धवलिते भित्तौ दर्पणोदरसन्निभे ।

फलकादौ पटादौ वा चित्रलेखनमारभेत् ॥

Citrālekḥā now prepares Vajrālepa whose importance in the production of a picture in colours cannot be underrated. The process of the preparation of Vajrālepa is found stated in all books on painting since every colour is to be mixed with that before it is ready for use. The text as found in Abhilaṣitārtha-Cintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara, which is an almost verbatim copy of that in the former, is

माहिषीं त्वचमादाय नवां तोयेन पाचयेत् ।

नवनीतमिवायाति यावच्चिक्रणतां भृशम् ॥

तत्कल्कं चिक्रणीभूतं शलाकां परिकल्पयेत् ।

यत्नेन शोषयेत्पश्चाद्वावत्काठिन्यमाप्नुयात् ॥

वज्रलेपमिदं कृयात् चित्रे सर्वत्र शस्यते ।

तद्दृढं मृत्तिकापात्रे तोये कृत्वा प्रतापयेत् ॥

संतप्तो द्रवतां याति सर्ववर्णेषु तद्द्रवः ।

मिश्रणीयः प्रमाणेन यथा वर्णः प्रशस्यते ॥

The celestial damsel now takes the five important colours in separate golden and silver saucers. The rich metal mentioned for the saucers is merely indicative of the opulence of the painter; but saucers of some ordinary type are absolutely necessary. Five colours are referred to by Potana. Abhilaṣitārtha-Cintāmaṇi mentions only four :

श्वेतेषु पूरयेच्छङ्खं शोणेषु दरदं तथा ।

रक्तेष्वलकशकलं लोहितं गैरिकं तथा ॥

पीतेषु हरितालं स्यात् कृष्णे कज्जलमिष्यते ।

शुद्धा वर्णा इमे प्रोक्ताश्चत्वारश्चित्रसंश्रयाः ॥

Indian texts on painting generally give only four colours as primary ones exceeding the western list by the addition of white.

Śrī Harṣa the poet gives exactly four colours as primary ones in his verse

विरहपाण्डिमरागतमोमशीशितिमतन्निजपीतिमवर्णकैः ।

दश दिशः खलु तद्दृग्कल्पयल्लिपिकरो नलरूपकचित्रिताः ॥

What this additional colour referred to by Potana is, is a question. It must be in all probability Blue whose nature Abhilaṣitārtha-Cintāmaṇi gives as

केवलैव च या नीली भवेदिन्दीवरप्रभा ।

This colour is different from Kajjala (for Kṛṣṇa) and is absolutely essential for preparing secondary colours. These five colours are kept in separate cups so that they might be used as pure colours or mixed to produce secondary colour tints.

Citrālekḥā now takes up the *Tūlikā*. This is one of the three types of brushes with which to apply colours, *Tūlikā*, *Vartikā* and *Lekhanī*. The first is a fine colour pen for line work. The second is a sort of colour stump; and the third is the brush proper with soft animal hair at its tip. The *Tūlikā* going also by the name of *Tindu* is to be made of a strong and hollowless bamboo of the thickness of the little finger with two nodes and at its tip is to be placed a small copper pin with a grain's length of it protruding. Abhilaṣitārtha-Cintāmaṇi gives it thus :

कनिष्ठिकापरीणाहं भागद्वयसमायुताम् ।

वनवेणुसमुद्भूतां तलिकां परिकल्पयेत् ॥

तदग्रे ताम्रजं शङ्खु यवमात्रं विनिक्षिपेत् ।

तावन्मात्रं बहिः कुर्यात्तिन्दुनामेरिता बुधैः ॥

The first outline of the picture is to be drawn with the *Tūlikā* or *Vartikā*. It is only later that colour is applied. Hence it is stated,

पूर्वं तिन्दुकलेख्यं स्यात् यद्वा वर्तिकया बुधैः ।

and also

आकारमात्रिकां रेखां तिन्दुवर्तिविनिर्मिताम् ।

लिखेत्तामेव लेखिन्या गैरिकोद्भूतवर्णतः ॥

It is therefore obvious why Citrālekḥā took up the *Tūlikā* first.

She is next represented as seeking a secluded spot where painting without any disturbance is possible. To satisfy the conditions given in *Silparatna*—



स्वस्थचित्तः सुखासीनः स्मृत्वा स्मृत्वा पुनः पुनः ।

a sequestered spot is absolutely essential.

She is now stated as drawing the most beautiful youths of all the three worlds. Attempting subjects from the three worlds is an essential rule with the Indian artists as is seen in Śilparatna

जङ्गमा वा स्थावरा वा ये सन्ति भुवनत्रये ।

तत्तत्स्वभावतस्तेषां करणं चित्रमुच्यते ॥

These are in short all the stages in drawing a picture and the small passage gives a very good idea of the process adopted by the artists of Potana's day who, as is clear, stuck to the time-honoured customs in the realm of painting.

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## NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

### QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

January, 1932.

1. *Tulu initial Affricates and Sibilants*: L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar.
2. *The hundred-pillared Maṇṭapam at Cidambaram*: S. R. Balasubramanyam. The article traces the history of this Maṇṭapam and incidentally deals with other temples of South India and their architecture. The article is to be continued.
3. *Harṣa vardhana in Karṇāṭaka*: Dr. B. A. Saletore. The article concludes in this number.

### ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

Vol. XIII. Part I, 1931—32,

1. *Kṛṣṇakutūhala Nāṭaka of Madhusūdana*: Prahlad C. Diwanji.

The कृष्णकुतूहलनाटक mentioned by Aufrecht as one of the works of Śrī Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, author of Advaita Siddhi, etc., is discovered in the Baroda library and found out as some other Madhusūdana's work from the prologue. Its literary value and a summary of the seven acts of the drama is given.

The Drama is thus not by the famous Vedāntin Madhusūdana Sarasvatī but by another Saṁnyāsin of the same name.

*On the text and interpretation of some passages in the Mahā Bhāṣya of Patañjali*: K. B. Pathak. The article is a critical examination of some passages of Dr. Keilhorn's edition of the Mahā Bhāṣya; the author makes some additions and corrections.

- 3, *The text of the Jinedra-Vyākaraṇa and the priority of Candra to Pūjya Pāda*: Dr. K. B. Pathak.

4. *Śubha Candra and his Prākṛt Grammar*: A. N. Upadhyae.

5. *Buddhistic Logic (An introductory survey)*. D. Chatterji.

6. *Bharata—Ādibharata Problem and the Ms. of Ādi-Bharata in the Mysore Govt. Oriental library*: P. K. Gode.

## NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS 189

Scholars were of opinion that two works exist separately as Bharata and Ādi Bharata, the latter believed to be so called as preserved in the Mysore library. Mr. Gode examines the Ms. and finds it to be only the Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra, in another recension.

7. *A Note on the dates of Ratna Candra's Commentaries on Raghuvamśa and the Naiṣadhiya—Between A. D. 1612—1627:* P. K. Gode.

THE JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.  
December 1931. Vol. XVII. Part. IV.

1. *Śakassthān, the Country of the Śakas. Its possession by the Anoient Persian:* Dr. Sir. Jivanji Jamsbredj Modi.

2. *Purāṇa Coin and the date of the Mānava Dharma Śāstra.* K. P. Jayasural.

3. *The Samskr̥t text of Mīmāṃsā Śāstra Sarvasva of Halāgudha,* being printed from the last number, is continued.

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.  
Vol. VI. Part I.

1. *A study of Telugu roots:* (Contd.) C. Narayana Rao.

2. *Political History of the Kākatīyas:*

(i) M. Rama Rao. (ii) Rudra 1158—1195 A. D.  
(iii) Mahādeva 1195—1198. (iv) Gaṇapati 1108—1261. The article is to be continued.

3. *Dravidic Word Studies:* L. V. Ramaswamy Ayyar.

4. *Education in Ancient India:* (Contd.) K. Venkatapayya.

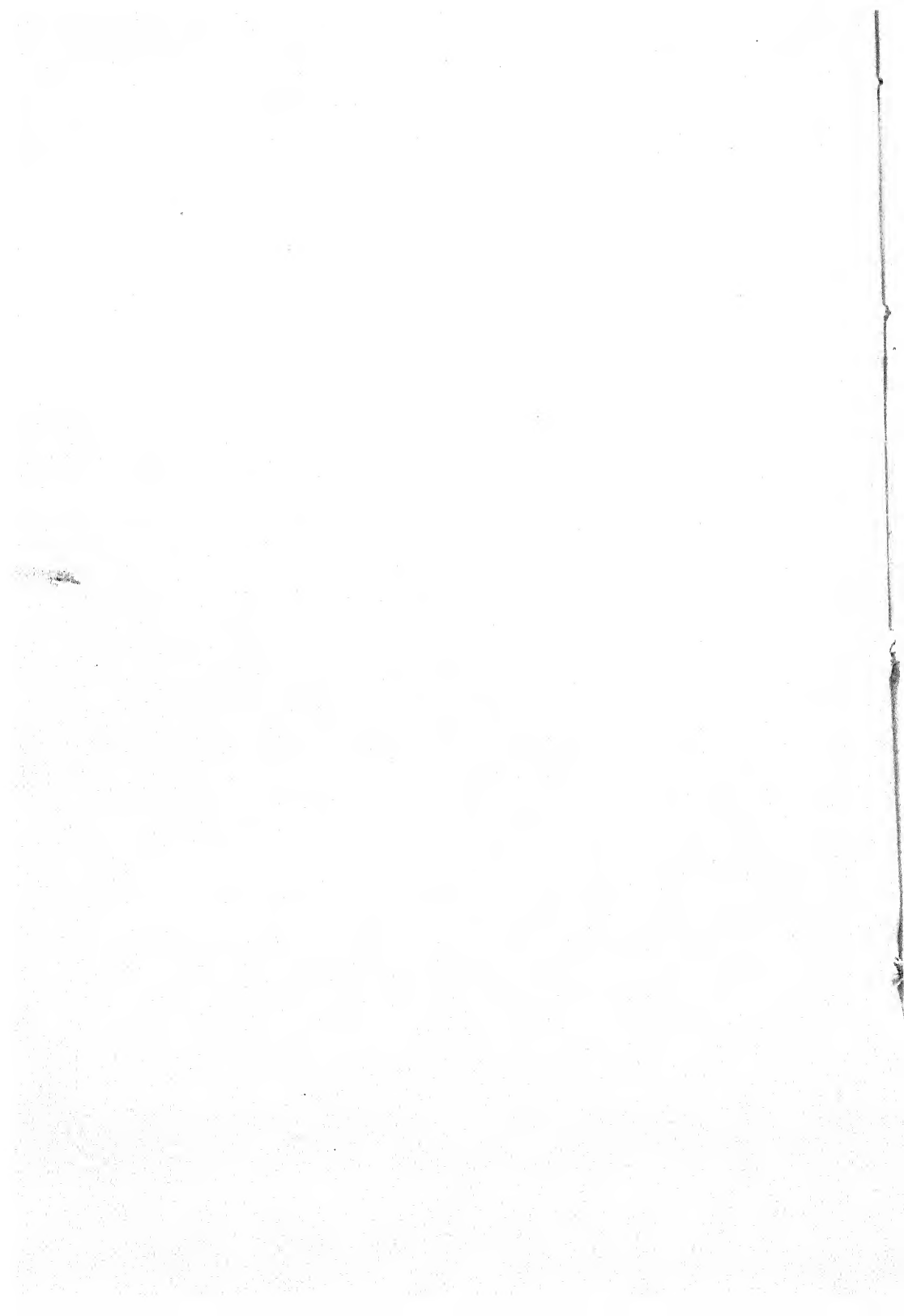
JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY HISRORICAL SOCIETY.  
Vol. IV. March 1931.

1. *The Manathas in Bengal:* Kāli Kinkar Datta,

2. *Durvanīta, Simha Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu Vardhana:* B. C. S. Sarma. The artide deaīs with Bhāravi and Dandin and examines the Avanti Sundari Kathā.

3. *Kambakāya Grant of the Eastern Gauga, Devendra-Varman:* T. N, Ramacandran.

4. *Chidambaram in Vijayanagar days:* T. B. Balasubramaniyam.



विशेषणं नास्ति विना विशेष्यं<sup>1</sup>

बन्ध्यासुतस्यापि च तत्प्रसंगः ॥ ५७ ॥

विशेषणं विना विशेष्यं नास्त्येव । कथम् । विज्ञानस्य शक्तिरिति विज्ञानं शक्तेर्विशेषणम् । शक्तिर्विशेषणाश्रयः । यदजातं तद्विज्ञानमविज्ञानं वेति विधिनिषेधरूपेण वक्तुमशक्यम् । यदैवं तदा इदमस्य शक्तिरिति केन शक्तिर्विशेष्यते । यदैवं विशेषणं नास्ति तदा इदमस्मादुत्पद्यत इति विशेषणमकथयता नानेन किञ्चिदप्युक्तं भवति । यदि पुनरजातस्य शक्तिरिष्यते । बन्ध्यासुतस्याप्येष्टव्या । तस्मादजातस्य शक्तिर्नास्ति ॥

(148,18) अथ यदिज्ञानं शक्तितो जनिष्यमाणं भाविविज्ञानं तदेवाभिप्रेत्य “इदमस्य विज्ञानस्य शक्तिः” “इदमस्मादुत्पत्स्यते” इति । एवं विशेषणविशेष्यभावः सिद्धयति । यथाह लोके “ओदनं पच” “अस्य सूत्रस्य शाकटं वय” इति । <sup>2</sup>शास्त्रेऽप्याह—“गर्भावक्रान्तयस्तिष्ठः चक्रवर्ती स्वयंभुवौ” । इति । तदप्यसारतया वक्तुमाह—

भाविष्यता चेद्व्यपदेश इष्टः

शक्तिं विना नास्ति हि भावितास्य<sup>3</sup> ।

प्रकदाचिद्ववति तदेव भावि । न तु नित्यं नियतासंभवं बन्ध्यासुता-  
दिकमाकाशादिकं वा । तस्मादत्र यदि शक्तिरस्ति । भवतु विज्ञानं भाव्येव ।  
यदानागतविज्ञानस्याविद्यमानत्वाच्छक्तिर्नास्त्येव । तदा बन्ध्यासुतादीनामिव न  
तस्य भावितास्ति शक्तिं विना । एतेन ओदनादयोऽपि प्रत्युक्ताः ॥

(150,1) किं च । काममस्तु विज्ञानं शक्तिश्च परस्परमपेक्ष्य ।  
तथापि परतन्त्ररूपं नास्त्येव । तथा हि—

परस्परार्थाश्रयसंप्रसिद्धं

न सिद्धमेवेति हि सद्भिर्मुक्तम् ॥ ५८ ॥

1. This line is cited in म० वृत्ति. P. 80, L. 7. (L. V. p.)

2. अभिषर्मकोश, chap. III. 17. (L. V. P.)

3. These two lines cited in म० वृत्ति. p. 82, L. 11. (L. V. p.)

सति विज्ञाने तस्य शक्तिः । तत उत्पद्यते विज्ञानमित्येवं मिथोऽर्थ-  
माश्रित्य भवति । अस्त्वेवमिति चेत् । विज्ञानं स्वभावतो नास्तीति स्यात् ।  
यथा सति दीर्घे ह्रस्वं सति च ह्रस्वे दीर्घम् । <sup>1</sup>सति पारेऽवारम् ।  
सति चावारे पारम् । तेषां च प्रज्ञप्तिसतां नास्ति सिद्धस्वभावः ।

(150,13) एवं सति अस्मद्वचनानुसरणमेव भवेत् । यथाह चतुश्शतके

फलं विना कारणस्य विद्यते नैव हेतुता ।

तस्मात्फलस्य सर्वस्य हेतुता हि प्रसज्यते<sup>2</sup> ॥ इति ।

शास्त्रेऽप्युक्तम् ।

योऽपेक्ष्य सिध्यते भावस्तमेवापेक्ष्य सिध्यते ।

यदि योऽपेक्षितव्यः स सिध्यतां कमपेक्ष्य कः<sup>3</sup> ॥ इति ।

अस्यायमर्थः । यदि यो भावः विज्ञानादिः शक्तिविशेषमपेक्ष्य  
सिध्यति । तमेव पुनरपेक्ष्य स यदि सिध्यति यो भावः शक्तिविशेषः  
विज्ञानेनात्मसाधनायापेक्षितव्यः । इदानीमुभयं साध्यम् । कथ्यतां कमपेक्ष्य कः  
सिध्यताम् ॥ अन्यदप्युक्तम् ।

योऽपेक्ष्य सिध्यते भावः सोऽसिद्धोऽपेक्षते कथम् ।

अथाप्यपेक्षते सिद्धस्त्वपेक्षास्य न युज्यते<sup>4</sup> ॥ इति ।

अस्याप्ययमर्थः । यदि विज्ञानं शक्तिविशेषमपेक्ष्य सिध्यति । तत्सिद्धां  
शक्तिमपेक्षत उतासिद्धां वा । यद्यसिद्धाम् । असिद्धत्वात्वरशृङ्गवत् न  
शक्तिमपेक्षेत । अथ सिद्धामपेक्षते । सिद्धत्वात् तदपेक्षा न युज्यते । एवं  
परस्परार्थाश्रयसंप्रसिद्धं न सिद्धमेवेति प्रज्ञावद्विरुक्तम् । तस्मादेवमनागतस्यापि  
शक्तिर्नास्ति ॥

(152,4) सांप्रतमतीतस्यापि शक्तिर्नास्तीति प्रदर्शनायाह ।

1. cf. शि० स० p. 357, L. 17: आपेक्षिकं परात्मत्वं पारावारं यथामृषा ।  
and म० वृत्ति. p. 458. L. 13 : पारावारवत् ; p. 459. L. 5. पारासंभवादिवावारम् ।

2. चतुश्शतक (p. L. Vaidya, verse 208) where the Tib. reads हेतु  
for फल and फलता for हेतुता in the second line.

3. म० शास्त्र० X. 10.

4. *Ibid.* X. 11.

स्याच्चेन्निरुद्धस्य विपक्षशक्तेः

परस्य शक्तेश्च परं हि भावि ।

यदि जनित्वा निरुध्यमानविज्ञानेन फलार्थमालयविज्ञाने समाहित-  
शक्तिविशेषस्य निरुद्धविज्ञानस्य या विपक्षा शक्तिस्ततो भावि विज्ञानं भवेत् ।  
तदा परस्य शक्तेः परं भावि<sup>1</sup> स्यात् ।

(152,12) कस्मात् । यस्मात् ।

संतानिनः सन्ति पृथग्निथोऽत्र

तनुविस्तार इति अर्थे दर्शने सन्तत्याप्रवहन्नदीप्रवाहवत् सततगामि-  
हेतुफलसंबन्धानुप्रविष्टजातिजरापरंपरया निरन्तराविच्छिन्नज्ञप्तिस्थितत्रैकालिक-  
संस्कारक्षणोपादानके व्यापारे । तस्य संतानावयववस्तुक्षणेषु सत्त्वात् संतानाङ्ग-  
वस्तुक्षणाः सन्तानीत्युच्यन्ते । ते च मिथः अन्योन्यं पृथक् अन्यत्वेन परैरभ्युप-  
गम्यन्ते । तस्मात् वासनाहेतुकस्य फलक्षणस्योर्ध्वकालभाविनो वासनाधायकाद्धेतु-  
क्षणादन्यता भवति । एवं सति अन्यशक्तेरन्यद्भावि स्यात् ।

(153,6) अथेष्यमाणत्वात् नायं दोष इति । मैवम् । एवमिष्यमाणे  
सर्वतः सर्वमुत्पत्स्यते इत्याह ।

तस्माद्धि सर्वं सकलाच्च भावि ॥ ५९ ॥ इति ।

इदं हि परत उत्पादप्रतिषेध<sup>3</sup> उक्तमिति न पुनरभ्युच्यते ॥

(153,12) अत्राह—

संतानिनस्तत्र यदि प्रभिन्नाः

संतान एषां तु पृथङ् न तस्मात् ।

दाषो न च

1. The commentary has a negation (mi. gyur. ro=न०) which is not found in the verse and seems inexplicable. (L. V. P.)

2. विज्ञानवादिनः.

3. See VI. 14. c, d above.

यद्यपि तत्र वस्तुक्षणानां संतानिनां मिथः परत्वमस्ति । तथापि सन्तानस्यास्यैकत्वादेव न सर्वतः सर्वजन्मप्रसङ्गः । यद्येवं तदा दोषो मा भवतु । एतस्यैवासिद्धेः

इदं ननु साधनीयं

कस्मात् ।

अभिन्नसन्तानदशा न युक्ता ॥ ६० ॥

दशा अवकाशः ॥

(154,4) परस्परभिन्नस्वभावा अभिन्नसन्तानाश्रयतया न भवितुमर्हन्ति । अन्यत्वात् सन्तानान्तरवत् इति प्रदर्शनायाह—

मैत्रोपगु<sup>1</sup>ताश्रयकाश्च धर्माः

न ह्येकसन्तानगताः परत्वात् ।

स्वलक्षणेनैव च ये विभिन्ना-

स्त एकसन्तानगता न युक्ताः ॥ ६१ ॥

एवमत्रापि एकसन्तानता न युक्तिमती इति भावः ॥

(154,13) तत्र यदुक्तं शक्तिविपाकसत्त्वासत्त्वाभ्यां विज्ञानसत्त्वासत्त्वे स्तः न विज्ञेयसत्त्वासत्त्वाभ्यामिति । तत् शक्त्यसंभवाभिधानेनानेन न्यायेन प्रत्याख्यातम् । अतो विज्ञेयं विना विज्ञानं नास्तीत्येतत् स्थापितम् ॥

(154,17) एवमुक्ते पुनः स्वमताभिधानपरायणत्वात् विज्ञानवादी अभीष्टमर्थं साधयितुमाशयान आह—

अनन्तरं संजनितात्मविज्ञ-

प्त्याधारशक्तिं किल तां स्वशक्तेः ।

उत्पद्यते लोचनधीश्च यस्या

रूपीन्द्रियं चक्षुरिति ह्यवैति ॥ ६२ ॥



या चक्षुर्विज्ञानवासना नश्यमानविज्ञानान्तरेणालयविज्ञाने निक्षिप्यते ।  
तत्परिपाकादूर्ध्वं तदाकारानुकारिविज्ञानं जायते । तद्विज्ञानं यस्मादनन्तरात्  
शक्तिक्षणाज्जातम् । तमनन्तरमाधारभूतं शक्तिक्षणं रूपीन्द्रियं चक्षुरिति मुग्धो  
लोक अवैति । न तु विज्ञानादतिरिक्तं चक्षुरिन्द्रियमस्ति । एवमिन्द्रियान्तरमपि नेयम् ॥

(155,14) अत एवं विज्ञानादतिरिक्तं चक्षुरिन्द्रियं नास्तीति निरूप्य  
विज्ञानादपृथक्स्थितत्वेन रूपमपि प्रदर्शयितुमाह ।

विज्ञानमक्षोद्भवमत्र बाह्यं

ग्राह्यं विनोत्पादितमात्मबीजात् ।

नीलादिकाभासतयाऽप्रबुध्य

बाह्यं जनो ग्राह्यमुपैति संज्ञाम् ॥ ६३ ॥

यथा बन्धुजीवककिंशुकादयो रक्ताकारिणो जायमाना मणय इव बाह्योप-  
<sup>1</sup>सर्जनरङ्गं नापेक्षन्ते । किं तु अङ्कुरादिसन्तानः स्वबीज<sup>2</sup>क्षिप्तशक्त्यनुबन्धाद्वि-  
शिष्टतया जात उपलभ्यते । तथा नीलादिकं बाह्यरूपं विना नीलाद्याभासं  
विज्ञानमुदेति । या तन्नीलाद्याभासता । तत्र बाह्यविषयरूपेणामिनिविशते  
लोकः । यथाति<sup>3</sup>शुद्धपरिपूर्णनदीतीरान्तरूढवृक्षशाखागतपद्मरागप्रतिबिम्बं जलान्त-  
र्विद्यमानरत्नाकाराभासं बाह्यमिवोपलभ्यते जले । न तत्तन्मध्येऽस्ति । एवं  
विज्ञानेऽपि योज्यम् ॥ एवं सति विज्ञानाद्बाह्यार्थो नास्ति ॥

(156,14) <sup>4</sup>तुल्यप्रकारम् ।

स्वप्नेऽन्यरूपार्थमृते स्वशक्ति-

पाकात्तदाकारविशिष्टचित्तम् ।

यथा भवत्येवमिहापि बोधे

बाह्यं विनैवास्ति हि मानसं चेत् ॥ ६४ ॥

1. Tib. ñe. bar. bsgyur. ba=that which transforms, उपसर्जन ?

2. Dr. Poussin reads (P. 156,4) hphans. pa (=क्षिप्त) for hphags  
(=आर्य.)

3. p. 156,9 Read dan. ba (=शुद्ध) for dad. pa (=अद्धा)

4. Tib. rnam. pa. gcig. tu. na=तुल्यप्रकारम् ?

(156,19) नैतदेवम् । कस्मात् ।

स्वप्ने यथा नेत्रमृते हि नीला-  
द्याभासि चित्तं<sup>1</sup> समुदेति मानसम् ।  
नेत्रेन्द्रियं चैवमृते स्वबीज-  
पाकादिहान्धस्य कुतो न जातम् ॥ ६५ ॥

यद्यत्र यथा विबोधावस्थागतचक्षुषा रूपदर्शनाच्चक्षुर्विज्ञानं स्पष्टतरमुद्भवति । तथा स्वप्नेऽपि चक्षुर्विना स्ववासनाविपाकान्मनोविज्ञानमेव चक्षुर्विज्ञानाकारानुरूपं जायते । विबोधावस्थस्यान्धस्यापि स्ववासनापरिपाकात्तथाविधं कस्मान्नोत्पद्यते । येना<sup>2</sup>स्यान्धवदर्शनं स्यात् । उभयोरपि चक्षुरभावस्य समानत्वात् ॥

(157,13) अथैवंविधमनोविज्ञानस्य हेतुः न चक्षुरभावः । किं तर्हि । एवंविधमनोविज्ञानशक्तिविपाकः । अतो यत्र शक्तिपरिपाकोऽस्ति । तत्रैवंविधमनोविज्ञानमुत्पद्यते । स च निद्राप्रत्ययेन स्वप्न एवास्ति । न विबोधे इति । तदप्ययुक्तम् । कस्मात् ।

स्वप्ने दृशा ते यदि नाम षष्ठ-  
शक्तेर्विपाकोऽस्ति न चास्ति बोधे ।  
न षष्ठशक्तेश्च यथात्र पाकः  
स्वप्ने तथा नेति कुतो न युक्तम् ॥ ६६ ॥

षष्ठेति मनोविज्ञानमित्यर्थः । यदि <sup>3</sup>वाक्यविधिमात्रेणैव स्वप्ने तथाविधमनोविज्ञानशक्तिविपाक इष्यते । न विबोधे । अस्मद्वाक्येनापि यथात्र विबोधे तथाविधविज्ञानशक्तिविपाको नास्ति । तथा स्वप्नेऽपि नास्तीत्येष्टव्यम् ॥

1. Tib. yid sems=मानसं चित्तं मानसं ज्ञानमित्यर्थः ।

2. Dr. Poussin remarks : je ne comprends pas, p. 157, L. 10, gañ gis na. hdis. ....

3. तव इत्यादिः.

यथा न चक्षुर्विरहोऽस्य हेतुः  
स्वप्नेऽपि निद्रा हि न चास्ति हेतुः ।

इति वक्तुं शक्यते । स्वप्नदर्शनं हि विबोधावस्थान्धवत् तद्विज्ञाना-  
श्रयेन्द्रियव्यापारविरहात् विपक्षशक्तिचक्षुरिन्द्रियाश्रितविज्ञानाकारानुकारि<sup>1</sup> मनो-  
विज्ञानशक्तिविपाकपरिणतमनोविज्ञानवन्न भवति । तस्मात् यथा तथाविध-  
चक्षुर्विरहो विबुद्धेऽन्ये न हेतुः तथा स्वप्ने निद्रापि न विज्ञानवासनापरिपाकहेतुः ।  
यस्मादेवम् ।

स्वप्नेऽपि मिथ्याविषयावबोध-  
हेतावुपेयेऽत इमेऽर्थनेत्रे ॥ ६७ ॥

तस्मात् स्वप्नेऽपि तथाविधविषयस्य ज्ञानं तथाविधं चक्षुर्विज्ञानाधारभूतं  
तथाविधं चाभ्युपेयम् ॥ अत एवम्

(159,5) अनेन यो यः परिहार उक्तः  
तं तं प्रतिज्ञासममेव दृष्ट्वा ।  
असौ विवादो निरकारि

विबोधावस्थमेत<sup>2</sup> त्रयं स्वभावशून्यम् उपलभ्यमानत्वात् स्वप्नवत् इति  
देशनायामाह परः कश्चित् । विबुद्धविज्ञानं अर्थशून्यं विज्ञानत्वात् स्वप्नविज्ञानवत्  
इति । विबोधावस्थायामुपलभ्यमानो विषयो मृषास्वभावकः विषयत्वात्  
स्वप्नविषयवत् इति । तथा संक्लेशव्यवदानानि परतन्त्राभावे न सन्ति निराधारत्वात्  
कूर्मरोमकम्बलवत् इति च । तथा तैमिरिकदृष्टान्तेनापि वक्तव्यम् ।

एवमादिनानेन विज्ञानवादिना यो यः परिहारो वर्णितः तं तं प्रतिज्ञा-  
समं पश्यता माध्यमिकपण्डितेन प्रत्याख्यात एष विवादो यदुत विज्ञानवादः ।

1. It may also be read : स्वप्नदर्शनं.....कारानुकारि ।.....  
मनोविज्ञानवन्न भवति ।

2. चक्षुः विज्ञानं विषयश्चेत्यर्थः ।

(160,4) तथाऽगमबाधादिदोषोऽपि न संभवति । यस्मात्

बुद्धैः

अस्ति कचिद्वस्त्विति देशितं न ॥ ६८ ॥

यथोक्तम्<sup>1</sup>

विज्ञप्तिमात्रं त्रिभवं वस्तु नास्ति स्वभावतः ।

प्रज्ञप्तिवस्तुभावेन कल्पयिष्यन्ति तार्किकाः ॥

न स्वभावो न विज्ञप्तिः न च वस्तु न चालयः ।

बालैर्विकल्पिता ह्येते शवभूतैः कुतार्किकैः ॥ इति ॥

(160,17) इतरेतराभावशून्यतयाभावतापि न युक्ता । परस्पराभाव-  
शून्यता हि महामते सर्वशून्यताजघन्या इत्यागमे<sup>2</sup> प्रवर्तनात् ॥ गौरनश्वत्वान्नास्ती-  
त्युक्तिर्न युक्तापि । स्वात्मतया सत्त्वात् इत्यादि<sup>3</sup> ह्यभिधीयते ॥

(161,4) एवं हि भगवन् तत्रेन्द्रियावतारेण धर्मधातावतारः ।  
द्वाविंशतिरिन्द्रियाणि<sup>4</sup> । चक्षुरिन्द्रियं श्रवणेन्द्रियं घ्राणेन्द्रियं जिह्वेन्द्रियं कायेन्द्रियं  
मनश्चन्द्रियं स्त्रीन्द्रियं पुरुषेन्द्रियं घ्राणेन्द्रियं सुखेन्द्रियं दुःखेन्द्रियं सौमनस्येन्द्रियं  
दौर्मनस्येन्द्रियं उपेक्षेन्द्रियं श्रद्धेन्द्रियं वीर्येन्द्रियं स्मृतीन्द्रियं समाधीन्द्रियं प्रज्ञेन्द्रियं  
अज्ञातमाज्ञास्यामीन्द्रियं आज्ञेन्द्रियं आज्ञातवानिन्द्रियम् ।<sup>5</sup> तत्र चक्षुरिन्द्रियं  
त्रिष्वप्यध्वसु नोपलभ्यते । यत्त्रिषु अध्वसु नोपलभ्यते । न तच्चक्षुरिन्द्रियम् ।  
यन्न चक्षुरिन्द्रियम् ।<sup>6</sup> कथं तस्य व्यवहारः । तद्यथा रिक्तमुष्टिरलीकः न  
संविद्यते यतः नामप्रज्ञप्तिः । न तु खलु परमार्थतो रिक्तमुपलभ्यते न  
मुष्टिः । एवं चक्षुश्चेन्द्रियं च रिक्तमुष्टिसदृशमलीकमसद्भूतं न संविद्यते ।  
वितथं विपरीतं मोषधर्म बालसंमोहनमसद्भूतं न संविद्यते । यतो नामप्रज्ञप्तिः ।  
न तु खलु परमार्थतश्चक्षुश्चेन्द्रियं चोपलभ्यते । तद्धि भगवता सर्वज्ञज्ञानमवाप्य

1. लङ्काव. सूत्र (Kyoto) p. 168. (Verse No. 52.) and p. 167. (Verse No. 58.)

2. Cf. *Ibid.* p. 75.

3. Cf. *Ibid.* p. 188.

4. The list from महाव्युत्पत्ति § 108. (L. V. P.)

5. Cf. the text cited in शिक्षास० p. 261,4. (L. V. P.)

6. Tib. ji. ltar. htshal. bar. bgyi.

## MAHĪPĀLA OF THE CAṆḌAKAUŚIKAM.

BY

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The *Caṇḍakauśikam* is a Sanskrit drama of five acts by Kṣemiśvara. Poor in its plot and execution, and mediocre in its poetry, the play lacks all title to distinction. The story of Hariścandra in itself lacks dramatic quality, and Kṣemiśvara's handling of it has not made it more attractive. Our concern however is not with the literary art of Kṣemiśvara or his lack of it. Our aim is to discuss the identity of King Mahīpāla whom he mentions in the following verse in the prelude to the *Caṇḍakauśikam* :

Yah saṁ-śritya prakṛti-gahanām-ārya-Cāṇakya-nītim  
Jitvā Nandān kusuma-nagaraṁ Candragupto jigāya |  
Karnāṭatvam dhruvam-upa-gatān-adya tāneva hantuṁ  
Dor-darpādhyah sa punar-abhavad-chrī-mahīpāladevaḥ||

We are thus told by the poet that his patron was a Mahīpāla-deva born to chastise the Karnāṭas : and by a curious conceit, Mahīpāla is said to be a re-incarnation of the Mauryan emperor Candragupta, and the Karnāṭas of the Nandas who were overthrown by Candragupta following the lead of Cāṇakya.

Mahīpāla, the patron of Kṣemiśvara, is generally identified with the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj, who was also the patron of Rājaśekhara, and whose reign extended roughly from A. D. 914 to 945.<sup>1</sup> Professor Sten Konow observes : "Pischell has rightly identified this Mahīpāladeva with Mahīpāla, the lord of Pratihāra, for whom the *Bālabhārata* of Rājaśekhara was intended. We know also from *Bālabhārata* 1, 7 that Rājaśekhara's protector led extensive campaigns in the south."

The identity of Mahīpāla, the patron of Kṣemiśvara, with the Gurjara ruler of Kanauj has, however, sometimes been called

1. J. R. A. S. 1904, p. 655.

into question. The editors of the *Bālabhārata* of Rājaśekhara in the *Kāvya-mālā* add a note to the *Bālabhārata* verse I, 7, in which they quote the verse of Kṣemīśvara on Mahīpāla and observe : *sa evāyamaṣi Mahīpāladeva iti tu na niścayaḥ*. Mr. R. D. Banerji has made a sustained effort in recent years to uphold the conjecture of Mr. Haraprasad Sastri that the famous Pāla ruler, Mahīpāla I of Bengal A. D. 974-1026, was the patron of Kṣemīśvara. Mr. R. D. Banerji also seeks to explain the allusion in Kṣemīśvara's verse to the Karṇāṭas as a reference to the celebrated expedition sent by Rājendra I Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-cōḷa. This expedition was charged with the task of bringing the sacred water of the Ganges for the purification of the Cōḷa country, and its commander was instructed to fight and overcome any opposition to the enterprise from the foreign kings through whose territory the Cōḷa army had to march to and fro.<sup>1</sup> Banerji holds that this expedition was repulsed by Mahīpāla I of Bengal about A. D. 1024.<sup>2</sup>

These views of Banerji were examined at some length by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in his essay on Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Cōḷa.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Aiyangar showed that the Karṇāṭas of the *Caṇḍakaśika*, the opponents of Mahīpāla, could not have been the Cōḷa forces who were mostly Tamils, and that Kṣemīśvara must have referred to the wars of the Gurjara Mahīpāla I with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He also pointed out that there was no evidence either in Pāla or in Cōḷa inscriptions in favour of Banerji's theory of a victory gained against the Cōḷa forces by the Pāla ruler of Bengal. Influenced rather unduly by a somewhat forced interpretation he put upon the verse from the *Caṇḍakaśikam*, Dr. Aiyangar adumbrated a theory that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power overthrown by Gurjara Mahīpāla I had its location in Magadha. Because Mahīpāla and his Karṇāṭaka foes are compared to Candragupta and the Nandas respectively in the verse of Kṣemīśvara, Dr. Aiyangar has argued that the scene of Mahīpāla's victory must have also been in Magadha. Accordingly he supposes that a branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who had for sometime held a principality in Central India, were compelled after the rise of the Caṇḍela power in the tenth century to move into Magadha, where they created for themselves

1. *Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates* vv. 109, 110.

2. *The Palas of Bengal*, p. 73.

3. *Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee volumes* *Orientalia*, Part 2, pp. 559 ff.

a kingdom 'which bore the name Daṇḍabhukti as forming either a part or the whole of their former fief.'<sup>1</sup> Not only is this history of Rāṣṭrakūṭa migration into Magadha unsupported by any tangible evidence, but the hypothesis is really unnecessary. The need for it arises from pursuing the analogy between Mahīpāla and Candragupta to lengths to which it was not meant to be pursued by Kṣemīśvara. The whole point of a comparison is, and here it is a similarity underlying the *utprekṣā* of the verse, that there is some *sādrśya* in the midst of many differences between the two objects of comparison, and we shall see presently that the *sādrśya* in this comparison is really to be sought in the exile of the king from his country by the success of his enemies, and his regaining possession of it by diplomacy and foreign aid. The clause "*yaḥ saṁśritya-prakṛti-gaṇānām ārya-cāṇakya nītin*"—seems to furnish the real clue to the point of comparison; the statement that Candragupta captured Kusumanagaram from his enemies should not be taken to imply that Mahīpāla did the same thing over again.<sup>2</sup>

There is also another difficulty in the position of Dr. Aiyangar. If Daṇḍabhukti was in its origin a military fief in Magadha in the occupation of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, one may ask how it passed into the hands of Dharmapāla who is said to have ruled it at the time of the Ganges expedition of Rājendra Cōla's troops? In seeking to answer this question, Dr. Aiyangar admits the possibility that the Karṇāṭas (Rāṣṭrakūṭas) of Magadha may have been conquered by Mahīpāla I of Bengal, who may have employed Dharmapāla, one of his relatives, in a subordinate capacity in the newly conquered territory. He says:<sup>3</sup> "The defeat of the Karṇāṭas by Mahīpāla, the Pāla king, and his conquest of the territory in consequence, are just possible on this basis, but it would, in the circumstances in which the fact is mentioned, be better to refer the defeat of the Karṇāṭakas to Mahīpāla, the Gurjjara." One more extract will place Dr. Aiyangar's contention in a clearer light: "It seems a provable hypothesis that the Karṇāṭas of Magadha that figure in the records of the Pāla kings of Bengal were the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who settled themselves in Central India, and cutting off political relationship with the mother dynasty

1. *op cit*, pp. 557-8.

2. *Contra* Dr. Aiyangar, *op cit*, p. 560.

3. *op. cit*, pp. 558-9.

made for themselves a kingdom first in Central India and subsequently in Magadha. It is the ascent to power of Mahīpāla, the Gurjara, that brought them under a political eclipse so effectively that we lose sight of them altogether all through the tenth century. It is this fact that seems to be preserved in the *gāthā* of the *Caṇḍakaśika*. There is no need, therefore to postulate a Kaṇṇāṭaka contingent in Rājendra Cōḷa's army, and of its being left behind to hold the territory of Magadha in behalf of Rājendra Cōḷa."<sup>1</sup>

In a paper on Pāla chronology, Mr. Banerji returned to the charge in 1928, and traversed the opinions of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar cited above.<sup>2</sup> He pointed out that there is no proof of the existence of an independent Rāṣṭrakūṭa or Kaṇṇāṭaka power in Bihar in the 10th century A. D., or indeed in any part of northern India. In this Mr. Banerji seems to be right, as also in rejecting the identification of Daṇḍabhukti with Bihar. The Cōḷa inscriptions and the *Rāmacarita* and its commentary alike support Mr. Banerji's identification of Daṇḍabhukti with a part of the modern district of Midnapore.

But then, he betrays his unfamiliarity with the details of the evidence of the Cōḷa inscriptions, and draws rather freely on his imagination when he says of the Cōḷa invaders: "Though the Bhāgirathī was reached, the Cōḷa general actually refrained from capturing and plundering Gauḍa, the ancient capital of the Pālas, which lay a few miles across the Ganges. We have no reason to believe that a roving band of South Indian marauders, like the Cōḷa army, was composed of devout ascetics who religiously refrained from rapine and plunder, filled their vessels with the holy water of the Ganges and retraced their way home with their eyes shut as soon as their objective was gained. The Tirumalai inscription says that the Cōḷa army reached Uttara Rāḍhā after putting Mahīpāla to flight. The inscription ends abruptly and therefore there is no reason to doubt the evidence of the *Caṇḍakaśikam* that a king named Mahīpāla had defeated an army of Kaṇṇāṭakas." The argument in this passage is simply this: the Cōḷa army was composed not of ascetics but marauders; they would have plundered Gauḍa if they could; but they did not do so, hence they must have sustained a defeat. This inference is supported by the

1. *op. cit.* p. 562.

2. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XIV, 512 ff.



abrupt end of the Tirumalai rock inscription and the verse from the *Caṇḍakauśikam*.

The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates<sup>1</sup> of Rājendra make it very clear that the king enjoined on the commander of the expedition that he was to concentrate on his objective, the fetching of Ganges water, and fight only with those who opposed the enterprise and to the extent necessary to clear the way for the fulfilment of his object. In other words, the holy waters of the Ganges, not fighting, nor plunder, formed the motive of the expedition. Once this is grasped, there would be no surprise that the army which reached the Ganges, did not cross the stream to plunder Gauḍa, and the need for postulating a defeat of the Cōḷa army by the Pāla ruler would disappear, together with the search for the evidence in favour of such a hypothesis. No Tamil scholar will agree with Mr. Banerji that the Tirumalai rock inscription ends abruptly. In fact this *praśasti* of Rājendra I (*tiru-manni vaḷara* etc.) is a fine composition with a clear plan of its own and of much value to the historian on account of the additions made to it from time to time to bring its narration of the leading events of the reign up to date. This inscription of the thirteenth year<sup>2</sup> closes the narrative of events on the word *Kaṅgaiyum* (1. 11), which, with the participle *koṇḍa* in the next line, is intended to suggest the chief *biruda* of the king, *Gaṅgai-koṇḍa*. Far from being abrupt, the end seems to have been carefully planned by the composer. The truth is that, if we put on one side the verse from the *Caṇḍakauśikam*, there is no evidence whatever to support the view that Mahīpāla of Bengal defeated an army from South India.

The verse from the *Caṇḍakauśikam*, as we have seen, speaks of Mahīpāla defeating the *Karṇāṭakas*. There is a real difficulty in connecting this statement with the northern expedition of Rājendra Cōḷa, and Mr. Banerji recognises this. He says:<sup>3</sup> "The only valid objection which may be raised is the term *Karṇāṭaka*. It may be said that the term *Karṇāṭaka* must refer to a Kanarese power. But no invasion of Bengal from the Kanarese country during the reign of Mahīpāla I is known, and in those days the people of Bengal could not distinguish between *Kannaḍas* and *Tamils*. Even in the 19th century the East India Company's

1. vv. 109, 110.

2. E. I. IX, p. 232.

3. J. B. O. R. S. XIV, p. 518.

Hindustani sepoy were generally known as Telingas." This argument would perhaps be valid if it were established that the *Caṇḍakauśikam* was a play produced in Bengal under the Pāla ruler Mahīpāla I. If, on the other hand, it is possible to point to another Mahīpāla in whose reign a Karnatic war did take place and who may have been the patron of Kṣemiśvara, we should then find it more easy to assign the play to his time, than to follow Mr. Banerji in believing that a Bengali author of the eleventh century A. D. committed the same sort of error about the nationality of South Indians as Muhammadan chroniclers and Anglo-Indian writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Gurjara ruler Mahīpāla I in fact satisfies all the conditions of the case.

Mr. Banerji does not, however, think that this is so. In discussing Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's view quoted above,<sup>1</sup> he says: "Professor Aiyangar has perhaps forgotten the existence of the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV. Mahīpāla I, a younger son of Mahēndrapāla I, succeeded to the throne by removing his elder brother Bhōja II with the help of the Caṇḍella chief Harṣa. Very shortly afterwards the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire was shattered by the onslaught of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa conqueror Indra III. In fact this young prince dealt the death blow to Gurjara-Pratīhāra supremacy in India. He invaded Mālava, captured Ujjain, crossed the Jumna near Kalpi, devastated Kanauj and compelled Mahīpāla I to flee before his general, the Cālukya chief, Narasimha, to Allahabad. Mahīpāla I returned to Kanauj after the retirement of Rāṣṭrakūṭa army to find that the provinces were fast becoming independent under the feudatories and governors. No Mahīpāla of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty ever defeated any Karmāṭaka army or chief, and therefore it is cruel of Professor Aiyangar to attribute the production of the drama *Caṇḍakauśikam* before this unfortunate king."<sup>2</sup>

The relevant verse in the Cambay plates runs as follows :<sup>3</sup>

Yan-mādyad-dvipa-danta-ghāta-viṣamaṁ Kālapriya-prāṅga-  
nam

Tirṇā yat turagair-agādha-yamunā-sindhu-prati-spardhinī |  
Yenedam hi mahodayāri-nagaraṁ nirmūlam-unmūlitam  
Nāmnā-dyā-pi janaiḥ kuśasthalam-iti khyātim parāṁ nīyate||

1. See *ante* p. 192.

2. J. B. O. R. S. XIV, p. 519.

3. E. I. VII, p. 38, v. 19.

On this verse Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar remarks with justice:<sup>1</sup> "But the complete devastation of Mahodaya, which Indra III is spoken of as having brought about, is merely poetical. For, the poet's object appears to be to introduce a play on the words *mahodaya* and *kuśasthala* which in their conventional sense mean Kanauj, and in their etymological one, 'full of high prosperity' and 'a spot of *kuśa* grass' respectively : 'Mahodaya' *i.e.*, Kanauj ceased to be Mahodaya, *i.e.*, highly prosperous, and became Kuśasthala, *i.e.*, a mere spot of *Kuśa* grass. Hence, the complete annihilation of the city of Mahodaya or Kanauj alluded to in this stanza cannot be reasonably assumed to be a historical fact. This is also seen from the consideration that, as a matter of fact, for long after the event recorded in this verse took place, Kanauj continued to be the capital of several princes, ruling over Northern India." Prof. Bhandarkar has also shown that after a short exile from his kingdom, Mahīpāla I was restored to it by the joint efforts of the Caṇḍela king Harṣadeva and the Pāla ruler Dharmapāla.<sup>2</sup>

Likewise, Prof. Sten Konow, following Pischell's identification of Kṣemiśvara's patron with the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahīpāla I, writes :<sup>3</sup> "India III, the king of Rāṣṭrakūṭa, of whom we possess inscriptions of years 914 and 916, and who accordingly was a contemporary of Pratihāra Mahīpāla of Kānyakubja, at all events says of himself that he conquered Mahodaya (Kānyakubja). Since, however, Mahīpāla's successors continued their dominion over Kānyakubja, we cannot judge this statement in any other way than similar statements found in inscriptions, in which each of the parties to a battle claims to be the victor. Mahīpāla's victory over the Karṇāṭas, and Indra's victory over Mahodaya probably relate to the same occurrence which was differently interpreted by the participants."

One final consideration may be urged before concluding. Why should Kṣemiśvara drag in the analogy of an ancient half-forgotten king, not altogether of good repute in Hindu tradition, when the author's aim is obviously to praise his patron monarch ? The answer may be made that after the *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākha-datta, the history of Candragupta's exile and return to Magadha

1. E. I. VII, p. 30.

2. *ibid.* pp. 30-3.

3. I. D. Sec. 98.

with Cāṇakya's aid became common property of the *literati*, and consequently, it was by no means out of the way for Kṣemiśvara to bring in this story. But may there not be something more in it? Considering that Mahīpāla owed his restoration in part to a Caṇḍela, and that Kṣemiśvara is also known as Ārya-Kṣemiśvara,<sup>1</sup> one is led to suspect that in the phrases *Candragupto jigāya*<sup>2</sup> and *ārya-Cāṇakya-nītim samśritya*, the poet may be hinting at the help Mahīpāla got from the Caṇḍela king, and, possibly also, at his own part in securing the aid of this prince, or of others, who assisted in the return of Mahīpāla to his kingdom. Kṣemiśvara had no lack of purāṇic stories of celebrated kings exiled for a time and restored to their throne, and the employment of any of these stories might have served, if his object was only to praise his patron. It seems possible therefore, that in the actual phrases he has chosen to employ, the poet is hinting (by *dhvani*) at the actual course of contemporary history and his own part in it. If there is any truth in this surmise, the identity of Kṣemiśvara's patron with the Gurjara Mahīpāla becomes most securely established.<sup>3</sup>

There is thus no reason to doubt the correctness of the view expressed many years ago by Pischell and generally accepted by students of Sanskrit literature and epigraphy that the *Caṇḍakaūśikam* was a play produced in the early years of the tenth century A. D. in the court of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler Mahīpāla I.

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1. See Prastāvanā.

2. Perhaps the name Candragupta is also intended to refer to the idea expressed by the phrase "Candreṇa (Caṇḍella-harṣeṇa) guptaḥ".

3. The suggestions put forward in this paragraph are based on a conversation with Prof. S. Kuppusvami Sastrigal.

## WRITERS QUOTED IN THE ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ.

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*(Continued from p. 170, Vol. VI, Part II.)*

### KĪRTIDHARA.

Another writer given as a commentator on Bharata by Śārṅgadeva is Kīrtidhara. There are at least four references to him in the Abhinavabhāratī.

1. The first reference to Kīrtidhara is on the difference between Nāṭya and Nṛtta, occurring on p. 208, Gaek. edn., at the end of Chap. IV. There is nothing in this reference to show that Kīrtidhara commented on Bharata.

The other three references are in the Geyādhikāra, Vol. IV, Mad. Ms.

2. “एतदुक्तम् —‘प्राहमेककलं साम द्विकलं वह्निजं तथा ।

चन्त्रन्तु (?) विकलं शुष्कं पूर्वयोः सार्थकं \* \* ॥’

इति कीर्तिधराचार्यः ।”

p. 42.

3. ‘ननु चत्वारि यथा कीर्तिधरोऽभ्यधात् इति ।’

p. 50.

4. The fourth reference is a valuable one. The context is the Mārgāsārīta dances of the Pūrvaraṅga.

“यत्तत् कीर्तिधरेण नन्दिकेश्वरतन्मात्रगामित्वेन (?) दर्शितं तद-  
न्याभिः (तदस्माभिः) न दृष्टम्, तत्प्रत्ययात्तु लिख्यते ।”

p. 50.

Abhinava proposes to give the dances from Kīrtidhara, who himself gives them from Nandikeśvara. Abhinava says that he himself did not have access to Nandikeśvara's work and that he writes these on the authority of Kīrtidhara. Accordingly on pp. 51-54, Abhinava gives a large prose extract on the मार्गासारित dances of the Pūrvaraṅga. So it is that we find Nandikeśvara, the most prominent in the pantheon of Saṅgīta and Nāṭya, not quoted anywhere by Abhinava. But Mr. R. Kavi says that the passage above quoted reads differently in his ms. and hence means differ-

ently ; and that Abhinava does quote largely from Nandikeśvara in the commentary on Chap. XXVIII. The Ms. of the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library unfortunately does not contain the major portion of the commentary on this Chap. Mr. R. Kavi says that his Ms. contains it completely. Though the work of Nandikeśvara was not available to Abhinava, a work called नन्दिमतं was available to Abhinava. It is quoted on p. 141, Gaek. edn., on the movement called रेचितम्.

“तथा च नन्दिमत उक्तम्—

“रेचिताख्योऽङ्गहारो यो द्विधा तेन ह्यशेषतः ।

तुष्यन्ति देवतास्तेन ताण्डवे तं नियोजयेत् ॥”

From the above references we can say that there is no evidence to take Kīrtidhara as having written a commentary on Bharata.

#### ṬIKĀKĀRA.

There is a commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra called the Ṭikā which Abhinava quotes often. Except four references, all the other references to it are in the Geyādhikāra. The following eighteen are in the unprinted portion of the Abhi. Bhā. (Mad. ms.).

1. While commenting on Śl. 2, Chap. XXI, Kāśī edn. on the two parts of the plot, आधिकारिक and प्रासङ्गिक, Abhinava refers to and refutes the Ṭikākāra, who divided the Prāsaṅgika into many kinds.

“तेन शक्यन्तरयोगायोगाभ्यां च यत्प्रासङ्गिकस्यानेकविधत्वं टीका-  
कृद्भिरभ्यधायि, न तदुपाध्यायाः समन्यन्ते ।”

Abhinava follows his teacher, does not accept many kinds of Prāsaṅgika but gives it as of one kind only.

2. The next reference in the Nāṭyādhikāra is in the Chapter on Sāmānyābhinaya. Bharata gives a list of twelve ‘Mārgas’ of Abhinaya, आलाप, प्रलाप etc. Śls. 49-57, p. 273, Kāśī edn. The twelfth is अतिदेश and while commenting upon it, Abhinava remarks that the Ṭikākāra has introduced irrelevant things here.

“अत्र उपदेशातिदेशयोः उपमानस्य च साहित्यविषये तार्किकमीमां-  
सकविषये विशेषप्रतिपादनं यत् टीकाकारैः कृतम्, तत्सुकुमारमनोमोहनं  
वृथाभ्रमणिकामात्रम्, प्रकृतानुयोगादिह उपेक्ष्यमेव ।”

3. “गानमुपरञ्जकं सत् नाट्य(द्वयं) व्यवस्थापयदेव उपरञ्जयतीति युक्त एष एव क्रमः इति टीकाकारः, तदेतन्न विदामः ।” Vol. III, p. 98.

4. “‘यत्तु तन्त्रीगतं प्रोक्तम्’ (Bh.) इति विपश्चीनीणादिभेदात् आतोद्यतेति टीकाकारः तदयुक्तम् ।” Vol. III, p. 98.

5. “तदेवं निर्वचनं तात्पर्येण श्लोक इति टीकाकारः । अत्र तु नकारस्तु व्याख्यात एव तस्मादुपाध्यायैरिदमुक्तम् (?) ।” Vol. III, p. 100.

6. The sixth reference is on the tunes to be used for the various Bhāvas and Rasas. The Tīkākāra says that what Kaśyapa has given on this subject does not agree with Bharata. Abhinava removes this difficulty. He says that it is Kaśyapa, Kohala and others who added and developed Bharata and instead of saying that these three differ, later writers must follow all the three, for the views of Kaśyapa and Kohala<sup>1</sup> in this particular respect have become wide spread in the world.

“अत्र टीकाकारः शङ्कते, योऽयं जात्यंशकानां विनियोग उक्तः, स कश्यपमुनिमतादिभिर्विरुध्यते । तथा हि तैरुक्तम्” \* \* \* \*

“प्रत्य(त्यु)त ‘कोहलस्तद्वदिष्यति’ (Bh.) इति सर्वमनुज्ञातमेव मुनि(ना).....एत्प्रसिद्धये तत्रोक्तं रक्त्यतिशययोगाय लोके कोहलकश्यपादि-मतमेव प्रसिद्धिमुपगतमित्यलं बहुना ।” Vol. IV, p. 4.

7. “टीकाकारास्त्वाहुः, आश्रयः स्वतः स्वरूपेण जातीनां गाने उपयोगः, न तु रक्तिसंपादकत्वेन । एतच्च पूर्वमेव विचारितमित्यास्ताम् ।” Vol. IV, p. 14.

8. टीकाकारैस्तु श्लोकार्थस्यास्य प्रतिकर्षणत्वमस्य व्याख्यातं पुनरुक्तप्रायमित्यास्तां तावत् ।” Vol. IV, p. 22.

9. “ये त्वन्ये ते आनीतप्रयोगविषयाः तान्निबोधतेति वर्णाश्रितत्वात् वर्णा इति टीकाकृतः ।” Vol. IV, p. 22.

This is refuted by Abhinava by quoting his Paramaguru, Utpaladeva.

10. The tenth reference is valuable since it mentions the Sadāśiva Bharata or the work on Nāṭya attributed to Sadāśiva, and since it mentions also the Guru of the Tīkākāra.

1. Kohala on this subject of tunes according to Rasas is quoted by Mallinātha on Śl. 91, canto. VII, Ku. Sam.

टीकाकृद्भिस्तु सदाशिवमतादिग्रन्थान्तरलिखितं 'त्रयस्त्रिंशदिमे प्रोक्ताः अलङ्काराः \* \* ।' इत्यदितनां लिखितां (?) ग्रन्थान्तरपरिवर्तने अनिष्ट-प्रसङ्गात् । श्रीपादप्रोक्तादिति स्वगुरुमतादनुमता ; ममाच्चनन्तादिषु श्रीसंमिताश्चरान्योन्य (?) दर्शनात् कियच्छेखनीयम् । न चापि किञ्चित्तेन [किञ्चित्] प्रयोजनम्, सर्वेभ्यः सर्वेषु सिद्धिरिति ह्युक्तं प्राक् ।" Vol. IV, p. 25.

From the above given passage, we may take one श्रीपाद as the teacher of the Tīkākāra. Whether that is the real full name of the teacher or only the honorific suffix to his name cannot be said. From the temper of Abhinava's criticisms and from the fact that all the references to the Tīkākāra are cases of complete refutation, one can infer that perhaps the Tīkākāra was a contemporary of Abhinava, that he blundered much in the Geyādhikāra especially and that his Tīkā was undeservedly popular. But there is no clear evidence for such conclusions.

11. यत्त्वत्र टीकाकृता स्वगतपरगतत्वेन धर्मस्यातिदेशस्य विकल्प-लक्षणाभिधानलाघवोपयोगित्वम् अतिदेशस्याभ्यधायि । तदेवमेव सर्वत्र ब्राह्मण-वद्राजा द्रष्टव्य इत्यादावपि अतिदेशस्वरूपनिर्वाहं नेह पूर्वतया मन्तव्यम् (?) ।" Vol IV, p. 59.

12. "द्विकत्रि (क) चतुष्को वा श्रुतिसख्यो भवेत्स्वरः ।

अवीराणां तु शेषाणां स्वराणामपि सन्ततम् ॥'

अस्यार्थः । टीकाकारस्तावदाह \* \* \* \* \*

एष चार्थः फल्गुप्रायः । न हीयता वीणायां श्रुतिचर्चा काचिदृशिता भवति ।" Vol. IV, p. 63.

13. "यद्वीकां(कायां) मानेनैव तत्पूर्वकत्वात् सर्पिण्याद्यपि संगृहीतं भवतीत्युचे, तत्प्रयासमात्रम् ।" Vol. IV, p. 89.

14. टीकाकृतस्तु(ता तु) सन्निपातव्युत्पत्त्या शम्यादिव्युत्पत्त्या शम्यादिव्याख्यायाः अवान्तरतालां देवैः (?) इत्यादि यदुक्तं तत् \* \* \* शिष्टश्लोकभागः व्यर्थ इत्यलमनेन ।" Vol. IV, p. 137.

15. "षट् आस्य स्थानमान अस्य चाङ्गत्र इति (?) टीकाकारा-स्तावत् व्याकुर्वन्ति ।" p. 151.

16. "टीकाकारास्तु \* \* \* उपोहनत्वं यदुक्तं तत्कथमिति न विदुः, मुनिना उक्तत्वात् (अनुक्तत्वात्) दत्तिलादिभिरेव \* \* \* ।" p. 162.



Abhinava here says that the Tīkākāra does not know what the Upohana given by Bharata means. It is not explained by Bharata but is explained only by Dattila and other writers. Abhinava ridicules the Tīkākāra for not having read even Dattila's work.

17. “अत्र टीकाकारेण आक्षिप्तवज्रं च शीर्षकं चेति यो विनि-  
योगः प्रागुक्तः, तत्र वज्रादिषु वर्णान्तरङ्गाणां तालाध्याये बहुशास्त्रः पूर्वापर-  
विरोध इति तदेतदस्मदागमव्याख्यायां निरुत्थानमेव हि \* \* \*  
तथा हि तेनोक्तम् \* \* \* \* \* ।”

Then Abhinava gives a long Anuvāda of the view of the Tīkākāra, gives a criticism of it by other writers with whom he and his teacher agree. The passage ends thus. “इदमेव युक्तमित्युपाध्यायाः ।”

Vol. IV, p. 192.

18. “टीकाकारास्तु परिक्रमणैः त्रिकोणचतुष्कोणरङ्गापेक्षया त्र्यश्र-  
चतुरश्रता तु (?) विभागमाहुः । तस्मात् (तत्) अस्मद्गुरुभ्यो न रुचित(तं) ।”

Vol. IV, p. 192.

These are the 18 references to the Tīkākāra available in the unprinted portion of the Abhinavabhāratī. Two references to him are available in the portion printed in the Gaek. Series. pp. 318 and 328. These two are in the sections on Karuṇa and Bhayānaka Rasas respectively (ch. vi) and here also the Tīkākāra is criticised. The name of the author of this Tīkā on Bharata is not known. His Guru can be taken to be one श्रीपाद. An Ālaṅkārika of this same name, श्रीपाद, is quoted by Keśava in his Ālaṅkāra Śekhara. श्रीपाद is a Buddhist or Jaina name.

### BHAṬṬAYANTRA.

A writer named Bhaṭṭayantra is quoted and that only once by Abhinavagupta. The context is the discussion on the difference between Nāṭya and Nṛtta. Bhaṭṭayantra's definition of Nṛtta is given.

“शिक्षार्हस्वेच्छान्यनृत्तकतिपयनाट्याङ्गकृतं नृत्तम् अभ्यासफलम्’ इति  
भट्टयन्त्रः ।”

Gaek. edn., p. 208.

There is no evidence to suppose that Bhaṭṭayantra wrote a commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra.

## ŚRĪHARṢA'S NĀṬYA VĀRTIKA.

Next to the consideration of the commentaries on the Nāṭya Śāstra, comes that of the Vārtika on the Nāṭya Śāstra. The Nāṭya Śāstra, like other Śāstras, has its Sūtras, Vārtika and Bhāṣya. We must distinguish from these the still later Alaṅkāra Sūtras, Alaṅkāra Vārtika and Alaṅkāra Bhāṣya. Besides the Kāvyaālaṅkāra Sūtras of Vāmana, the Kārikās of Maṃmaṭa have been considered as Sūtras and a persistent tradition was current in some parts of the country that the Kārikās of the Kāvyaaprakāśa were the Sūtras of Bharata, the product of which view is the Sāhityakaumudī of Vidyābhūṣaṇa. K. M. 63. Besides these two instances, there seems to be some other Sūtrakāra for Alaṅkāra, a Buddhist monk. We know of him from quotations of his Sūtras in Keśava's Alaṅkāra Śekhara pp. 2 and 20. K. M. edn. He is referred to as अलङ्कारविद्यासूत्रकारः भगवान्शौद्धोदनिः । An Alaṅkāra Vārtika is referred to by Jayaratha in his Vimarśinī on the Alaṅkārasarvasva.<sup>1</sup> Three verses from a Vārtika on the different meanings of the word ध्वनि are quoted in Bhaṭṭa Gopāla's commentary on the Kāvyaaprakāśa.<sup>2</sup> These verses put in metre what Abhinava has said in his Locana : that ध्वनि by different Vyutpattis mean ध्वनिव्यापार, ध्वन्यमानार्थ, ध्वनिकाव्य etc. Thus this Vārtika quoted by Bhaṭṭa Gopāla is later than Abhinava. This Vārtika may or may not be the Alaṅkāravārtika referred to by Jayaratha. Again these must not be confused with the Harṣacaritavārtika of Ruṣyaka or Maṅkhuka, which, I think, is a commentary on the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa, pointing out with definitions the Alaṅkāras which abound in that work. An Alaṅkāra Bhāṣya is thrice quoted by Jayaratha<sup>3</sup> and the first two of these references are repeated by Jagannātha in his Rasagaṅgādhara. These Sūtras, Vārtikas and Bhāṣya of Alaṅkāra must not be confused with those of the Nāṭya Śāstra. The Sūtras of the Nāṭya Śāstra are the brief prose bits available in the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata, such as the Rasa Sūtra, as also the Nāṭya Sūtras referred to by Pāṇini. The whole Nāṭya Śāstra itself is also Sūtra, for Abhinava takes it so.

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1. p. 71. Nir. S. edn.

2. Triv. edn., p. 234.

3. pp. 35, 83 and 138.

षटत्रिंशकं भरतसूत्रमिदं विवृण्वन्

वन्दे शिवं श्रुतितदर्थविवेकि धाम ॥ Gaek. edn., p. 1.

The Vārtika on it was written by one Śrī Harṣa or Harṣa to whom we will return presently. The Bhāṣya is by Nānyadeva alias Rāja Nārāyaṇa, king of Mithilā. He is later than Abhinava and is earlier than Śārṅgadeva. His work, though generally called as Bharata Bhāṣya, has in two of the colophons the name Bharata Vārtika. The work is also called Sarasvatihṛdayālankāra. A section of one fourth of that work is now available to us and the ms. of it is in the library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.<sup>1</sup> The work is stupendous in its plan. It is divided into four Arṇśas, each Arṇśa dealing with one of the four Abhinayas. The first seems to be the वाचिकांश and comprises of Saṅgīta, Alaṅkāra and Daśarūpa. Of this first Arṇśa, the portion dealing with music alone is now available. Two of the colophons have this suggestive word—‘वाचिकांशे’.

The Harṣavārtika on the Nāṭya Śāstra is nowhere else referred to except in the Abhinavabhāratī. Here also it is quoted only in the first six chapters. Not even a single reference to it is available in the remaining bulk of the Abhinavabhāratī. Perhaps to Abhinava himself, only a fragment of the Harṣavārtika was available. Who this Harṣa or Śrī Harṣa is cannot be decided.

1. The first quotation from the Vārtika is in the commentary on chapter two on Theatre. The verses quoted speak of the number and position of the pillars.

“वार्तिककृत्—‘अन्ते नेपथ्यगृहं स्तम्भौ द्वौ पीठकाश्च चत्वारः ।

...न्ये चत्वारः दशैवमुक्ता भवन्त्येते ॥

भिन्नेः स्तम्भानां च स्यादन्तरमष्टहस्तमेवान्तः ।’

इति ।”

Vol. I, p. 67, Gaek. edn., N. S.

2. The second reference occurs in the same chapter and describes the gallery-like seating arrangement of the theatre.

“दत्तोऽद्यवाताथः सोऽथा नानाभवेदुक्तः । (?)

चत्वारः पीठगताः पश्चादग्रे च याविह द्वौ द्वौ ॥

1. A Transcript copy of it is now available in the Mad. Mss. Library.

षट् सान्तरास्तथान्ये कार्या इति शास्त्र..... ।  
 .....पीठगताः पश्चादग्रे च याविह द्वौ द्वौ ॥  
 तेषामष्टावन्येऽप्युपरिनिवेश्याः य उदिष्टाः ।  
 तैरुक्षितैरिह तत् स्यादालोकः समस्तरङ्गस्य ॥  
 सोपानाकृतिपीठकमत्र विधेयं समन्ततो रङ्गे ।  
 येनालोक.....व्युपरिकाष्ठासु ॥” p. 68, *Ibid.*

3. In the discussion on the difference between Nṛtta and Nāṭya Śrī Harṣa boldly says that they are not different, both of them having the same features.

वार्तिककृताप्युक्तम्—

“वाच्यानुगतेऽभिनये प्रतिपाद्येऽर्थे च गात्रविक्षेपैः ।

उभयोरपि हि समाने को भेदो नृत्तनाट्यगतः ॥” p. 172, *Ibid.*

4. On the same subject another quotation from Harṣa appears on p. 174.

“नास्त्यसौ भिन्नस्वभाव इति यावत् । यद्वार्तिकम्—‘एवमवान्तर-  
 वाक्यैरुपदेशो रागदर्शनान्येषु । सिंहादिवर्णकैर्वा कचिदप्यर्थान्तरन्यासात् ॥”

5. The next reference is also on the same subject :

“‘रसमादृष्ट (ष्टि) हस्तशिरश्चाद्य यवङ्गं पूर्णं वा अपूर्णं वा कृत  
 एव नाट्यनृत्तयोर्भेदः तुल्यानुकारत्वे’ इति हर्षवार्तिकम् ।”

Nāṭya primarily means all stage performances. It is divided into two kinds, Drama and Dance. The former is Rūpaka, the 10 kinds in the scheme of Daśarūpaka and some of the major varieties of the Uparupakas also, such as Nāṭikā and Troṭaka. The minor varieties of the Uparūpakas are नृत्यप्रबन्धः. These represent the second, *viz.*, Dance. Sometimes the former, (*i.e.*) Dramas alone are referred to as Nāṭya and the rest as नृत्य or नृत्त, two kinds of dance. These two are clearly different since Drama is enacted by many while the नृत्य or नृत्त is एकहर्ष, a complete theme rendered in Abhinaya by one. But underneath this difference, there are common features which Harṣa emphasises. They are both of them Anukāra and the mode of interpretation in both of them is Abhinaya and Āṅgahāra. It is on this point that Abhinava quotes a number of writers at the end of chapter four, Bhaṭṭayantra, Kirtidhara, Lollaṭa etc.

6. The sixth reference to the Vārtika is to its interpretation of the word पूर्वरङ्ग. This is the first reference which refers to the Vārtikakāra as श्रीहर्ष.

“श्रीहर्षस्तु रङ्गशब्देन तौर्यत्रिकं ब्रुवन् नाट्याङ्गप्रयोगस्य तस्यैव पूर्वरङ्गतां मन्यमानः पूर्वश्चासौ रङ्गश्चेति समासममंस्त ।

यदाह—

‘दृष्टा येऽवस्थार्थे (वस्त्वर्थे ?) नाट्ये रङ्गाय पादभागाः स्युः ।

पूर्वं त एव यस्मिन् शुद्धाः स्युः पूर्वरङ्गेऽसौ ॥’ ” p. 211, *Ibid.*

7. The next is on the Aṅgas of the पूवेरङ्ग, viz., प्रत्याहार, अवतरण etc.

“उक्तं च वार्तिके ‘बुद्ध्यायषट्कचेदिज (?) रङ्गभेदः, न तु प्रत्याहारावतरणे आद्ये, रङ्गद्वारादीनि पाश्चात्यानि पादभागाद्याख्यानं’ इति ।”

p. 212, *Ibid.*

8. The eighth and the last reference available is on the Sthāpaka Sūtradhāra of the Pūrvarāṅga. Śrī Harṣa here mentions a poet called Hāsa and a drama of his, probably with the story of Nala as its plot.

“यदाह श्रीहर्षः ‘अत एव हासो नाम (कविः) कस्मिंश्चिन्नाटके ‘दिवं यातश्चित्तज्वरेण कलिरित एवाम्भिवर्तते । अशक्यमस्य पुरोऽवस्थातुम्’ इत्यादि ।”

From these references, we see also that Śrī Harṣa's Vārtika on the Nāṭya Śāstra was mainly in Āryā verses with occasional prose. It must be this Vārtikakāra Harṣa whom Śāradātanaya mentions in his Bhāvaprakāśa, on the definition of the Uparūpaka called Toṭaka.

दिव्यमानुषसंयोगो यत्राङ्गैरविदूषकैः ।

तदेव तोटकं भेदो नाटकस्येति हर्षवाक् ॥ p. 238, ll. 4 and 5.

Bhā. Pr. Gaek. edn.

This definition, especially the feature—“यत्राङ्गैरविदूषकैः” is not in agreement with Vikramorvaśīya which is a Toṭaka and hence Śāradātanaya remarks upon Harṣa's definition—

तदव्यापकमित्यन्ये नाद्रियन्ते विपश्चितः ।

Prabhākara's Rasapradīpa (G. Kaviraj, Sarasvati Bhavan Studies) gives a prose extract from one श्रीहर्षमिश्र on the subject of दोष. The passage seems to be that of a late writer and this Śrī Harṣa is not identical with the Vārtikakāra.

Keśava Miśra, in his *Alaṅkāraśekhara* (K. M. edn. P. 47), in the chapter on Kavi Śikṣā, while giving a list of Upamās for the various parts of the body says that the nose is compared to the sesamum flower—तिलप्रसून. He illustrates this with a verse and adds:

‘कामतूणीकृत्य नासा वर्ण्यते’ इति श्रीहर्षः ।<sup>1</sup>

This Śrī Harṣa whose identity also is not known has greater likeness only to the श्रीहर्षमिश्र mentioned by Prabhākara.

#### RĀHULA.

Rāhula is mentioned as an authority on Nāṭya Śāstra in Śārṅgadeva's list. क्षेत्रराजश्च राहुलः. His name is given by Śārṅgadeva as Rāhala. He is quoted in the *Abhinavabhāratī* four times. Mr. R. Kavi, in the introduction to his edition of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* Vol. I, in the Gaek. series says that Rāhula is a Vārtikakāra. He has not given any evidence for that statement and we also do not find any evidence to take Rāhula as a Vārtikakāra. One quotation from Rāhula is in the commentary on chapter four. It is on one of kind of Nāṭyadharmā or Nāṭyadharmī.

“एकपात्रहार्यत्वम् असन्निहितेऽपि च प्रियतमप्रभृतौ तद्विषयोक्ति-  
प्रत्युक्त्यादिप्रयोगः नाट्येऽप्यकाशभाषितादौ भाणरूपके च विद्यते च । यथाह  
राहुलः—

‘परोक्षेऽपि हि वक्तव्यो नार्यः प्रत्यक्षवत् प्रियः ।

सखी च नाट्यधर्मोऽयं भरतेनोदितं द्वयम् ॥” p. 172, Gaek. edn.

Another reference is in the chapter on Sāmānyābhināya and Vaiśika. Vol. III, Mad. Ms.

“तेन मौग्ध्यमदभाविकत्वपरितपनादीनामपि गत्याचार्यराहुलादिभि-  
रभिधानं विरुद्धमित्यलं बहुना ।” p. 38.

Here the word गत्याचार्य is evidently a mistake for शाक्याचार्य. Rāhula, as can be seen from his name, is a Bauddha. Further this passage with a slight change is reproduced by Hemacandra in his *Kāvyānuśāsana*, where we have the correct word शाक्याचार्य.

“शाक्याचार्यराहुलादयस्तु मौग्ध्यमदभाविकत्वपरितपनादीनप्यलङ्कारा-  
नाचक्षते । तेऽस्माभिः भरतमतानुसारिभिरुपेक्षिताः ।” p. 316, K.M. edn.

1. This may refer to poet Śrī Harṣa, who in his *Naiṣadha*, Canto VII, Śl. 36, describes Damayanti's nose as cupid's quiver—Kāmatūṇa.

Bharata gives a list of Alaṅkāras of damsels, Bhāva, Hāva etc., three Aṅgajas, ten Svabhāvajās and seven Ayatnajās, on the whole twenty. Chap. XXIX. Bharata. Hemacandra, pp. 308-316. Besides these twenty, मौग्ध्य, मद, भाविकत्व, परितपन etc. are also considered as Alaṅkāras of women by Rāhula and others of his school. The Buddhist monks contributed much to Alaṅkāra also. There is a work on Pornography by another Buddhist monk called Padma Śrī. The work is called नागरसर्वस्वम्. In these works, they have a slightly different Sampradāya on some subjects of which one is the Alaṅkāras of women. Hemacandra follows Bharata and gives only 20 Alaṅkāras. In Padma Śrī's Nāgarasarvasva, we have these sixteen Alaṅkāras.

हेलविच्छित्तिविम्बोकिलकिञ्चितविभ्रमाः ।

लीला विलासो हावश्च विक्षेपो विकृतं मदः ॥

मोहायितं कुट्टमितं मौग्ध्यं च तपनं तथा ।

ललितं चेल्यमी हावाः चेष्टाः शृङ्गारसम्भवाः ॥

Chap. VII, pp. 28-40.

Of these, those not given by Bharata and consequently not found in standard works are four, विक्षेपः, मदः, मौग्ध्यं and तपनम्. The last three are attributed to Rāhula by Abhinavagupta. Vikṣepa is not mentioned by Abhinava and the भाविकत्वं mentioned by him as held by Rāhula is missing in the above list. The editor of the Nāgarasarvasva, Mr. Tanusukha Rama Śarma has pointed out this peculiarity in this Ṭippanī on the text, has suggested that Padma Śrī might have followed Rāhula and other Buddhist Alaṅkārikas and that certain readings noted in the Sāhityadarpaṇa, Nirāṇaya Sāgar edition, quote and follow Padma Śrī, who is mentioned there as शाक्यमिश्र. The Sāhityadarpaṇa does not also give भाविकत्वं and while following Bharata, follows also Padma Śrī and other Buddhist writers who give other Alaṅkāras in addition. The Sāhityadarpaṇa on the whole gives 28 Alaṅkāras, those in addition to the 20 of Bharata being, मदः, तपनम्, मौग्ध्यम्, विक्षेपः, कुतूहलम्, हसितम्, चकितं and केलिः. The last four of these are not found in Padma Śrī. Vikṛtam in Padma Śrī is given as Vihṛtam. The last four of Viśvanātha are from Bhoja who gives these new Alaṅkāras in his Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa and the S. K. Abharāṇa. Vide S. K. A. pp. 478, 533, 534 and 537. While Śāradātanaya like

Viśvanātha follows Bhoja, Śiṅga Bhupāla refutes Bhoja for holding these. (p. 10, Bhā. Pr.; p. 57, R. A. S. Triv. edn.)

Besides Rāhula and Padma Śrī, we come to know from Padma Śrī's definition of Vikṣepa that there is another writer on Alaṅkāra of their school, Sage Kapila.

तमामनन्ति विक्षेपं मुनयः कपिलादयः ।

N. S. VII. 21.

Of Rāhula we do not know much. We see a poet called Rāhulaka in the anthology, Subhāṣitāvali. Śl. 2900. Rāhula's work on Nāṭya Śāstra is an independent treatise. Mr. R. Kavi mentions another Buddhistic writer on Nāṭya named Sinī of whom he himself does not say more. Introduction to his edn. of N. S., Gaek. series.

### MĀTRGUPTA.

Mātrgupta is a poet and writer on Nāṭya and Saṅgīta. He is mentioned as an authority in music works. Mr. T. R. Cintāmaṇi has collected fragments of this writer and spoken of his date etc. in an article published in this Journal. Mātrgupta's work is in Anuṣṭubhs surveying the fields of Kāvya, Rūpaka and Saṅgīta. There is only one reference to him in the Abhinavabhāratī. In the तताध्याय, on the पुष्प, a technical name in the playing of Viṇā Abhinava quotes from Mātrgupta one line.

“तथोक्तं भट्टमातृगुप्तेन—

‘पुष्पं च जनयत्येको भूयोऽनुस्पर्शान्वितः ।’ ”

Vol. VI, p. 32.

Śāradātanaya quotes Mātrgupta's view on the nature of the plot of a Nāṭaka that it should have some उत्पाद्यांश though it is पूर्ववृत्ताश्रय.

पूर्ववृत्ताश्रयमपि किञ्चिदुत्पाद्यवस्तु च ।

विधेयं नाटकमिति मातृगुप्तेन भाषितम् ॥

p. 234, Bhā. pr. Gaek. edn.

### BHAṬṬANĀYAKA.<sup>1</sup>

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is referred to in other places besides the discussion on Rasa-realisation. Though now and then Abhinava tries to laugh at him, at, more especially, the Mīmāṃsaka in him, Abhinava quotes him often. Surely Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's Hṛdaya-

1. The available fragments of Bhaṭṭanāyaka have been collected by Mr. T. R. Chintamani in the J, O. R. M., Vol. I, pp. 267 ff.



darpaṇa is a very great book, approaching in nature the Kāvya-kautuka of Tota. It is Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who introduced the concept of साधारणीकरण to explain the psychology of Rasa-realisation. In the very first chapter of the Abhinavabhāratī, there is a long Anuvāda of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's beautiful eulogy on Nāṭya, in the image of which God made this world. Abhinava quotes here, in the end, the Maṅgalaśloka of the Hṛdayadarpaṇa also.

“भट्टनायकस्तु, ‘ब्रह्मणा परमात्मना यदुदाहृतम् अविद्याविरचितं निःसारभेदग्रहे यदुदाहरणीकृतं तन्नाट्यम्, तद्वक्ष्यामि । यथा हि कल्पना-मात्रसारं तत एवानवस्थितैकरूपं क्षणेन कल्पनाशतसहस्रसहं स्वप्नादिविलक्षणमपि सुष्ठुतरां हृदयग्रहनिदानम् अत्यक्तस्वालम्बनब्रह्मकल्पनाटोपरचितं रामरावणादिचेष्टितं कुतोऽप्यभूताद्भुतवृत्त्या भाति, तथा भासमानमपि च पुमर्थोपायतामेति । तथा तादृगेव विश्वमिदमसत्यनामरूपप्रपञ्चात्मकमथ च श्रवणमननादिवशेन परमपुमर्थप्रापकमिति लोकोत्तरपरमपुरुषार्थसूचनेन शान्तरसोपक्षेपोऽयं भविष्यति, ‘स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्तादुत्पद्यते रसः’ इति । तदनेन पारमार्थिकं प्रयोजनमुक्तम्’ इति व्याख्यानं हृदयदर्पणे पर्यग्रहीत् । यदाह—

‘नमस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणकवये शम्भवे यतः ।

प्रतिक्षणं जगन्नाट्यप्रयोगरसिको जनः ॥” pp. 4 and 5, Gaek. edn.

Just as Tota is quoted by all for his definition of प्रतिभा, कवि and काव्य, so also is Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka for his differentiation of काव्य from Śāstra and Ākhyāna. The one and a half verses of his on this subject say that Śāstra is Śabdapradhāna, Ākhyāna is Arthapradhāna and Kāvya is Vyāpārapradhāna or Abhidhāpradhāna.<sup>1</sup> Abhinava agrees with this and quotes these while explaining the concept of Lakṣaṇa, where he also speaks of Kāvya as Abhidhāpradhāna, and of Lakṣaṇa as equivalent to the complete Abhidhā of the poet. P. 383, Vol. II, Mad. Ms. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka considered Kāvya as distinguished from Śāstra and Ākhyāna, by that characteristic of the poet's expression called Bhāvakatva Vyāpāra achieved by Guṇas and Alaṅkāras. Slightly changing this Vyāpāra into one of Dhvani or Suggestion and Rasāsvāda through it,

1. Abhidhā is here used not in its restricted sense of Śakti, but in its larger and more general meaning viz., the poet's expression as a whole. Vide p. 64, Vol. VI, Part I. J. O. R. My article on Lakṣaṇa.

Abhinava can accept it when he is an exponent of Dhvani in his Locana. *Vide* p. 27, Dhv. A corollary of this view is the other dictum of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka that one enjoys a Kāvya while from Purāṇa and Veda or Śāstra, he takes instruction and injunction respectively.

“यथोक्तं त्वयैव (भट्टनायकेनैव)—

‘काव्ये रसयिता सर्वो न बोद्धा न नियोगभाक्’ इति ।”

Locana, p. 12.

Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa kavi proposes a problem that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka wrote a commentary on Bhāmaha's Kāvyaśāṅkārā. He even seems to think that the Hṛdayadarpaṇa itself is a commentary on Bhāmaha. He relies on the following verse on Bhāmaha, written by Bhaṭṭa Gopāla in his introductory verses on the Śāṅkārīkas, in his commentary on the Kāvyaaprakāśa.

उद्धटेनापि नम्रेण नायकेनोपलालितः ।

हृद्यो भाम इव स्त्रीणामल्पास्मोऽपि भामहः ॥ p. 2, Triv. edn.

The verse definitely mentions Nāyaka, (*i.e.*) Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka along with Udbhaṭa, whom we know, from reliable sources of information, as a commentator on Bhāmaha. Such evidences as are available in the case of Udbhaṭa are not available in the case of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. Firstly we do not hear of any other work of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka except his Hṛdayadarpaṇa. And the evidence of Mahima Bhaṭṭa who says ‘अदृष्टदर्पणा सम धीः’ and of his commentator who says ‘दर्पणो हृदयदर्पणाख्यो ध्वनिध्वंसग्रन्थोऽपि’ surely point to the fact that Hṛdayadarpaṇa is an independent treatise on poetics, primarily intended to demolish the doctrine of Dhvani. If it is a commentary on Bhāmaha, there could not have been this utter lack of references to that fact in the writings of Abhinava who has often to refute Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. Further Bhaṭṭa Gopāla's evidence itself is not completely trustworthy. His ascriptions of quotations to certain writers are wrong. As for instance, on p. 277, Triv. edn. Bhaṭṭa Gopāla makes Udbhaṭa refute the Anumāna theory of Rasapratīti !

“तस्माद्विज्ञप्रतीतिरिति न युक्तं वक्तुम् । यदाह उद्धटः—‘न च अनुमितमात्रतया स्थितो भावः काव्यस्य जीवितम् । अपि तु साधारण्येन प्रतिपन्नः रसनाव्यापारगोचरः । एवं रसेऽप्यवगन्तव्यम् । तत एव व्यङ्ग्या रसभावतदाभासतत्प्रशमाः काव्यतत्त्वविद्विरभिधीयन्ते इति ।”

This was a very perplexing reference, until I found out the fact that Bhaṭṭa Gopāla here attributed part of Tilaka's commentary on Udbhaṭa's K. A. S. S. to Udbhaṭa himself. *Vide* p. 41, Mad. Ms. of Tilaka's commentary on the K. A. S. S. *Vide* p. 33. Gaek. edn. of this work. The above given lines are seen in Tilaka's commentary, in Varga IV, under प्रेयोऽलङ्कार. Even earlier, Bhaṭṭa Gopāla makes a similar confusion between Udbhaṭa and his commentators and attributes to Udbhaṭa the enumeration of the Vyabhicārins and Sthāyins which is really given not by Udbhaṭa but only by Pratihārendurāja and Tilaka and which are from Bharata.

But, without going so far as Mr. Kavi does, the verse of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla on Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Nāyaka can very well be explained. The verse certainly refers to Udbhaṭa and we know him as the author of the Bhāmahavivarāṇa from other sources. It certainly refers to Nāyaka, but does it mean Nāyaka as a commentator like Udbhaṭa? No. It refers to Nāyaka as one who adopted and developed Bhāmaha. This is a quite logical view. We know that the Ancients beginning with Bhāmaha held even the content of poetry as finally shedding beauty over the form only. This is the proper interpretation of the old Rasavada-lāṅkāra. Nāyaka accepted, as Abhinava says, (p. 12), that Rasa is the Ātman of poetry. But in distinguishing poetry from ordinary, Sātraic, or Purāṇic utterances, he formulated the doctrine of अभिधाप्राधान्य or व्यापारप्राधान्य. This means an emphasis on the form of poetry as its differentia. Bhāmaha gave Vakrokti as the differentia of poetry. The Abhidhā of a poet in his characteristic expression as a whole, his Vakrokti. Abhinava equates Nāyaka's Vyāpāra, (*i.e.*) expression having it and Bhāmaha's Vakrokti in his commentary on the section on Lakṣaṇas, Abhi. Bhā. Abhinava says in his Locana that the Bhāvakatvavyāpāra, which is one of the three Arśas of Kāvya Śabda as distinguished from other Śabdās, is the embellished utterance having Guṇas and Alaṅkāras pp. 68-70.

“भावकत्वमपि समुचितगुणालङ्कारपरिग्रहमस्माभिरेव वित्तु वक्ष्यते ।”

p. 70

Thus it is most likely that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, in defining poetry and its difference from other utterances, and in expounding his idea of Abhidhāprādhānya or Vyāpāraprādhānya, drew upon, adopted, exploited and re-interpreted Bhāmaha's idea of poetry as

being characterised by Vakrokti. This is perhaps the 'उपलालन' which Bhaṭṭa Gopāla says, Nāyaka gave to Bhāmaha.

### GHANṬAKA.

We know a poet Ghaṇṭaka from the anthologies. This poet is revealed by Abhinava as a writer on Dramaturgy. He is quoted in the Daśarūpakādhyāya, on the point of the nature of the Nāyaka and Nāyikā in the drama called Nāṭikā, which type is not fully described by Bharata but is said to be derived from Nāṭaka. In making ऊह from Nāṭaka to arrive at the characteristics of a Nāṭikā, there are differences in the views of writers on the Nāyaka and the Nāyikā. Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka are quoted here after whom Ghaṇṭaka is also quoted.

“घण्टकादयस्त्वाहुः, नायको नृपतिरित्येतावन्मात्रं नाटकादावुपजीवितम्,  
न तु प्रख्यातत्वमपि । तद्वेदद्वयात् अन्ये अष्टाविति षोडश भेदा इति ।”

Vol. 11, p. 468.

How much is Nāṭikā derived from Nāṭaka? How many features of Nāṭaka are also to be adopted for Nāṭikā? On this Ghaṇṭaka expresses the opinion that only in so far as a king is the hero, does a Nāṭikā base itself on a Nāṭaka. The quality of प्रख्यातत्वं necessary for the hero of a Nāṭaka is unnecessary in the King-hero of Nāṭikā. Other writers opine that the varieties of heroes and heroines possible in a Nāṭikā are eight or sixteen. It cannot be decided whether Ghaṇṭaka wrote on Nāṭya completely or on Daśarūpa only.

### ŚAKALĪGARBHA.

From the Abhinavabhāratī on the Daśarūpakādhyāya, an up till now unknown writer on Dramaturgy is unearthed. His name is Śakalīgarbha. He is quoted along with Udbhaṭa, on the subject of Vṛttis. Both of them held new and peculiar Vṛttis. Śakalīgarbha casts away Udbhaṭa's Phalavṛtti and in its place creates a Vṛtti called आत्मसंवित्ति. He realises the need for such a Vṛtti which Udbhaṭa pointed out. But in cases like मरण, मूर्च्छा etc., instead of Udbhaṭa's फलवृत्ति or फलसंवित्ति Śakalīgarbha would call the Vṛtti as आत्मसंवित्ति. Another difference between Udbhaṭa and Śakalīgarbha is that while Udbhaṭa discards the four Vṛttis of Bharata and postulates two of his own in their place, Śakalīgarbha accepts the four of Bharata, adds one more for cases like

मरण and thus holds five Vṛttis. Of this also I have dealt with at length in my paper on Vṛttis referred to before.

“शकलीगर्भमतानुसारिणः मूर्च्छादौ आत्मसंवित्तिर्लक्षणां पञ्चमीं वृत्तिम् \* \* \* \* आत्मव्यापाररूपां मन्यन्ते । तन्मतं भावानां बाह्यग्रहणस्वभावमुपपादयद्भिः भट्टोल्लोत्प्रभृतिभिः पराकृतमिति न फलवृत्तिर्वा (अत्मसंवित्तिर्वा) काचिदिति चतस्र एव वृत्तयः ।” Vol. II, p. 480, Mad. Ms.

From this reference to Lollaṭa's refutation of Śakalīgarbha's view, we can make out that Śakalīgarbha came between Udbhaṭa and Lollaṭa. It is to this Śakalīgarbha's view that Śāradātanaya refers to when he says that some others recognise a fifth Vṛtti called Viśrānti. ‘विश्रान्तां(न्ति) पञ्चमीं परे ।’ p. 12, Gaek. edn. The word विश्रान्ता in the printed text of the Bhāvaprakāśa must be विश्रान्ति and it means अत्मसंवित्ति.

#### PRIYĀTITHI.

Another writer on Dramaturgy like Śakalīgarbha is revealed to us on p. 537. His name is प्रियातिथि. Of him also we do not hear anything elsewhere. He is quoted while discussing the nature of ‘सैन्धव’, which is one of the ten Lāsyāṅgas.

“प्रियातिथिप्रभृतिः(तिभिः) मुनिमतोपेक्षयैव लक्षण(णं) उदाहरणं च कृतम्, न चोक्तं युक्त्या तेन किञ्चित्, इत्यसदेव ।” Vol. II, p. 537.

The definition of Saindhava given by Priyātithi does not agree with Bharata's view and hence Abhinava says that he must not be accepted.

#### BHAṬṬA SUMANAS.

A writer on music called Bhaṭṭa Sumanas is quoted in the Geyādhikāra.

‘अतस्तेषां व्यवहाराय विशेषसंज्ञापि प्रयोजनमिति भट्टसुमनसा अनु (?) श्लोकत्रयस्यायं वाक्यैकवाक्यतया महता प्रबन्धेनार्थो व्याख्यातः ।’

Vol. IV, p. 32.

Bhaṭṭa Sumanas perhaps commented on the Geyādhikāra or had occasion in an independent work of his to quote the three verses of Bharata under discussion in the above reference, and comment very elaborately on the them.

## BHATTA VRDDHI.

A similar writer called Bhaṭṭa Vṛddhi is also quoted in the Geyādhikāra, in the Tālādhyāya.

“केचित्तु श्रमपरिहारार्थं भोजनप्राङ्मुखतान्यायेन अदृष्टसिद्धयर्थं च शम्यातालो ध्रुवातालेषु आवृत्त्या यावत्संभवं योज्या । तथा च भट्टवृद्धित ....दत्त (?)दि पाणित(ता)ललयमङ्गअ(पु)स्तकेषु सर्वत्र शता इति प्रस्तारो दृश्यते ।”

Vol. IV, p. 203.

This Bhaṭṭa Vṛddhi is a poet and a large number of his verses are found in the Subhāṣitāvali. One verse attributed to him there, *viz.*, शशी दिवसधूसरः etc., is found in the Nītiśataka of Bhartṛhari.

## RUDRAṬA.

Rudraṭa, the well-known Ālaṅkārika, is a Saṅgītācārya also. Sārṅgadeva numbers him in his list.

रुद्रटो नान्यभूपालो भोजभूवल्लभस्तथा ।

He is twice mentioned in Kallinātha's commentary on the Saṅgītaratnākara, p. 82, Ānandāśrama edn. Abhinava refers once in the Geyādhikāra to one रुद्रक which evidently is a scribal error for रुद्रट.

रुद्रका(टा)दिभिस्तु एतमर्थं बु(अबु)ध्यमानैः उक्तानां (?) श्लोक-  
पाठविप्रलब्धैः सर्वत्रैव अष्टकलस्योक्तः प्रस्तारस्य वृत्तस्यादौ पृथक्भूतः  
उद्धटः \* \* \* \* \*

Vol. IV, p. 332.

## BHATTA GOPĀLA.

A writer named Bhaṭṭa Gopāla is twice mentioned in the Abhinavabhāratī and he is the author of a work on Tāla, the name of the work being तालदीपिका.

“तेनायमर्थः । ध्रुवातालेऽपि गत्यनुसार्येव कलाविधिः नयविधिश्च । अत एवैतदनुसारेण भट्टलोहटगोपालादिभङ्गसर्वभङ्गसत्त्वे (?) तालदीपिकादौ चिरन्तनमतो ध्रुवातालानां विनियोगः प्रपञ्चतो दूषितः । तत्तु ध्रुवाध्याये विचारयिष्याम इत्यास्तां तावत् ।”

Vol. II, p. 332.

This reference is in गत्यध्याय. As promised here, he again comes to the same point in ध्रुवाध्याय.

2. “अन्ये तु यथोचितो मार्गः यथामार्गः इति विग्रहेण सुकुमारत्वात् ध्रुवक एवात्रोह (?) इत्याहुः । यथा हि भट्टगोपालः स्वाभिप्रायेण ध्रुवके विधिरिति ।”

This Bhaṭṭa Gopāla who is a predecessor of Abhinava and perhaps near to Lollaṭa's time, is thus different from Śāradātanaya's father and also from the author of the commentary, Sāhityacuḍāmaṇi on the Kāvya prakāśa.

### ASṬĀGAMAS.

On p. 227, Vol. IV, there is this Pañkti in the Abhinavabhāratī.

“अन्ये तु श्रियमपरत्वं (?) व्याचक्षते । तच्च अष्टागमपक्षविरुद्धमित्युपेक्ष्यमेव ।”

From this we can guess that in Abhinava's time 8 works on Nāṭya were considered as basic and finally authoritative works of that Śāstra. What separate works constitute this ‘authoritative eight’ is not known. It is likely that the words अष्टागम are a corruption for अस्मदागम.

Besides the above noticed writers and works clearly discernible in the text, there are some names in the Abhinavabhāratī which are lost in the broken text. Thus we have two writers :

1. A Bhaṭṭa is lost in a corrupt line on p. 188, Vol. IV. He is quoted first after the quotation of Abhinava's Parama Guru Utpaladeva. The available text gives only this much—

“भट्ट.....मनेन”

2. Similarly we miss a Datta in a line on p. 203, Vol. IV, where he is quoted along with Bhaṭṭa Vṛddhi. See above under Bhaṭṭa Vṛddhi.

“तथा च भट्टवृद्धित.....दत्तादि etc.”

On the four kinds Vādyā, there is this passage in one place :

“चातुर्विध्यं सूर्योक्तमेव स्मारयति । तद(तं) तन्त्रीगतं (Bh. xxviii. 2) इत्यादि ।” Vol. III, p. 95.

There is no improbability in Sūrya being one in the pantheon of Saṅgītācāryas. But, I think in the above passage, there is no mention of any writer. सूर्योक्तं is evidently a corruption for पूर्वोक्तम्.

In Vol. III, on p. 20, Abhinava refers to Viśvakarman's work while speaking of the nature of the महेन्द्रच्चज्ज or जर्जर.

“तस्मान्नाट्योपयोगरूपमूहापोहाभ्यां कर्तव्यमिति । लक्षणानीति ।  
विश्वकर्मत्वे (मते) बहुभेदं महेन्द्रच्चजस्य लक्षणमुक्तमित्यर्थः ।”

On the next page also, the word ‘महात्मना’ in Bharata is interpreted by Abhinava as ‘विश्वकर्मणा’. These references occur in the chapter on Āhāryābhinaya and other stage equipments like Jar-jara. The first reference at least seems to refer to some definite Śilpa work attributed to the name of Viśvakarman and which work spoke also of the making of the stage and of the other stage sundries.

These are the writers on Alaṅkāra, Daśarūpaka, Nāṭya and Saṅgīta who are quoted by Abhinava in his Abhinavabhāratī. Before we go to writers on other subjects quoted by him, we must discuss Abhinava with reference to Kuntaka and the concept of Vakrokti. Dr. S.K. De says in his introduction to the Vakrokti-Jīvita that “Kuntaka was thus probably a younger contemporary of Abhinava, or a contemporary who might have been unknown or not yet sufficiently recognised in the schools.” Dr. Śaṅkaran discusses the question of Kuntaka's date on p. 119 of his ‘Theories of Rasa and Dhvani, and points out there that there is passage in the Abhinavabhāratī which seems to refer to Kuntaka only or to those whose ideas found an exponent in Kuntaka. The said passage occurs in the commentary on the fourteenth chapter, wherefrom begins Vācikābhinaya. The Abhinavabhāratī on this chapter devotes the first section to criticising the theory of स्वशब्दवाच्यत्व of Rasa. The next section is what we are concerned here with. The text here is very bad and it is a pity we are not able to reproduce large extracts from it. From this section we can have an idea of what Abhinava thought of the concept of Vakrokti. In the Locana, in the first Uddyota commenting on Manoratha's verse, Abhinava interprets वक्रोक्ति as उत्कृष्टा संघटना. In the third Uddyota he takes Vakrokti as the general name of all Alaṅkāras. In the Abhinavabhāratī, while dealing with the concept of Lakṣaṇa, Abhinava considers Vakrokti as equal to Lakṣaṇa, Gumpha, Phaṇiti and Kavivyāpāra, as has been explained in my paper on Lakṣaṇa published in Vol. VI, Part I of this journal. In the Abhinavabhāratī on Chapter 14, he says that



poetry is pervaded by ten kinds of Vaicitrya, resting in the ten kinds of Śabda. Śabdās are given as of ten kinds by Bharata.

नामाख्यातोपसर्गहितद्वितनिपातसमासः ।

सन्धिविभक्तिनियुक्तो विज्ञेयो वाचिकाभिनयः ॥

These ten kinds of words forming the Vācika, Abhinava opines, must be Vicitra if they are to be poetic. Thus poetry has ten kinds of वैचित्र्य. The number ten, to accord with which the text of Bharata was reconstructed, is proved by the following line in the Abhinavabhāratī.

“इत्येवं दशभिर्द्वैः युक्तं कविना वाचिकशब्दनिष्ठो व्यवहारः \* \* \*

\* \* \* ॥”

Vol. II, p. 367.

The two bits ending with समासः and नियुक्तः govern वाचिकाभिनयः, the last word and the Samāsa is given by Abhinava as मत्वर्थीय अच्. At the end of the commentary on the first line he says—मत्वर्थीये च ( मत्वर्थे अच् ) p. 366. At the end of his commentary on the second bit he says पूर्ववदत्रापि द्वन्द्वान्मत्वर्थीयः (अच्) ॥” p. 367.

Then Abhinava takes the ten kinds of words one by one and explains and illustrates the Vaicitrya of each. As much as can be here quoted are given.<sup>1</sup> The first is नामवैचित्र्य —

“नाम यथा मदनरिपुरिति भगवत्पर्यायश्च एतदीयशृङ्गारवर्तने प्रयोज्यं (न प्रयोज्यः) ॥” p. 365.

2. The next, Ākhyāta, is taken by Abhinava to refer only to वर्तमानकाल etc., to the Lakāras on the Dhātus.

“आख्यातमपि यद्वैचित्र्यमाह—[किं] “स्मरसि स्मरमेखलागुणैः ॥”

(Kumāra.) p. 365.

“इति वर्तमानप्रत्ययेन तत्साक्षात्कारेण उपालम्भविषयतात्वमेवात्र \* \* \* ॥” The Pratyudāharaṇa also is given by him.

“अन्यथा ‘स्मृतवानिति मेखलागुणैः’ इति स्यात् ॥” p. 365.

1. The verse as printed in the Kāsī edn. p. 169, Chap. XV. Sl. 4 gives only nine kinds of words. The verse given above by me was reconstructed according to the Abhinavabhāratī by my Professor M. M. U. Prof. S. Kuppasvami Sastriyar.

3. The Upasarga is divided by Abhinava into two classes, प्रकृतार्थयोगि and अर्थेन अधिकद्योतक. For the former he gives 'निर्मित' as illustration.

“उपसर्गात् प्रकृतार्थयोगिनो यथा, निर्मित इति ।”

अर्थेन अधित (क) द्योतकौ (को) यथा 'मुद्गरुपचितैर्दृष्टिरालिप्यते'  
(Megha) इति ।” p. 365.

In Upasargas he includes the कर्मप्रवचनीय also such as प्रति.

उपसर्गैः कर्मप्रवचनीया अपि लक्ष्यन्ते, 'किं स्यात् दुर्जनतः प्रति'  
इति च ।” p. 365.

4. The fourth word is हित. It is taken as indicative of प्रत्यय other than the तद्धितप्रत्ययः.

“विचितमिति (हितमिति) तद्धित(अतद्धित)प्रत्ययोपलक्षणम् ।”

The example for the Vaicitrya of Hita is thus given.

“मीमांसक इति (मीमांसते) हृदयमात्मन एव बाला  
नाम्ना विमानकलना सहते न जातु ।”

Here मीमांसते is an example of नामधातुवैचित्र्य. The प्रत्युदाहरण is also given : “ननु (न तु) ‘चित्तं विचारयति ना (सा) त्मन एव’ इति ।”  
p. 365.

“एवं सुञ्वातुप्रत्ययपदं न तल्लकृत्सु (पदान्तरेषु लकृत्सु) वाच्यम्,  
गौरवभयात् नोदाहृतम् ।” p. 365.

Within Hita, Abhinava includes the तिङ् upon a नामधातु, कृत and the स्त्रीप्रत्यय. He illustrates the वैचित्र्य caused by a use of a word in the feminine gender.

“स्त्रीप्रत्ययो यथा, ‘अध्यासीनः स वैदग्धी \* \* \* न तु  
वैदग्धी(ग्य)मिति । स्त्रीप्रत्ययेन सौभाग्यातिशयप्रतीतैः(तिः) ।” p. 366.

5. The fifth is Taddhitas and the Vaicitrya resulting from तद्धितप्रयोगः is thus illustrated :

“तद्धितैः(ताः) ‘शात्रवं व पपुर्यशः’ इति । ननु (न तु) शत्रूणां  
चे(वे)ति ।” p. 366.

6. “निपाताः यथा—‘हहहा हा देवि धीरा भव ।’ आः किमत्र  
किरातैः \* \* \* ।” p. 366.

7. “ \* \* समासः यथा ‘मध्येगङ्गायमुनममुना’ इति । ननु (न तु) ‘मध्ये गङ्गारचितनयनयोः (रवितनययोः)’ इति । एवं समासान्तरेषु वाच्यम् ।” p. 366.

8. “सन्धिः द्विधा, नैरन्तर्यं रूप (or उप) श्लेषश्च ।”

The example given for the former is ‘असिलता तत्रास्थिरा’ and for the latter ‘सूत्रं ब्राह्मं etc’. In the case of the latter he takes it as identical with the Śabdagaṇa called Śleṣa in Vāmana. He interprets this as एकपदवद्भाव and illustrates the same verse as given Vāmana, सूत्रं ब्राह्ममुरस्स्थले etc.

9. विभक्तयः. The vibhakti is taken by Abhinava to include सुप्, तिङ्, वचन, कारकशक्तिस and उपग्रहs (i.e.) Atmane and Paramai Padas.

विभक्तयः सुसङ्ख्यचनानि, तैः कारकशक्तयोऽपि सरन्ति (?) उपग्रहाश्चोपलक्ष्यन्ते । यथा पाण्डिस्मि मग्नं वपुः ।” p. 366.

“ननु (न तु) ‘पाण्डुस्वभावं वपुः’ । एवं कारकान्तरेषु वाच्यम् ।’ Do. वचनं यथा ‘पाण्डवा यस्य दासाः’ । \* \* \* तथा वैचित्र्येण ‘त्वं हि रामस्य दाराः’ ।”

किं (तिङ्) यथा ‘कीर्तिस्तव श्रेता (श्रेतते)’ ननु (न तु) श्रेतं यशस्तावत् (तावकम्) ।’ उपग्रहं—कुर्वाणो (कुर्वन्ति) भुजशालिनो (तां) । ननु (न तु) कुर्वते भुजशालित्वम् । pp. 366. and 367.

10. The last is नियुक्त which means धातु. It is thus interpreted by Abhinava.

“नियुज्यते क्रियायामिति युक्तो (नियुक्तो) (धातुः) । धातुवैचित्र्यं (यथा) त्रस्तं (ग्रस्तं) कुलान्ते जगतः ।’ ननु (न तु) ‘भुक्तम्’ ” p. 367.

Every kind of word is thus to be used so that it may impart special beauty and significance. The Vaicitrya of poetry is thus of ten kinds. Closing this section Abhinava reconciles Ānandavardhana’s Dhvani to such a view.

एतदेवोपजीव्य आनन्दवर्धनाचार्येण उक्तम् सुसिद्धवचनेत्यादि । (Dhva. III, 16, p. 153.) अन्यैरपि सुवादि वक्तव्येति ।’ Vol. II, p. 367.

Ānandavardhana pointed out from the point of view of Dhvani that in a verse the विभक्ति, वचन etc. may have Dhvani. It is only another way of saying it when it is said that there is Vaicitrya in सुप्, तिङ् etc. Abhinava has used here the word वैचित्र्य to mean striking beauty. It is the same as the Vakrokti which is Kuntaka's thesis. Abhinava shows here an acquaintance with a school of critics who explained everything as a kind of Vakrokti. He has not only shown some items of Vakrokti found in Kuntaka but has shown others also such as सन्धिवैचित्र्य. Abhinava here does not follow or adopt any school but shows generally how in poetry every word has to be विचित्र, how the same thing was said under a different name by Ānandavardhana and indirectly also suggests that those who developed Vakrokti discovered nothing new but only adopted a different phraseology. This he means when he says "अन्यैरपि सुबादिवक्त्रेति ।" Here the अन्य is either a clear reference to Kuntaka who had written his book by the time of the writing of the Abhinavabhāratī or a reference to those whose ideas of Vakrokti were formulated into a theory by Kuntaka. The concept of Vakrokti had a great destiny and was ruling long in Kāśmīrian Kavya-gosṭhis. Many were acquainted with वक्रोक्तिप्रकारः in a Kāva and it is likely that what Kuntaka did in addition was to apply that same concept fruitfully to Prakaraṇa and Prabandha.

Coming to the writers on other subjects quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī—on Prosody which forms a chapter in Bharata, Abhinava quotes three old writers—Jayadeva, Kātyāyana and Bhaṭṭa Śaṅkara. Jayadeva is quoted on p. 370, Vol. II.

सर्वेषां वृत्तानाम् इत्यादौ अर्थसमासेन जयदेवोऽभ्यधात् ।

Who this Jayadeva is, is not known. He is twice mentioned as a writer on Prosody by Namiśādhu in his Tīkā on Rudraṭa. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Vṛttaratnākara quotes Jayadeva and his definition of the Upacitrā metre. Jayadeva is twice quoted in Rāmacandra Budhendra's commentary, Pañcikā, on the Vṛttaratnākara.

11. Kātyāyana is the second writer on Prosody quoted by Abhinava. He is quoted on the metres for the various emotional situations and on the metres favoured in various countries.

“यथोक्तं कात्यायनेन—

‘वीरस्य भुजदण्डानां वर्णने स्रग्धरा भवेत् ।

नायिकावर्णने कार्यं वसन्ततिलकादिकम् ॥

शार्दूललीला प्राच्येषु मन्दाक्रान्ता च दक्षिणे ।’ ”

Vol. II, p. 370.

III. The third writer on Prosody is quoted at the end of the work in some connection.

“यथा शङ्करभक्तिशालिना भट्टशङ्करेण अर्धसमवृत्तप्रकरणे प्रदर्शितम् ।’ ”

Vol. IV, p. 219.

This Bhaṭṭa Śaṅkara seems to be a Śaivācārya like Abhinava. A Śaiva called Śaṅkarakaṇṭha is known to us as the father of Ratnakaṇṭha, the author of स्तुतिकुसुमाञ्जल्यीका. Aufrecht mentions two more Śaṅkaras, one, son of Ratnākara and commentator on महिम्नस्तोत्र and another, writer on prosody called शङ्करशर्मन् who wrote a work on metrics called वृत्तमुक्तावली. Mr. R. Kavi is of opinion that the Bhaṭṭa Śaṅkara quoted by Abhinava is a commentator on Chandoviciti.

In the chapter on the Prākṛt, Abhinava mentions three works on Prākṛt grammar, प्राकृतदीपिका, सूत्रवृत्ति, and पद्धति and one writer on Prākṛt grammar called उत्पल.

“विस्तरविजिज्ञासुः प्राकृतदीपिकादिकमवलोकयेत् । उत्पलविरचितायां सूत्रवृत्तौ पद्धतौ च ।’

Vol. II, p. 423.

The author of the Prākṛtadīpikā is not given and Utpala, whose identity is not known, is given as the author of the two works on Prākṛt grammar, सूत्रवृत्ति and पद्धति. A grammarian Utpala is said to be quoted in the Nyāsa on Hemacandra's Bṛhad Vṛtti (Aufrecht).

## VIJAYA KAMPAVARMAN

BY

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Dr. Hultsch, while editing four inscriptions from Śolapuram, made the following remarks concerning the place of Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman in Pallava genealogy:—" . . . he was perhaps a son of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman and hence belonged to the ninth century of the Christian era."<sup>2</sup>, " Nandikampīśvara must have been the ancient name of the temple of Īśvara (Śiva) on which this inscription is engraved. As no other Śiva temple exists at Śolapuram, it may be also identified with the Īśvara temple that was founded during the reign of Vijaya-Kampa according to the inscription A., and the Nandi-Kampa, after whom the Nandikampīśvara temple was called, may be identical with Vijaya-Kampa. As the alphabet of the inscriptions of Vijaya-Kampa, Kampavarman or Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman resembles that of the inscriptions of Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman, Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman and Vijaya-Nṛpatuṅgavikramavarman, I feel tempted to explain Nandi-Kampa by 'Kampa, the son of Nandi,' and to assume that Kampavarman was a son of Nandivikramavarman and a brother of Nṛpatuṅgavikramavarman."<sup>3</sup> Subsequent writers have not added much to our knowledge on this subject. Mr. Gopalan makes in his *Pallavas* (p. 142) the following remarks: " It is presumed that Kampavarman and Īśvaravarman as well as the other chiefs such as Vayirameghan, whose inscriptions have been discovered at Kāveripākkam, Uttaramallūr, Olakkūr and other parts of the Chingleput District, enjoyed the rule of a part of the Pallava dominions along with Vayirameghavarman". The latest contribution on this subject

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1. *E. I.*, VII, pp. 192-7.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

is from Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, who, while editing three Tamil inscriptions from Lālgudi<sup>1</sup> discusses the place of Kampavarman also at length. He accepts Dr. Hultzsch's suggestion and assumes that Kampavarman was another, and perhaps the younger son of Nandivarman III, that Nandivarman III might have also married a daughter of Kambha (or Stambha), the eldest son of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhāravarṣa Dhruva, and the name Kampavarman, just like Nṛpatuṅga, might have been derived from Kambha, the maternal grand-father of Kampavarman. His remarks in determining the period of Kampavarman are: "It may be pointed out here that both the palaeographical peculiarities of Kampavarman's epigraphs and the genealogy furnished by the Velūrpālayam and Bāhūr plates do not admit of any place for him before Nṛpatuṅga. Nor can he be the immediate successor or Nṛpatuṅga. Therefore Kampavarman must have been a joint ruler with either Nṛpatuṅga or Aparājita or with both"<sup>2</sup>. Then he proves that Aparājita was the immediate successor of Nṛpatuṅga<sup>3</sup>, that he was the last Pallava ruler of Kāñcī and that the Cola Āditya I, whose date of accession he determines on astronomical calculations<sup>4</sup> to be 871 A. D., killed him in about 888 A. D. and extended his territory into Toṇḍaināḍu<sup>5</sup>. The dates that he assigns to the later Pallava kings are as follows<sup>6</sup>:—

Nandivarman Pallavamalla	(ruled for 65 years)—696-761 A.D.
Dantivarman	(ruled for 52 years)—761-812 A.D.
Nandivarman III	( " " 22 " )—812-844 "
Nṛpatuṅga	( " " 26 " )—844-870 "
Aparājita	( " " 18 " )—870-888 ,*

In the light of the results arrived at by the writers referred above it would seem that Kampavarman or Vijaya-Kampavarman or Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman was born to Nandivarman III

1. *E. I.*, xx, pp. 46—51.

2. *Ibid.* p. 48-9.

3. *Ibid.* p. 49.

4. *E. I.*, xix, p. 81.

5. *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 89, p. 221.

6. *E. I.*, xx, pp. 49-50.

\* My friend, Mr. M. S. Sarma, will shortly publish a paper revising the dates given here.

before 844 A.D., the last year of the latter's reign, and that he was a 'joint ruler with either Nṛpatuṅga or Aparājita or with both<sup>1</sup>'. If he were a joint ruler with both he should be expected to have also undergone the fate that befell Aparājita in 888 A.D., when Āditya I killed the latter in battle and took possession of his country<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand we find no mention of him in the campaigns of Āditya who had to encounter only Aparājita; this would mean that Kampavarman was not living in 888 A. D., and that he had evidently predeceased Aparājita. To say that he was a joint ruler with Nṛpatuṅga alone would mean that Kampavarman cannot be brought later than 870 A. D., the last year assigned to Nṛpatuṅga by Mr. K. V. S. Iyer. And to say that he was a joint ruler with Aparājita alone would mean that as the second son of Nandivarman III and the younger brother of Nṛpatuṅga, who evidently died childless, he succeeded Nṛpatuṅga in about 870 A. D. In that case Aparājita was a rival of his to the Pallava throne. But it is strange that Āditya, the conqueror of the Pallava dominions, speaks of Aparājita alone as his foe, which would be the case if Kampavarman had predeceased Aparājita. In short the calculations of Mr. K. V. S. Iyer do not give room for the possibility of Kampavarman being brought to a period later than 840-888 A. D., or to speak in round figures later than 890 A. D.

It shall be our endeavour to show here, of course basing our views on the excellent results arrived at by Mr. K. V. S. Iyer, in the light of a few stone inscriptions, that it is possible to bring Kampavarman to the tenth century and to assign him roughly a period between 907-933 A. D.

Out of a horad of inscriptions and materials available on the subject<sup>3</sup> a few may be singled out here for a detailed examina-

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1. *E. I.*, xx, pp. 48-9,

2. *S.I.I.*, iii, p. 396, verse 49, 11. 97-8; *E.I.*, xviii, p. 42, verse 55.

3. M. E. Collection nos. 24, 26 of 1893, 251 of 1894, 399 of 1896, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 42, 64, 65, 84, 85, 90 of 1898, 207-8 of 1901, D. 372, D. 374, of 1901-2, 172, 183-4, 429 of 1902, 356 of 1903, 391, 398 of 1905, 345 of 1906, 371-2 of 1911, 104, 126-7, 132, 174, 181, 189, 206, 253 of 1912, 236 of 1913, 283 of 1919, 159 of 1921; *M. E. R.*, 1926, p. 100; *E. I.*, vii, pp. 192-7, xix, p. 81, xx, pp. 46-51, xviii, p. 23; *S. I. I.*, iii, no. 44, ii, no. 20, v, no. 1354; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 207, 210, 305, 332, 420-2; *Mys. Gaz.* 1930, Vol. II, pt. II. pp. 753-9.



tion<sup>1</sup>, most of which come from the Ādhipurīśvara temple at Tiruvorriyūr, Saidapet Taluk, Chingleput District. Tiruvorriyūr was a place of great religious sanctity mentioned in the Tēvāram and the Śiva temple in it appears to have attracted several kings to it. From lithic records we learn that the later Pallavas, the Colas and the Vijayanagar monarchs were attracted to the place and recorded many of their donations to the temple on its walls and slabs. Many of these records speak of some of these kings as attending the temple festivals<sup>2</sup>.

No. 372 of 1911 is a record in Tamil of Vijaya-Kampavarman dated in the 19th year of his reign and registers a gift of land by an ascetic called Nirañjana Guravar (*i.e. guru*) of Tiruvorriyūr to the temple of Mahādeva (Śiva) built by the *guru* himself and named after his own name as Nirañjaneśvaram. The god was called "Nirañjaneśvarattu-Mahādevan." It is said that the assembly of Maṇali sold the land to the *guru*. The temple is evidently the modern Ādhipurīśvara temple. Tiruvorriyūr was, according to tradition, one of the earliest of religious centres to come under the influence of Śaṅkarācārya's teachings and a hierarchy of ascetics or saṁnyāsins in the order of *guru* and *śiṣya* appears to have been created since then. The doctrine of Soma-siddhānta or Kāpālika Śaivism found for a long time a congenial home at Tiruvorriyūr and the temple of Śiva there had a regular institution to expound such a despised form of religion. Śaṅkara, it is said, effectively put a stop to the evil practices of this form (which must have included the Śakti worship in some form or other) not only at Tiruvorriyūr but throughout India wherever it was so observed, "and this event is even now gratefully remembered at Tiruvorriyūr in the story that Śaṅkarācārya personally went there and securing the vital energy of an evil goddess who was then swallowing everything that came in her way, threw it into a well (pointed out even now) and closed its mouth with a huge slab. The goddess became powerless and thence forward assumed a calm countenance. Still,

1. M. E. Collection nos. 371 and 372 of 1911, 104, 126, 181, 206 of 1912, 399 of 1896, 283 of 1919, 236 of 1913, 159 of 1921 and *M. E. R.*, 1926. p. 100.

2. For details regarding the great religious and historical importance of this place, together with its temples, maṭhas, pavilions, maṇḍapas etc., the reader is referred to *M. E. R.*, 1912, pp. 67-68; and *ibid.*, 1913, pp. 85-7.

once in the year, by way of compromise as it were, the orgiastic rites are observed and the terrible and all-swallowing spirit is believed to be appeased. Śaṅkarācārya too, as a benefactor, is immortalized by a statue placed in the temple and receives regular worship. . ."<sup>1</sup> In all probability the order of saṁnyāsins and gurus including our Nirañjana-guru, was created to stem the evil effects of this Soma-siddhānta and probably owes its origin to the famous reformer Śaṅkara himself, who is said to have created episcopal orders in proper centres as for instance Kāñcīpuram to stem the progress of Buddhism, Jainism and other alien faiths and despised forms of religion such as Soma-siddhānta etc.

The inscription can be said to prove that Nirañjana-guru and Vijaya-Kampavarman were contemporaries. As regards the exact period when this guru lived the late Rai Bahadur Krishna Sastri remarked that he "flourished about the ninth century A.D."<sup>2</sup>. His time can however be determined with a certain amount of exactitude by a reference to the inscriptions of his *śiṣya*, Caturānana-Paṇḍita by name, who appears to have been more popular than his *guru* at least so far as Tiruvorriyūr was concerned. Inscription No. 181 of 1912, also from Tiruvorriyūr, is dated in the 20th year of the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kaṇṇaradeva-Kṛṣṇa III (938-966 A. D.) and records a gift of money (100 niṣkas of gold) by Caturānana-Paṇḍita, the pupil of Nirañjana-guru, for providing a special worship (*bali*) in the temple at Tiruvorriyūr on the day of Dhaniṣṭhā—the asterism under which he was born. This record is written in Grantha and Tamil, the Tamil portion comprising the gift specified above and the Grantha part containing a few Sanskrit verses detailing the early career of Caturānana-Paṇḍita. This account is of great historical interest and is of particular use to us for our study; hence a gist of it as found in the Epigraphy report for 1913<sup>3</sup>, is given here.

"He was apparently of Kerala origin and a favourite of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Vallabha (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa III). Having acquired in his younger days sufficient knowledge of all sciences, he is stated to have come to the Cola country and to have become an intimate friend and subordinate of King Rājāditya. Though he was always near that king, he did not, however die with him in

1. *M. E. R.*, 1912, p. 68.

2. *M. E. R.*, 1913, p. 86.

3. P. 93.

the battle-field. Aggrieved that he had thus 'done a deed inconsistent with the nature of his caste, family, father and master', Caturānana resigned the world, bathed in the waters of the Ganges, entered the order of saṁnyāsins at Ādhigrama (*i.e.* Tiruvorriyūr) receiving initiation (*vrata*) at the hands of Nirañjana-guru and thereafter, becoming the chief of that maṭha, greatly improved the temple." The late Krishna Sastri thought that the story, rightly interpreted, is a reflection on the moral rectitude of the times and that it proves the strategic attack on the life of Rājāditya supposed to have been made by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, with the dishonourable help given by Caturānana-Paṇḍita—perhaps as his spy (?). This narrative of his life history in an inscription set up by himself, appears to imply remorse on the part of Caturānana for some great sin of his. Even if he had not been the spy that Krishna Sastri suggests, he should have come very near it to discard worldly life and become a saṁnyāsin. That he was from the Kerala country and that he had eventually become the benefactor of the temple account "perhaps for the still-existing practice of a Kerala (Malabar) Brāhman worshipping in that temple and of Śaṁkarācārya (also a native of Malabar) receiving special honours. It is not even impossible that the image, now worshipped as Śaṁkarācārya, may be one of Caturānana-Paṇḍita himself.<sup>1</sup>

That Caturānana was a favourite of Kṛṣṇa III is proved by this record being dated in the 20th year of that king's reign and by the narrative contained in the prefatory verses. That Kṛṣṇa followed the policy laid down by Cāṇakya in the Arthaśāstra (Ch. XIV) in the matter of winning over friends, subordinates and vassals of foreign kings will be apparent from his relations with the Bāṇa Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III, with the Vaidumba and the Gaṅgas<sup>2</sup>. And Kṛṣṇa, the mighty invader of the south as he was, appears to have united these minor powers by marriage ties and the like<sup>3</sup> so that they can help him against the imperial power of the south, the Cola.

That Takkolam is the battlefield referred to here is apparent, for, according to the Āṭakur inscription, Rājāditya is said to have

1. *M. E. R.*, 1913, p. 94.

2. *J. O. R.*, Vol. V, pt. IV, pp. 309-310.

3. His wife was a Gaṅga princess, Gaṅgamādevī and his brother-in-law the Gaṅga Būtuga—see *M. E. R.* 1908, no. 65 of App. B.

been killed at Takkolam near Arkonam, North Arcot Dt., in Śaka 872 (949—50 A. D.), by Būtuga, the Gaṅga feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III, who 'undauntedly mounted the elephant on which Rājāditya was seated, and engaging him in hand to hand fight in the howdah itself, stabbed him with a dagger and thus killed him'.<sup>1</sup> The exact year in which this battle is said to have taken place is determined by a record from Śolapuram<sup>2</sup> in which Śaka 871 (949 A. D.) or the second year of the reign of Rājāditya is given as the date in which 'the emperor Kannaṛadeva-Vallabha having pierced Rājāditya entered Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam'. From about 950 to 963 A.D., there was no Cola supremacy in the Arcot and Chingleput districts or rather in the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam which Kṛṣṇa conquered; Kṛṣṇa was then the master of this territory and retained possession of it till 963 A. D. as evidenced by numerous records of his found therein<sup>3</sup>. In a record dated 938 A. D. one Māciyarasa is said to be governing in this year the province of Banavāsi on behalf of Kṛṣṇa III<sup>4</sup>. That he ruled for 28 years is attested by a record from Kāvaṇūr, North Arcot district<sup>5</sup> while another record from Kīlūr gives him 30 years<sup>6</sup>. A third record<sup>7</sup> states that he died in Śaka 889 Kṣaya (966-7 A. D.) and that Khoṭṭiga succeeded him in the same year. Relying on the record from Kīlūr which gives him a rule of 30 years we can put Kṛṣṇa's rule between 937—966-7 A. D. The battle of Takkolam (949 A. D.) should then have taken place in the twelfth year of his reign and not in the tenth<sup>8</sup>.

The turning point in the career of Caturānana was the battle at Takkolam (949 A. D.). Aggrieved that his action cost the life of his 'master' who was Rājāditya, he got rather prematurely the spirit of dissociation (*vairāgya*), resigned the world and bathed in the waters of the Ganges for expiation of the sin committed. Allowing two years for his sojourn to Ganges on a mission of expiation we find him in 951 A. D. an ascetic that had renounced

1. *E. I.*, vi, p. 51.

2. *E. I.*, vii, p. 194.

3. *M. E. R.*, 1926, p. 100; nos. 232 of 1902, 236 of 1913, and 47 of 1925.

4. *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, pt. II, p. 758.

5. *M. E. Coll.*, no. 159 of 1921.

6. *M. E. R.*, 1926, p. 100.

7. *M. E. Coll.*, no. 236 of 1913.

8. *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, pt. II, p. 755.

everything. As renunciation was the key-note of Saṁnyāsa, the fourth stage (*āśrama*) in the life of every twice-born (*dvija*) he hunts for a guru who would give him initiation (*dīkṣā*). The maṭha at Tiruvorriyūr or Ādhigrāma being then famous with Nirañjana-guru at its head, he is admitted into the order of saṁnyāsins at Ādhigrāma by Nirañjana after due ceremony. Some time later he becomes the chief of that maṭha, in other words he succeeds Nirañjana as the head of the order of saṁnyāsins. If it is remembered that Nirañjana was mainly associated with the temple and that Caturānana, after he became the maṭhādhipati, "greatly improved the temple" probably by virtue of his political influence at Kṛṣṇa's court, and that succession in any episcopal or religious order follows the death of the previous incumbent it may be conceded in the case of Caturānana that he became the chief of the maṭha because Nirañjana had died. No better man can be thought of to succeed him than Caturānana—he was himself a great personality with much influence at the Rāṣṭrakūṭa court, was sincere, detached to worldly life and above all was himself a native of Malabar, the land to which the famous Śaṁkara who had much to do with Tiruvorriyūr, as we saw already, also belonged.

We know that Caturānana became a saṁnyāsin even as a youth. How long did he live? The answer to this question is supplied by another record, also from Tiruvorriyūr<sup>1</sup> which records that the vimāna (*i. e.* the central shrine) of the temple was 'constructed of black granite . . . by the architect Ravi surnamed Vira-Cola-takṣan in three tiers with caraṇas, toraṇas, kūṭas, koṣṭas, nīvas (big and small), lion faces and nāsikas" at the bidding of Caturānana, the pupil of Nirañjana-guravar, and under the auspices of Rājendra Cola I (1012—1044 A. D.). The late Krishna Sastri comments on this inscription thus :—"It remains to add . . . that Caturānana-Paṇḍita, the pupil of Nirañjana-guravar, who flourished about the 9th century A. D., substantially improved the temple. Under his direct supervision and with the patronage of King Rājendra-Cola I (A. D. 1012 to at least 1042) was built the now-existing central shrine (*vimāna*) of the temple."<sup>2</sup> (No. 126 of App. B.) This inscription makes Caturānana also contemporaneous with Rājendra I, and indicates that

1. No. 126 of 1912.

2. *M. E. R.* 1913, p. 86.

he should have lived for a long time. If he were 20 in 949 A. D. when the battle of Takkolam took place he should be 83 in 1012 A. D., the date of Rājendra's accession.

There are three other records from the same temple speaking of a Caturānana Paṇḍita as the maṭhādhīpati.<sup>1</sup> A fourth record<sup>2</sup> speaking of a Caturānana Paṇḍita is the same as No. 104 of 1912. That these records speak of two different Caturānanas, evidently successors of our Caturānana in the maṭha at Tiruvorriyūr, will become apparent as we shall examine now.

No. 104 of 1912 is a record of Parakesarivarman Uḍaiyar Śrī Rājendra Coladeva I (1012—1044 A. D.) and is dated in the 31st year of his reign, i.e. 1043 A. D. It records the gift of 150 kāṣu by Caturānana-Paṇḍita of Tiruvorriyūr for bathing the god Mahādeva of that place with clarified butter on the birthday festival of the king which fell on the asterism Tiruvātirai in the month of Mārkaḷi. This festival which commenced with Ārdrā in the month of Mārkaḷi each year was an important festival of the temple and was called Rājendra Coḷaṇ-Tirunāl, either in honour of the king or on account of the coincidence of the nakṣatra with that of his birthday, more probably the latter. We can hardly expect our Caturānana who was already 83 when Rājendra commenced his rule (1012) to live on till the date of this grant (1043 A. D.) which would mean that he lived for 113 years. Surely this is a later Caturānana, probably the successor of our Caturānana, who was named so after he had been initiated into the order of the maṭha of the saṁnyāsins, in accordance with the convention of naming the incumbents with names like Sarasvatī, Bhārati, etc. known to religious orders of India. Thus it will be seen that Caturānana was an episcopal title rather than an individual name. The maṭha is mentioned in this record as "Tirumayāṇam maṭam" of which Caturānana was the head, and poet Kambaṇ refers to this maṭha in one of his stray verses.<sup>3</sup>

Inscriptions, nos. 371 of 1911 and 206 of 1912 speak of a still later Caturānana-Paṇḍita who was a contemporary of the Cola Rājakesarivarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Rājādhirājadeva

1. *M. E. Coll.* Nos. 371 of 1911, 104 of 1912, and 206 of 1912.

2. No. 399 of 1896:—See *S. I. I.* Vol. V, no. 1354, pp. 491—2.

3. Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presy.*, vol. I, p. 434, no. 973.

II (1172—86 A. D.). Both are dated in the 9th year of that king. In the former the king is said to have personally attended the Paṅkūṇi-uttiram festival in the temple of Padambakka-Nāyaka-deva, *i. e.*, the shrine of Ādhipurīśvara, at Tiruvorriyūr<sup>1</sup> on which occasion were also present Caturānana-Paṇḍita who owned a maṭha in the temple and Vāgīśvara-Paṇḍita, who expounded the Soma-siddhānta doctrine. It is also said that the king heard in their company the story (Śrīpurāṇa) of Āḷuḍaiya-Nambi. Tiruvorriyūr was as remarked already a religious centre that attracted kings even to attend its festivals. In the latter (no. 206 of 1912) Caturānana-Paṇḍita is mentioned as the maṭhādhīpati, at whose instance the temple accountant ("Uḍaiyāṇ uravākkiṇāṇ", *i. e.* maitrikara) recorded gifts of lamps and cows made to the temple in previous years that were not till then engraved in stone.

Turning our attention to the Caturānana, whose earlier patron was Kṛṣṇa III we have seen that he resigned the world soon after 949 A. D., that he bathed in the Ganges which was probably in 950 A. D., that he entered the order of saṁnyāsa at Tiruvorriyūr which was probably in 951 A. D., and that he succeeded Nirañjana, his guru, thereafter, on the demise of Nirañjana which took place probably a year or two after his initiation (say 953 A. D.). Thus it is proved that he was a younger contemporary of Nirañjana, who was patronised by Vijaya Kampavarman.

Nirañjana too should have been old enough about 953 A.D.; let us say he was 60 years old, which would mean that he lived from about 893 to 953 A. D. The estimate of the late Krishna Sastri that he lived in the ninth century<sup>2</sup> would then cover only the guru's infancy and boyhood, as the later parts of his life, such as youth, old age etc. figure only in the tenth century. His patron Vijaya Kampavarman appears to have ruled for 26 years<sup>3</sup> as evidenced by a record of his dated in the 26th year of his reign from Maḍam, Wandiwash Taluk, North Arcot

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1. *M. E. R.* 1912, p. 67. The name Paḍambakka-Nāyakadeva (also referred to in no. 367 of App. B.) seems to connect the shrine of Ādhipurīśvara with the serpent's hood paḍam (and confirms the statement of the priests that the god now worshipped . . . . is an ant-hill covered on all sides with a metallic protector).

2. *M. E. R.* 1913, p. 86.

3. *M. E. Coll.* no. 283 of 1919.



District. The fact that he is unknown to Kṛṣṇa III who was keen on bringing all the minor powers together so that they can support him against the Cola<sup>1</sup> proves that Vijaya Kampavarman should have lived before the advent of Kṛṣṇa III. That Nirañjana knew no other patron than Kampavarman is clear from his gift dated in the 19th year of Kampavarman's reign, which is in fact the last record of this king in the temple at Tiruvorriyūr. And this guru who lived between 893—953 A. D. would be considered to merit saṁnyāsa and the headship of the maṭha at Tiruvorriyūr and also be expected to engage himself in the work of constructing the temple of Mahādeva as he is said to have done only as a youth or as a middle-aged man commanding much influence in the country, and not as a boy. He was probably in need of royal patronage when he took up the work of temple construction after entering saṁnyāsa, which was probably when he was of sufficient age, say 33. And the corresponding year would be 926 A. D. and it was probably in this year that Kampavarman's record of the 19th year was made. If his 19th year will be equivalent to 926 A. D., his total rule which extended to 26 years will be said to run from 907—933 A. D. His rule cannot be postulated in the reign of Āditya I, for the Pallava that the latter had to fight with was Aparājita and none other. He was probably an unnoticed boy during the campaign of Āditya in the Tondai-maṇḍalam and was not in a position to assert himself during the later part of Āditya's reign. Āditya appears to have retained hold of the Tondai-maṇḍalam till almost his death (907 A. D.)<sup>2</sup>. Consequently the death of Āditya in or before 907 A. D. should have given occasion to Kampavarman (now a youth) to play the part of a Vijaya Pallava, which was possible, as Parāntaka I, the son of Āditya, was engaged with the Pāṇḍya and the Ceylonese kings for a long time. Thus we are tempted to give him a rule extending from 907—933 A. D.

What was the country that he ruled? Almost all his inscriptions<sup>3</sup> are located in the Chingleput, and North Arcot

1. *J. O. R.* Vol. V, pt. IV, pp. 309 n—10.

2. *M. E. R.* 1907, pt. II, paras 29n—30 ; *E. I.*, xviii, p. 23.

3. *M. E. Coll.*, Nos. 24, 26 of 1893, 13 of 1887, 3, 5—7, 9, 42, 64, 65, 84, 85, 90 of 1898, 207, 208 of 1901, 429 of 1902, 391, 398 of 1905, 345 of 1906, 372 of 1911, 174, 189, 253 of 1912, and 283 of 1919.



districts which should have therefore constituted his dominion. Strangely however all the known inscriptions of Aparājita (870—888 A. D.) come from the same two districts,<sup>1</sup> and from no other. Kampavarman probably died in 933 A. D., the year that marked his 26th regnal year. He was probably born before 888 A. D., the year in which Āditya is said to have killed Aparājita in battle. The fact that the territory of Aparājita was taken possession of by Āditya soon after 888 A. D. may be true and no Pallava power could show itself during his life-time. The subjection of the Pallava territory to Āditya was probably in name. And when Āditya died Pallava power showed itself under Kampavarman in the same territory as Aparājita should have ruled over. This circumstance gives room to the surmise that we have probably in Kampavarman a son of Aparājita himself whose territory goes to Kampavarman as patrimony. In all probability Kampavarman was an infant boy of Aparājita when the latter was killed in 888 A. D., and some trusted nobles of Aparājita should have removed the boy to a place of safety and should have reared him up till he grew into youth and asserted the Pallava power soon after the death of Āditya, the Yama of his father. It would thus appear that he was probably born to Aparājita, in about say 885 A. D. and lived till 933 A. D. and his rule appears to have extended from about 907 to 933 A. D.

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1. Nos. 351 of 1908, 435 of 1905, 31—2, 158—9, 161, 163, 180, 190 of 1912.

# HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL

BY

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(Continued from page 148).

The former may be translated as follows :—

When *onpatu* is combined with *pastu*, *t* is inserted before *o* of *onpatu*, *ṇ* is substituted for *ṇ*, *paṣ* is dropped, *ū* is inserted after *ṇ* and *t* of *pastu* is replaced by *ṛ*. Hence the form *tonnūṛū*. (Here no mention is made of the dropping of *patu* in *onpatu*; but it seems to me that it has been dropped on account of the same word *pastu* following it.) The latter sūtra may be translated as follows:—When *onpatu* is combined with *nūṛū*, *t* is inserted before *o* of *onpatu*, *ḷ* is substituted for *ṇ*, *n* of *nūṛū* is dropped, *ū* is replaced by *ā* followed by *ira* and *ru* is replaced by *m*. Hence *tolḷā-ira-m=tolḷā-y-iram*, *y* being intervocalic. (Here also no mention is made of the loss of *patu* in *onpatu*.)

These two sūtras clearly show that the derivation of the two words *tonnūṛū* and *tolḷāyiram* was forgotten even at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār.

In the last but one sūtra of Eḷuttatikāram, Tolkāppiyaṇār states that the sandhi that takes place between *uriccol* and a following word, between the two members of *paṇṇu-t-tokai* and *viṇai-t-tokai*, and between a word denoting a number and the same word, does not follow the rules already mentioned, and that it must be found out from usage. (e.g. *veḷ eṇa veḷuttatū* becomes *veḷveḷuttatū*; *kariyatū + kutirai* becomes *karuṇkutirai*; *konṇa + yāṇai* becomes *kol-yāṇai*; *kollum + yāṇai* becomes *kol-yāṇai*; *pāttū + pāttū* becomes *pāppāttū* or *paṣpāttū*.)

2.12. *Medieval Period*: 2.121. The author of Vīra-cōḷiyam explains sandhi in 18 stanzas in *Cantiṭṭaṭalam*. Instead of the terms *meypūṇṇitāṭal*, *mikūṭal*, and *kunṇal* adopted by Tolkāppiyaṇār, he respectively mentions *ādēṣa*, *āgama* and *lōpa*. This clearly shows that he wanted to import terms current in Sanskrit grammar in preference to Tamil terms. He prefers the

term *ādēśa* used in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī to the term *vikāra* used in Prātiśākhya.

He then summarises the general views of Tolkāppiaṇār in a clumsy fashion so as to suit the verse-form, and adds a few more not found in Tolkāppiyam. The substance of the following sūtras in Eḷuttatikāram of Tolkāppiyam is briefly mentioned in the stanzas 14, 16, 17, 19, 20 to 22 and 24 to 28.

Stanza No. in Cantippaṭalam of Vīracōliyam.	Sūtra No. in Eḷuttatikāram.
14	151, 161, 358, 363, 384
16	397, 398
17	367, 368, 150
19	315, 311, 312, 331
20	150, 204, 222, 244, 250, 253 255, 265, 274, 275, 277, 281, 283, 290
21	415
22	333, 303, 398
24	206, 207, 209, 239, 257
25	312, 368, 398, 82
26	259, 390
27	174 to 203
28	150, 151.

In the 11th stanza he mentions that the negative particle *na* (of Sanskrit) loses its *n* before a consonant and it becomes *an* before a vowel. (cf. *na + brāhmaṇaḥ = a-brāhmaṇaḥ*; *na + indraḥ = anindraḥ*.)<sup>1</sup> In the 12th, he mentions *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* letters (as found in Sanskrit) and says that they appear in words having *taddhita* suffix as *caivaṇ*. These points found in Sanskrit grammar have no place in a treatise on Tamil grammar. Still he seems to have mentioned them since such Sanskrit words as are governed by these rules were found in plenty in the Tamil literature of his time. But all those words like *abrāhmaṇa*, *anindra*, *ramēśa*, *śaiva* must have been borrowed as they were in Sanskrit. Hence no adequate justification can be found in the strict requirements of Tamil language and grammar for formulating these rules.

1. Cf. *nalōpō nañṇaḥ* (P. A. 6.3.73) and *tasmānmuḍ aci* (P. A. 6.3.74).

In stanza 13 he definitely mentions that if the standing word ends in *i*, *ī* or *ai*, and if the following word commences with a vowel, *y* is inserted between them; if it is *ē*, either *y* or *v* is inserted and if it is any other vowel, *v* is inserted. This is evidently an improvement upon *Tolkāppīyanār*, since the latter has stated only that an *uṭampāṭumey* may be inserted between two vowels (Tol. E. 141) and *v* is inserted after the demonstrative roots and before vowels as *a-v-v-āṭai*, *i-v-v-āṭai*, etc. (Tol. E. 208, 239 & 256.) The author of *Viracōḷiyam* may have gone through the literature written before his time and stated this law from the examples available from them, of which some are given below.

## ‘ I ’

1. *Maṇi + ampalattul = maṇi-y-ampalattul* (T.A.S. 1.3.4).
2. *Kumari + iṇ = kumari-y-iṇ* (P.N. 6.2).
3. *Uvavumati + uruviṇ = uvavumati-y-uruviṇ* (P.N. 3.1).
4. *Iṭi + eṇa = iṭi-y-eṇa* (P.N. 17.39).
5. *Puravi + aivarotū = puravi-y-aivarotū* (P.N. 2.13).
6. *Puravi + oṭu = puravi-y-oṭu* (P.N. 16.1).

N.B.—But after the demonstrative *i* only *v* is inserted. e.g.

*i + aṇ = i-v-aṇ.*

## ‘ ī ’

1. *Tī + aḷavū = tī-y-aḷavū* (K. 747).
2. *Nī + ākal-vēṇṭiṇum = nī-y-ākal-vēṇṭiṇum* (P.N. 18.15).
3. *Tī + um = tī-y-um* (P.N. 2.4).
4. *Nī + ē = nī-y-ē* (P.N. 4.13).
5. *Nī + ō = nī-y-ō* (P.N. 5.3).

## ‘ AI ’

1. *Erumai + aṇṇa = erumai-y-aṇṇa* (P.N. 5.1).
2. *Eṇkuvai + āyiṇ = eṇkuvai-y-āyiṇ* (P.N. 13.1).
3. *Ticai + irunāṇkum = ticai-y-irunāṇkum* (P.N. 41.4).
4. *Tāṇai + um = tāṇai-y-um* (P.N. 161.31).
5. *Māṭamāḷikai + eṭukka = māṭamāḷikai-y-eṭukka*  
(S.I.I. ii, 521).

## ‘ ē ’

1. *Tānē + atu = tānē-y-atu* (P.N. 5.8).
2. *Koṭuttōrē + uṇṭi = koṭuttōrē-y-uṇṭi* (P.N. 18.20).
3. *Tāmē + ūrtorūm = tāmē-y-ūrtorūm* (P.N. 52.8).
4. *Cē + aṭi = cē-v-aṭi* (Pattu. 5.62).
5. *Ē + uṟumañṇaiyiṇ = ē-v-uṟumañṇaiyiṇ* (Pattu. 197.84).

*Note.*—Only *y* is inserted in most of the cases ; *v* is rarely inserted.

‘ *A* ’

1. *Amma + ivan* = *amma-v-ivan* (P.N. 18.29).
2. *Uṇṭākiya + uyarmannum* = *uṇṭākiya-v-uyarmannum*  
(P.N. 17.24).
3. *Neṭiya + enṇātū* = *neṭiya-v-enṇātū* (P.N. 47.2).
4. *Nilarra + ēmamuracam* = *nilarra-v-ēmamuracam*  
(P.N. 3.3).
5. *Pōla + ḍvātū* = *pōla-v-ḍvātū* (P.N. 4.19).

‘ *Ā* ’

1. *Vārā + aḷavai* = *vārā-v-aḷavai* (P.N. 50.6).
2. *Ā + in + ku* = *ā-v-ir-kū* (K. 1066).
3. *Tavirā + ikai* = *tavirā-v-ikai* (P.N. 3.5).
4. *Kalaṅkū + uḷlam* = *kalāṅkū-v-uḷlam* (Cilap. 4.70).
5. *Mā + ē* = *mā-v-ē* (P.N. 4.7).

‘ *U* ’

1. *U + aṇ* = *u-v-aṇ* (Tol. Col. 162).
2. *Maru + inri* = *maru-v-inri* (Cilap. 5.39).
3. *Valipatu + ḍr* = *valipatu-v-ḍr* (P.N. 10.1).

‘ *Ū* ’

1. *Tū + ā + kuḷavi* = *tū-v-ā-k-kuḷavi* (P.N. 379.15).

*E* and *o*, it has already been stated, are very rare as finals of roots or nouns.

In stanza 15 he mentions that if *l* or *ḷ* is followed by *t*, it is changed to *ṭ* and consequently *t* also is changed to *ṭ* and in some cases one of the two *ṭ*'s is dropped. This dropping of one of the two *ṭ*'s when the vowel preceding *ḷ* is short is not mentioned in Tolkāppiyam. e.g. *arumporuḷ + tarūum* becomes *arumporuṭ-arūum* in Cilap. 24 where *ḷ* is changed to *ṭ* and then dropped. I carefully ransacked several works written before his time, but I could not find one example in them where *ḷ* is changed to *ṭ* or is dropped. In the first stanza in Kantapurāṇam, a later work, *tikaḷ + tacakkaram* becomes *tikaṭacakkaram* where *ḷ* is dropped after changing the succeeding *t* to *ṭ*. In Kamparāmāyaṇam, a work written after Viracōḷiyam *kīḷ + ticai* becomes *kīṭṭicai*, (Kampar. C. Kaṭaltāvu. 39) where *ḷ* is changed to *ṭ*.

In stanza 18, he says that, if *ḷ* is followed by *n*, *ḷ* is dropped and *n* changes to *ṇ*. e. g. *vāḷ + nāl* = *vāṇāl*. Cf. *vāṇal annāl*.

(Kampar. C. Ūrtēṭu. 75). Similarly he says that, if *l* is followed by a voiceless consonant, it is changed to *ṭ* or *ṇ* and if it is followed by *m*, it is changed to *ṇ*. These points are not found in Tolkāppiyam.

In stanza 23 he says that the ādēśas of *onṛū*, *iraṇṭū*, *mūṇṛū*, *nālū*, *aintū*, *ārū*, *ēḷ*, *eṭṭū*, *onṇatū*, *ṇattū* and *nūṛū* are respectively *oru*, *or*: *iru*, *ir*: *mu*, *mū*: *nāṇkū*: *ai*: *aru*: *elū*: *eṇ*: *onṇāṇ* : *ton*, *ton*: *pāṇ*, *paṇ*: *nūṛū*, *paṭu*, *paṣṭū* and *āyiram*. This is only a brief summary of the rules in Tolkāppiyam dealing with the sandhi of numbers mentioned in *kurṛiyalukara-p-ṇuṇariyal*. One point to be noted here is that he does not indulge in any fanciful derivation of *tonṇūṛū* and *tolḷāyiram* like Tolkāppiyaṇār but explains them as formed out of *tol* and *nūṛū*, and *tol* and *āyiram*, though he fancies that *tol* and *nūṛū* are ādēśas of *onṇatū* and *ṇattū* in the former and *tol* and *āyiram* are the ādēśas of *onṇatū* and *nūṛū* in the latter.

He has not divided sandhi into the two classes, the case-relation sandhi and the non-case-relation sandhi, as Tolkāppiyaṇār has done. This is perhaps due to the fact that such a division is not found in Sanskrit Grammar. But considering the points of difference in sandhi between two words in Tamil when the former is in case-relation with the latter or otherwise, I find it difficult to understand why he has omitted it.

2.122. The author of Nēminātam has given 15 stanzas on sandhi of which about 10 are almost identical with Vīracōḷiyam in substance. Three of them contain the same matter as in Tolkāppiyam. He gives like the author of Vīracōḷiyam, the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* letters applicable to Sanskrit words, but differs from him in his statement that if the standing word ends in *ē*, only *v* is inserted if it is followed by a vowel. He gives some more rules, e.g. *v* of *tev* is changed to *m* if it is followed by *m*.

2.123. The author of Nannūḷ has skilfully summarised all the sūtras of Tolkāppiyam on sandhi with the additions mentioned by Iḷampūraṇar, the authors of Vīracōḷiyam and Nēminātam with reference to pure Tamil words, with slight changes here and there.

2.1231. *The important points where Nannūḷār differs from Tolkāppiyaṇār*:—(1) Tolkāppiyaṇār says that there is no change in non-case-relation sandhi if the standing word ends in *y*<sup>1</sup>; but

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1. *Alvaḷi y-ellā m-iyalpeṇṇa molīpa*. (Tol. E. 362.)

Nannūlar says that if *y* is preceded by a short vowel and followed by a nasal, the same nasal is inserted.<sup>1</sup> (e.g. *mey + nānratū = mey-ñ-nānratū*.)

(2) Tolkāppiyaṇār says that, if the demonstrative roots are followed by consonants, they are doubled; but Nannūlar adds the interrogative *e* also as *e-k-korran* and also says that if the demonstrative root is lengthened and is followed by a vowel, *y* but not *v*, is inserted;<sup>2</sup> this is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṇār though he has used it in his first sūtra in Collatikāram '*ā-y-irutiṇaiyīn icaikkumaṇa collē*'.

(3) Tolkāppiyaṇār has not definitely stated that *ū* at the end of the standing word is dropped if it is followed by a vowel; Nannūlar has definitely stated it. He may have taken it from Iḷampūraṇar's commentary on the sūtra '*kurriyalukaramum-arṛṇa molipa*' (Tol. E. 106).

(4) Tolkāppiyaṇār states that when the word *pala* is followed by the same word, the two become *palapala*, *pala-p-pala* or *paṛpala*. Iḷampūraṇar adds the word *cila* also to that category. Nannūlar says that when *pala* and *cila* are followed by other words also, they optionally lose the final *a*. (e.g. *pala-kalai*, *pal-kalai*: *cila-vaḷai*, *cil-vaḷai*, etc.)<sup>3</sup>

(5) Tolkāppiyaṇār says that *i* of verbal participle *inri* is changed to *u* in verse. Nannūlar adds the word *anri* also.<sup>4</sup>

(6) Nannūlar says that, if the word *uri* is followed by certain words, *ya* is inserted between them, as *uri + uppū = uri-*

1. *Eṇ-mū v-eluttir r-cvakai molikkum*  
*Muṇ-varu ṇa-na-ma-ya va-k-ka iyalpum*  
*Kuril-vaḷi y-a-t-taṇi y-ai-n-notu muṇ-meli*  
*Mikalum-ām na-la-ṇa-la vaḷi-na-t tiriyum.* (Na. 158.)
2. *Ekara viṇṭ-mu-c cuttiṇ munṇar*  
*Uyirum yakaram-u m-eytiṇ va-v-v-um*  
*Piṇa-vari ṇ-avaiyum tūkkir cutṭu*  
*Niḷiṇ yakaram-um tōṇṇutal neṇi-y-ē.* (ibid. 163.)
3. *Pala-cila v-ṇum-ivai tam-muṇ tām-varin*  
*Iyalpum mikalum akara m-ēka*  
*Lakaram rakara m-ākalum piṇa-varin*  
*Akaram vikarṇa m-ākalu m-uḷa-piṇa.* (ibid. 170.)
4. *Anri y-inri-y-eṇ viṇai-y-eṇ c-ikaram*  
*Toṭarpiṇu i-ukara m-āy-vari ṇ-iyalpē.* (ibid. 173.)

*ya-v-uppū*: *uri* + *payarū* = *uri-ya-payarū*.<sup>1</sup> This is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār or by the author of Vīracōliyam.

(7) Naṇṇūlār says that there are certain words ending in *ū* which take the flexional increment *ai* in sandhi. (e.g. *paṇṭū* + *kālam* = *paṇṭaikkālam*; *iṇṇū* + *nāl* = *iṇṇaināl*).<sup>2</sup> This is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār.

(8) Naṇṇūlār exactly agrees with the author of Vīracōliyam as regards *uṭampāṭumey* or intervocalic consonant, which Tolkāppiyāṇār has not clearly stated.

(9) Tolkāppiyāṇār says that, when both the standing word and the following word denote directions, the final *ū* with the preceding consonants is dropped, and if the standing word is *teṇkū*, *r* also is changed to *ṇ*.<sup>3</sup> (cf. *teṇ-mērkū*.) Iḷampūraṇar adds under the same sūtra that, even if the following word does not denote direction, the same change takes place (as *vaṭakaṭal*) and also *r* of *mērkū* is changed to *l* as *mēl + kūrai*. Naṇṇūlār agrees with the latter.<sup>4</sup>

(10) Naṇṇūlār says that, if *teṇkū* is the standing word and *kāy* is the following word, *kū* is dropped and *e* is lengthened.<sup>5</sup> (e.g. *teṇkū + kāy* = *tēṇkāy*)<sup>6</sup>.

(11) Tolkāppiyāṇār says that, if the word *pattū* is followed by *oṇṇū*, *mūṇṇū*, *nāṇkū...eṭṭū*, *tū* of *pattū* is dropped and the flexional increment *iṇ* is inserted.<sup>7</sup> (e. g. *pattū +*

1. *Uri-vari ṇāliyi ṇ-iṇṇuyir mey-keṭa*  
*Maruvum iakara m-uriiṇ ṇaliyē*  
*Yakara v-uyir-mey-ū m-iṇṇaṇa variṇē*. (ibid. 174.)

2. *Ai-y-iṇ ruṭai-k-kur rukaram-u m-uḷavē*. (ibid. 185.)

3. *Tiripu-vēṇū kiḷappi ṇ-oṇṇū m-iṇṇuti-y-uṇ*  
*Keṭutal vēṇū m-eṇṇaṇār pulavar*  
*Oṇṇu-mey tirintu ṇakāra m-ākun*  
*Teṇkoṭṭu puṇaruṇ kūlai y-āṇa*. (Tol. E. 433.)

4. *Ticai-y-oṭṭū ticai-y-um pira-v-uṇ cēriṇ*  
*Nilai-y-iṇ r-uyir-mey ka-v-oṇṇū nīṇkalum*  
*Rakaram ṇa-la-v-ā-t tiritalu m-ām-pira*. (Na. 186.)

5. *Teṇkū-nīṇ iṇṇuyir mey-keṭuṇ kāy-variṇ*. (ibid. 187.)

6. This lengthening of the vowel is evidently due to compensating the loss of 'kū'.

7. *Oṇṇū-mūta l-āka v-eṭṭa ṇ-iṇṇuti*  
*Ellā-v-eṇṇum pattāṇ muṇ-varir*  
*Kurriya-lukara meyyoṭuṇ keṭumē*  
*Murra v-iṇ-varū m-iṇṇaṇaṇaṇ kaṭai-y-ē*. (Tol. E. 434.)



*onṛū* = *pat-in-onṛū*, etc.) Iḷampūraṇar adds the flexional increment *irṛu* also. Naṇṇūlār agrees with the latter.<sup>1</sup>

(12) Naṇṇūlār says that, if the standing word ends in a consonant other than *y* and the following word begins with *yā*, *i* is sometimes inserted.<sup>2</sup> (e.g. *vēl + yāvan = vēliyāvan*.)<sup>3</sup>

(13) Tolkāppiyaṇār says that, if the word *ekin* not denoting a tree is the standing word, it takes after it the flexional increment *a*, and then the initial voiceless consonant of the following word is doubled.<sup>4</sup> (e. g. *ekin + kāl = ekin-a-k-kāl*.) Iḷampūraṇar adds that, instead of the same voiceless consonant being doubled, the corresponding nasal may be inserted, as *ekin-a-ṇ-kāl*. Naṇṇūlār agrees with the latter.<sup>5</sup>

(14) If the standing word ends in *y*, *r* or *l* and the initial member of the following word is *k*, *c*, *t* or *p*, there is no change in non-case-relation sandhi according to Tolkāppiyaṇār, and the same consonant may be doubled according to the author of Vīracōliyam. Naṇṇūlār agrees with the latter.<sup>6</sup>

(15) Naṇṇūlār says that, if the word *tev* is followed by a word beginning with *m*, *v* is changed to *m*. (e.g. *tev + munai = temmunai*.)<sup>7</sup> But this is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṇār. This, he has adopted from Nēminātam.

(16) As regards the formation of *tonṇūṛū* and *tolḷāyiram*, Naṇṇūlār agrees with the author of Vīracōliyam in substituting

1. *Onṛu-muta l-irain i-āyiran kōṭi*  
*Enṇiṛai y-aḷavum piṭa-varir pattiṇ*  
*Irṇuyir mey-keṭu-t t-in-ṇ-u m-irṇum*  
*Ēṛpa t-ērku m-onṇpatū m-inaittē.* (Na. 197.)
2. *Taṇ-ṇ-oli mey-m-mun ya-v-vari ṇ-ikaram*  
*Tuṇṇu m-onṇrū tuṇinaru m-ularē.* (Ibid. 206.)
3. This insertion of 'y' is perhaps though analogy with the insertion of 'i' when such words as *khyāti* are tamilised into *kiyāti*.
4. *Ēṇai y-ekin-ē yakaram varum-ē*  
*Valleḷut t-iyarkai mikutal vēṇṭum.* (Tol. E. 338.)
5. *Maram-al l-ekin-moli y-iyalṇum akaram*  
*Maruva vali-meli mikalu m-ākum.* (Na. 215.)
6. *Ya-ra-la muṇṇar-k ka-ca-ta-pa alvali*  
*Iyalṇu mikalu m-ākum vēṇṇumai*  
*Mikalu m-inattō t-uralṭalum viti-mēl.* (Na. 224.)
7. *Tev-v-ṇ moliyē tolirṇpeya r-arṇē*  
*Ma-v-variṇ vaṣkōṇ ma-v-vu m-ākum.* (ibid. 236.)

*nūri* and *āyiram* for *paṭṭi* and *nūri*, but agrees with Tolkāppiyāṇār in the method of changing *onṭaṭi* to *ton* and *toḷ* respectively. (cf. Na. 194.)

2.13. *Modern Period*: 2.131. The author of Ilakkāṇaviḷakkam has given 106 sūtras in sandhi in three chapters. Of them 22 sūtras are identically the same as are found in Tolkāppiyam and 69 as found in Naṇṇūl; nine are adapted from Tolkāppiyam and 4 from Naṇṇūl; two are original.<sup>1</sup>

2.132. The Rev. C.J. Beschi agrees with all the grammarians regarding the insertion of the intervocalic consonant except in the case of *e*, after which, he says, *y* is inserted<sup>2</sup>, while others say that *v* is inserted. Among the changes in sandhi he includes *tiraṭṭi* which means *dirgha-sandhi*, *guṇa-sandhi* and *vṛddhi-sandhi*<sup>3</sup> like the authors of *Viracōḷiyam* and *Nēminātam*.

2.14. *Similarities and Dissimilarities between Sanskrit and Tamil in Sandhi*: 2.141. *Similarities*: There are 3 points in which Sanskrit sandhi and Tamil sandhi are similar.

(1) In Sanskrit if the standing word ends in *ṇ* preceded by a short vowel and is followed by a vowel, *ṇ* is doubled. (e. g. *sugaṇ+īśaḥ=sugaṇ-ṇ-īśaḥ*.) Cf. *ṇamō hrasvād aci ṇamuṇ nityam*. (P. A. 8.3.32.) Similar is the case in Tamil. e. g. *kaṇ+alakitū=kaṇ-ṇ-alakitū*. (Tol. E. 161.)

(2) The final *m* when followed by a voiceless consonant is changed to the corresponding nasal. e. g. *am+kitah=aṅki-tah*. Similarly *aṅcītah*, etc. Cf. *mō'nusvārah* (P.A. 8.3.23.) and *anusvārasya yayi para savarṇah* (P. A. 8.4.58.) In Tamil also the same is the case in non-case-relation sandhi. (e. g. *maram+kuritū=marāṅkuritū*, etc.) (Tol. E. 315.)

(3) Both in Sanskrit and Tamil, the final letter of the vocative does not generally undergo any change.

1. They deal with the point that there is no change in sandhi if the standing word is vocative or ends in third or sixth case suffix. As regards sandhi when the standing word is vocative, it seems to me that he has followed similar sandhi in Sanskrit.

2. *Mutaiṇṇuyirmoli yēcērpuli, űeai yēriyaiyum yavvē, marṇai yuyirkkil vakaram puṇarum* (T. V. 20); *tiripali vākkam tiraṭṭunāl vikāram*. (ibid. 21.)

3. *Irumoliy orumoli yēṇaccān kīrtamāy, nilaimoli yēṇṇuyir nīṅkalu matanṇō, ṇaṇaimoli mutarṇa a āvātalum űeyātalum, uṇṇvātalumām*. (T. V. 38.)

2.142. *Dissimilarities*:—(1) As regards sandhi between two vowels in Sanskrit the most important laws are: (a) if *a*, *i*, *u*, *ṛ* or *ḷ* (ॠ) is followed by a similar vowel, *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ṛ* and *ḷ* are respectively substituted for both; (b) if *a* or *ā* is followed by *i* or *u* short or long, guṇa letter (i.e.) *ē* or *ō* is substituted for both; (c) if *i*, *u*, *ṛ* or *ḷ* (ॠ) short or long is followed by a dissimilar vowel, it is changed to the corresponding semi-vowel; (d) if *a* is followed by *ē* or *ai* and *ō* or *āu*, *āi* and *āu* are respectively substituted for both; (e) if *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *āu* are followed by a vowel, they are changed to *ay*, *āy*, *av* and *āv* respectively.

None of these laws finds a place in Tamil in any period, except perhaps some of them are used in modern spoken Tamil. In place of these laws, Tamil has the one important law that a semi-vowel may, in the ancient period and must, in the medieval and modern periods, be inserted between two vowels except in the case of *i* which is dropped.

(2) Besides, the insertion of flexional increment between the base and the case-suffix as found in Tamil is unknown in Sanskrit.

(3) The doubling of the initial consonant of the following word when the final of the standing word is a vowel, as in Tamil *viḷā-k-kuriti*, is practically unknown in Sanskrit.

(4) In Sanskrit accented syllables take guṇa or vṛddhi, while, in Tamil, flexional increments are generally added before them.

(5) Another important difference in sandhi between Tamil and Sanskrit is that, in the former, it is divided into two important classes, the case-relation sandhi and the non-case-relation sandhi, and in the latter, such a classification is not found. Hence it is clear that in Tamil when words have to be combined in sandhi, one must know before-hand their meaning, which is not necessarily the case in Sanskrit except in the case of the nouns in the vocative case and nouns in dual number. But on the other hand, in several respects the internal sandhi differs from the external sandhi in Sanskrit, while in Tamil no difference is generally made in the treatment of sounds in both these varieties of sandhi.

Hence it may be said that the ways in which sandhi takes place in both the languages are so different as to form one of the strong reasons to prove that Tamil and Sanskrit are fundamentally different languages.

## 3. COL OR PARTS OF SPEECH.

3.1. *Definition*:—All Tamil grammarians except the author of Viracōḷiyam and its commentator and the author of Pirayōkavivēkam define *col* or word as that which conveys sense.<sup>1</sup> This is exactly similar to the statement ‘*arthah padam*’ (S.Y.V.P. 3.2.) found in Śukla Yajurveda Prātiśākhya and also to the statement ‘*śaktam padam*’ made by Sanskrit logicians. But the authors of Viracōḷiyam and Pirayōkavivēkam follow Pāṇini’s definition ‘*suptiñantam padam*’ (P.A. 1.4.14.), since they say that a particle *su* is added at the end of nouns in the nominative singular and then it is dropped,<sup>2</sup> as is done in the case of the nominative singular of neuter nouns in Sanskrit like *śuci*, *madhu*, etc. and generally of masculine and feminine nouns whose base ends in a consonant like *vāc*, *bhiṣaj*, etc. By so doing they have distorted the perspective through which the linguistic phenomena of the Tamil language should be analysed and evaluated. For, in the Tamil language gender is generally determined by sex, and at no stage grammatical gender was recognised as a category distinct from natural gender.

3.2. *Classification*:—Parts of speech are, in the opinion of Tolkāppiyāṇār, Naṇṇūlār and the later grammarians, primarily two in number, viz., *peyar* and *viṇai*, and they would, in a secondary sense, give the dignity of parts of speech to two more categories, viz., *iṭai-c-col* and *uri-c-col*.<sup>3</sup> A striking parallelism is discernible between this classification and that in Yāska’s Nirukta ‘*catvāri padajātāni nāmākhyaṭē ca upasarganipātāśca*’ (Y.N. 8.8). As Durgācārya points out,<sup>4</sup> the priority given to *nāma*, and *ākhyāta* indicates their primary importance, while *upasarga* and *nipāta* are assigned to a subordinate position.

1. *Ellā-c collum poruḷ-kuṭit taṇavē*. (Tol. Col. 155.)

2. .... *oruvan orutti y-onṇi nēriya cu enṅum*  
*Aliyum-ūriya cu*. (V.V. 5) & (P.V. p. 12, line 7).

3. *Col-l-eṇa-p paṭupa peyarē viṇai-y-cṇ*  
*R-ā-y-iraṇ t-eṇpa v-aṇintici ṇṍrē*. (Tol. Col. 158.)  
*Iṭai-c-coṇ kiḷavi-y-a m-uriccoṇ-kiḷaviyum*  
*Avarṇu-vali maruṅkiṇ ṇṍṇru m-eṇpa*. (ibid. 159.)

4. *Atra nāmākhyaṭayōḥ pūrvam abhidhānam, prādhānyāt, aprādhānyāt upasarga-nipātānām paścāt | Ubhē api nāmākhyaṭē nipātōpa-sarganirapēkṣē api satī svam artham brūtaḥ | Na tu upasarga-nipātānām nāmākhyaṭa-nirapēkṣānām arthō'sti* || (Durgācārya’s Comm. on, Y.N. 8.8.)

## A NEW COMMENTARY ON THE AMARAKOŚA.

BY

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The following pages present a short account of the literary value and importance of an extensive and valuable commentary on the Amarakośa now deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The manuscript bears the No. R. 3356 (T—1—107) and is described in Vol. IV of the Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. The commentary was acquired from Berhampore district which is bordering on the Orissa country, by the Peripatetic Search Party of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. No other copy of this commentary is known to exist in any other library either in India or elsewhere. Neither the name of the commentary nor that of the author could be gathered from the ms. The fact that it was secured from Berhampore lends weight to the view that the author belongs to those parts. This conjecture is supported by the fact that in some places in the commentary the author gives certain vernacular meanings of Sanskrit words, many of which are from the language of the Utkals. For instance, on page 398 of the commentary we find उत्कले वेल इति नीचोक्तिः . There are many other references of a similar nature.

The importance of the commentary consists in the fact that nearly 250 authors and works are mentioned therein. Many of them are either unknown or little known. The following is a complete list of the authors and works referred to in the course of the work :

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|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1. Abhinanda.   | 6. Amaramālā.      |
| 2. Ācārya.      | 7. Amogha.         |
| 3. Āgamaśāstra. | 8. Ardhanārīśvara. |
| 4. Ajaya.       | 9. Arthaśāstra.    |
| 5. Amaradatta.  | 10. Aruṇadatta.    |

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| 11. Āścaryamañjarī. | 52. Dhanapāla.        |
| 12. Auṇādikavṛtti.  | 53. Dhanvantri.       |
| 13. Bhagavadgītā.   | 54. Dharāṇi.          |
| 14. Bhāgavṛtti.     | 55. Dharmadāsa.       |
| 15. Bhāguri.        | 56. Dhātupārāyaṇa.    |
| 16. Bharata.        | 57. Dhātupradīpa.     |
| 17. Bhārata.        | 58. Dhṛtidāsa.        |
| 18. Bharatasamhitā. | 59. Dvārapāla.        |
| 19. Bhāravi.        | 60. Dvirūpa.          |
| 20. Bhāṣāvṛtti.     | 61. Dvirūpakośa.      |
| 21. Bhāṣkara.       | 62. Durgasimha.       |
| 22. Bhāṣya.         | 63. Gauḍiyavyākhyāna. |
| 23. Bhāṭṭacandra.   | 64. Gomin.            |
| 24. Bhāṭṭamalla.    | 65. Gopacandra.       |
| 25. Bhāṭṭa.         | 66. Gopālita.         |
| 26. Bhāṭṭasvāmin.   | 67. Govardhana.       |
| 27. Bhāṭṭi.         | 68. Haḍḍa.            |
| 28. Bhavabhūti.     | 69. Haḍḍacandra.      |
| 29. Bhīma.          | 70. Halāyudha.        |
| 30. Bhīmasena.      | 71. Hārāvali.         |
| 31. Bhoja.          | 72. Haridāsa.         |
| 32. Bhojarāja.      | 73. Hariharāditya.    |
| 33. Bhūgeśvara.     | 74. Hariprabodha.     |
| 34. Bhugneśvara.    | 75. Harivilāsa.       |
| 35. Bopālita.       | 76. Harṣacarita.      |
| 36. Brahmā.         | 77. Hemamālī.         |
| 37. Brhanmanu.      | 78. Jātarūpa.         |
| 38. Buddhacarita.   | 79. Jayāditya.        |
| 39. Cāṇakya.        | 80. Jayakośa.         |
| 40. Caṇḍī.          | 81. Jinendra.         |
| 41. Caṇḍīśāstra.    | 82. Kādambarī.        |
| 42. Candra.         | 83. Kālidāsa.         |
| 43. Candragomin.    | 84. Kāliṅgadatta.     |
| 44. Cāndrānuśāsana. | 85. Kalpadruma.       |
| 45. Candrikā.       | 86. Kalpatarukāra.    |
| 46. Caraka.         | 87. Kāmandakīya.      |
| 47. Daityāri.       | 88. Kāmaśāstra.       |
| 48. Dāmodara.       | 89. Kappaṇābhyudaya.  |
| 49. Daṇḍin.         | 90. Kāśikāvṛtti.      |
| 50. Datta.          | 91. Kāśirāja.         |
| 51. Dhanañjaya.     | 92. Kāśyapa.          |

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| 93. Kātantraṭikā.      | 134. Nāmamālā.           |
| 94. Kātya.             | 135. Nāmānuśāsana.       |
| 95. Kaumudīśvara.      | 136. Nānārtha.           |
| 96. Kavikalpalatā.     | 137. Nandīśvāmin.        |
| 97. Kāvya prakāśa.     | 138. Nandīśvara.         |
| 98. Kedāreśvara.       | 139. Narasimha.          |
| 99. Kesaramālā.        | 140. Nigamābhidhāna.     |
| 100. Keśava.           | 141. Nighaṇṭu.           |
| 101. Kirātārjunīya.    | 142. Nirṇayadīpikā.      |
| 102. Kośa.             | 143. Nītiratnākara.      |
| 103. Kośāntara.        | 144. Nītiśāstra.         |
| 104. Kramaviśvara.     | 145. Nṛsimhapurāṇa.      |
| 105. Kṛṣṇadāsa.        | 146. Nyāsa.              |
| 106. Kṣīrasvāmin.      | 147. Padma.              |
| 107. Kulakabhaṭṭa.     | 148. Pālakāpya.          |
| 108. Kumāra.           | 149. Parapāla.           |
| 109. Kumudākara.       | 150. Paribhāṣāvṛttikāra. |
| 110. Kusumākara.       | 151. Pārijātaka.         |
| 111. Liṅgabhaṭṭa.      | 152. Prākṛtavṛtti.       |
| 112. Mādhava.          | 153. Prāṇeśvara.         |
| 113. Mādhavi.          | 154. Purāṇatantra.       |
| 114. Mādhaviya.        | 155. Pūrṇacandra.        |
| 115. Madhumādhava.     | 156. Puruṣottma.         |
| 116. Madhumādhavī.     | 157. Rabhasa.            |
| 117. Madhumādhavīkāra. | 158. Raghu.              |
| 118. Madhumitra.       | 159. Rājaśekhara.        |
| 119. Māgha.            | 160. Rakṣita.            |
| 120. Mahābhārata.      | 161. Rāmadāsa.           |
| 121. Mahanyāsa.        | 162. Rāmāyaṇa.           |
| 122. Mahāyajñaprayoga. | 163. Ranti.              |
| 123. Mahendra.         | 164. Rantideva.          |
| 124. Mālatī.           | 165. Rasakośa.           |
| 125. Manu.             | 166. Rasavatī.           |
| 126. Mārkaṇḍeya.       | 167. Ratna.              |
| 127. Matsyāyana.       | 168. Ratnakośa.          |
| 128. Medinī.           | 169. Ratnamālā.          |
| 129. Medinīkāra.       | 170. Ratnaśāstra.        |
| 130. Megha.            | 171. Rudra.              |
| 131. Mukuṭa.           | 172. Rudrakośa.          |
| 132. Mukuṭarāya.       | 173. Rūpakādya.          |
| 133. Murāri.           | 174. Rūparatnākara.      |

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| 175. Śābarasvāmin.           | 216. Subhūti.            |
| 176. Śābdabhedaparakāśa.     | 217. Sundarānandacarita. |
| 177. Śābdamālā.              | 218. Sūryaśataka.        |
| 178. Śābdāntara.             | 219. Suśruta.            |
| 179. Śābdaratnākara.         | 220. Svāmin.             |
| 180. Śābdārṇava.             | 221. Tantrāntara.        |
| 181. Śābdaśāstra.            | 222. Tāpasimha.          |
| 182. Śābdika.                | 223. Tārapāla.           |
| 183. Śābdikanarasimha.       | 224. Ṭikākāra.           |
| 184. Śābheda.                | 225. Ṭikākṛt.            |
| 185. Śābheda.                | 226. Trikāṇḍa.           |
| 186. Sabheda.                | 227. Trikāṇḍaśeṣa.       |
| 187. Sahacārapaddhati.       | 228. Ujjvaladatta.       |
| 188. Sāhasāṅka.              | 229. Umāmaheśvara.       |
| 189. Sājjha or Sāñjha.       | 230. Uṇādivṛtti.         |
| 190. Śākaṭāyana.             | 231. Upādhyāya.          |
| 191. Śālihotra.              | 232. Upādhyāyasarvasva.  |
| 192. Sāmba.                  | 233. Utpalamālā.         |
| 193. Sāmbapurāṇa.            | 234. Utpalinī.           |
| 194. Saṁsārāvarta.           | 235. Uttaracarita.       |
| 195. Sanātana.               | 236. Vācaspati.          |
| 196. Sāmudrikā.              | 237. Vādasimha.          |
| 197. Sārārṇava.              | 238. Vāgbhaṭa.           |
| 198. Sārasaṅgraha.           | 239. Vāhaṭa.             |
| 199. Śārīra.                 | 240. Vaidyāṅka.          |
| 200. Sarvadhara.             | 241. Vaidyaka.           |
| 201. Sarvānanda.             | 242. Vaijayantī.         |
| 202. Sarvasva.               | 243. Vaikuṇṭha.          |
| 203. Sarvasvakāra.           | 244. Vāmana.             |
| 204. Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharāṇa. | 245. Vandyaghaṭiya.      |
| 205. Śāsivata.               | 246. Varāha.             |
| 206. Śātānanda.              | 247. Varahasamhitā.      |
| 207. Setukāvya.              | 248. Vararuci.           |
| 208. Smṛti.                  | 249. Vardhamāna.         |
| 209. Somanandin.             | 250. Vardhamānamiśra.    |
| 210. Śrīdhara.               | 251. Varṇadeśanā.        |
| 211. Śrī Harṣa.              | 252. Varṇaviveka.        |
| 212. Śrīnivāsa.              | 253. Vāsavadattā.        |
| 213. Śrīpati.                | 254. Vaidyakara.         |
| 214. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.         | 255. Vasantarāja.        |
| 215. Śubhāṅga.               | 256. Vātsyāyana.         |



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|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 257. Vāyupurāṇa.    | 270. Vṛddhāmarakośa.    |
| 258. Vibhākara.     | 271. Vṛddhāmara.        |
| 259. Vidagdha.      | 272. Vṛndāvanayamaka.   |
| 260. Vidyāvinoda.   | 273. Vṛtti.             |
| 261. Vikramāditaya. | 274. Vṛttikāra.         |
| 262. Viśākhadatta.  | 275. Vyāḍa.             |
| 263. Viṣṇudharma.   | 276. Vyāḍi.             |
| 264. Viṣṇupurāṇa.   | 277. Vyāsasiddhānta.    |
| 265. Viśva.         | 278. Vyūḍha.            |
| 266. Viṣvaksena.    | 279. Yādava.            |
| 267. Viśvanātha.    | 280. Yogaśataka.        |
| 268. Vopāla.        | 281. Yogaśatakavyākhyā. |
| 269. Vopālika.      | 282. Yogeśvara.         |

A short account of some of the most important of these works and authors is given below :—

*Ajaya.*

Ajaya, or Ajayapāla as he is otherwise known, is the author of a lexicon by name Nānārthasaṅgraha.<sup>1</sup> He is an old lexicographer of high authority. Writers like Sarvānanda, etc., quote profusely from the lexicon of this writer.

*Amaradatta.*

Amaradatta is another old lexicographer referred to by Halāyudha and others. Halāyudha the author of the Abhidhāna-ratnamālā is older than the tenth century and Amaradatta is still older. The lexicon of Amaradatta is not available at present. The extracts that are available from the lost work of Amaradatta are collected by the author of this paper separately.

*Amaramālā.*

Amaramālā is a lexicon of antiquity and authority. Early writers like Kṣīrasvāmin and others quote from this work, which is unfortunately available only in fragments. A lexicon by name Mālā is referred to by Kṣīrasvāmin and it is not known whether the name Mālā is an abbreviation of the longer name Amaramālā. Scholars like the late Pandit Ramavatara Sarma think that the Mālā is the same as Amaramālā.

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1. An edition of this lexicon is under preparation by the author of this paper under the auspices of the University of Madras.

*Amogha.*

Amogha, or Amoghavṛtti more properly, is the commentary on Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa by Śākaṭāyana himself. Śākaṭāyana was a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa to patronage this work is due.

*Ardhanārīśvara.*

This writer is gathered to have composed most probably a work on genders in Sanskrit. Ardhanārīśvara is referred to by Sarvānanda in his Ṭikāsarvasva, by Bhānuji in his Sudhā, by Cāritravardhana in his commentary on the Raghuvamśa and by others. Ardhanārīśvara thrice is referred to in the work under notice.<sup>1</sup>

*Aruṇadatta.*

Aruṇa or Aruṇadatta is again another writer both on grammar and lexicography. Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda refers to Aruṇa once as Aruṇa and once as Aruṇadatta. It is therefore clear that Aruṇa is the shortened form of Aruṇadatta. There are nearly eight references to Aruṇadatta in this commentary. The work of Aruṇadatta should have consisted of at least three sections, each being called a kāṇḍa. They were *Puṁskāṇḍa*<sup>2</sup>, *Strikāṇḍa*, and *Klibakāṇḍa*. Aruṇadatta is referred to by Ujjvaladatta in his Uṇādisūtravṛtti, and by Vardhamāna in the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi.<sup>3</sup> We know that the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi was composed in the 12th century and therefore Aruṇa should belong to a period prior to the 12th century.

*Āścaryamañjarī.*

Two quotations from a work called Āścaryamañjarī are found cited in the work under notice and the references are such as to warrant the conclusion that it should have been a *campūkāvya*. The two references are:—

गृहपतिरिव भद्रपदानुगतः इत्याश्चर्यमञ्जरीश्लेषः<sup>4</sup>

इषीकाशरसमयमिव रोचमानेषीकं द्विरदमारुरोह इत्याश्चर्यमञ्जरीश्लेषः<sup>5</sup>

The name of the author is gathered to be Kulaśekhara of Tapatīsamvaraṇa fame.<sup>6</sup> Quotations from this work are available

1. See pages 265, 326 and 475.

2. See pages 155 and 739.

3. See page 119.

4. See page 51.

5. See page 473.

6. See Prastavanā, Tapatīsamvaraṇa, T. S. S.

in the Sūktimuktāvali of Jalhana. The author of the Tapatisarī-varaṇa belonged to the 10th century and the Āścaryamañjarī should belong to the same period. No copy of this work is known to exist anywhere at present.

*Bhāgavṛtti.*

The Bhāgavṛtti is attributed to Bhartṛhari, the famous grammarian by Sṛṣṭidhara, the commentator on the Tantrapradīpikā. Whichever the author of the Bhāgavṛtti might have been, the fact remains that the work is an early one. One quotation is found from the Bhāgavṛtti in this work and it runs as follows:—

भागवृत्तिस्तु धान्यिकमित्युदाजहार<sup>1</sup>.

*Bhāguri.*

Bhāguri is an ancient grammarian and lexicographer. The lexicon of Bhāguri is available only in quotations, distributed in several works. The name of the lexicon is gathered to be Trikāṇḍa on the authority of Puruṣottamadeva the author of the Bhāṣāvṛtti. Twentyfive quotations in the name of Bhāguri and sixtytwo in the name of Trikāṇḍa are found in this commentary.

*Bhaṭṭacandra.*

This is another lexicographer referred to in the commentary under reference. Only one quotation is found from the work and it runs as follows:—

समीरो मरुतो मरुत्<sup>2</sup>.

What the work of Bhaṭṭacandra is we do not know.

*Bhāvavṛtti.*

On page 200 of this work we find

ततो “धराधरेन्द्रं व्रतती ततीरिव” इत्यसाधुरिति भाववृत्तिः ।

From the nature of the quotation it seems as if the Bhāvavṛtti is a work on grammar discussing, as many other works on grammar do, the usages of older poets and writers. The Bhāgavṛtti which was referred to just now is one such work, for quotations from the Bhāgavṛtti that are available show that the author of the Bhāgavṛtti criticised the usages of poets like Māgha, Bhāravi etc. It is worthy of note that the present

1. See page 504.

2. See page 34.

reference also is a verse from Māgha's Śiśupālavadha. It is very likely that the Bhāvavṛtti is a scribal error for Bhāga-vṛtti.

*Bhūgeśvara.*

The only quotation available from Bhūgeśvara कर्णः श्रोत्रम् अरित्रं च<sup>1</sup> shows that Bhūgeśvara is a lexicographer. The lexicon was probably of synonyms. More of this author we do not know.

*Bhugneśvara.*

From this author again there is only one quotation and that seems to have been extracted from a lexicon of his. The citation runs as follows:—

उक्तं संसरणं वर्त्म गजादानीमसकुलम्<sup>2</sup> ।

It is not known whether the Bhugneśvara is only a corruption of the name Bhūgeśvara or whether the latter is different from the former.

*Bopālita.*

Bopālita, Vopālita, Bopālīka, Gopālita, and Vopālīka are the different spellings of the name of a single individual. Bopālita is the author of a lexicon now lost to us. That the different names do not indicate different persons may be clear from the following instances:—

In the Tīkāsarvasva we find

विष्णुवान् समरात्रिवासरः कालः इति पुंस्काण्डे वोपालितः<sup>3</sup> ।

Quoting the same text, Bhānuji says

विष्णुवान् समरातिवासरः इति पुंस्काण्डे वोपालितः<sup>3</sup> ।

and in the work under notice the same extract is attributed to Gopālita as follows:—

विष्णुवान् समरात्रं[त्रि]वासरः कालः इति पुंस्काण्डे गोपालितः<sup>4</sup> ।

The lexicon is not known to exist in any of the known libraries either in India or elsewhere. The work should have been divided in to kāṇḍas according as the gender of the words treated therein varied. The author is older than Ujjvaladatta.

1. See page 142.

2. See page 176.

3. See under I-iv.-14.

4. See page 66.

*Daityāri.*

Daityāri is a hitherto unknown commentator on the Amarakośa. There are several extracts from Daityāri's commentary.<sup>1</sup> No copy of this commentary is known to exist anywhere. The name of his commentary is unknown. We know of a poet by name Daityāri who is quoted in the Padyāvali and it is not known whether this Daityāri is the same as the commentator on the Amarakośa.

*Dāmodara.*

There are two<sup>2</sup> references to Dāmodara and both refer to points of grammatical interest. The second of the references is found in the same words in Sarvānanda's Ṭikāsarvasva. Sarvānanda<sup>3</sup> tells us that Dāmodara wrote a work called Upādhyāyasarvasvam. But in the work under reference, we find the following extract :—

तदुपाध्यायसर्वस्वेन दामोदरेणोक्तम्<sup>4</sup>

thereby making Upādhyāyasarvasva another name of Dāmodara. Which of the two is correct is yet to be made out.

*Datta.*

Datta is referred to only once<sup>5</sup> in the work under reference. In this reference the name of Datta is associated with that of Vidyāvinoda and Sarvānanda, commentators on the Amarakośa.

वशिरस्तालव्यमध्य इति दत्तविद्याविनोदौ ।

वसिरो दन्त्यमध्य इति सर्वानन्दः ।

Here the views of Datta and Vidyāvinoda agree and they differ from that of Sarvānanda. It is very likely therefore that the Datta referred to is a commentator on the Amarakośa.

*Dhanapāla.*

Dhanapāla as a grammarian is referred to in the Puruṣakāra, Mādhava's Dhātuvṛtti and others. According to them Dhanapāla should have written some treatise on the Dhātupāṭha. Dhanapāla who wrote on the Dhātupāṭha is older than Maitreyarakṣita, Kāśyapa and others. But the reference to Dhanapāla in the present work make him out to be the author of a lexicon, which was probably known as Dhanapālābhidhāna.

1. See pages 19, 327, 346, 379, 383, 386, etc.
2. See pages 231 and 290.
3. Ṭikāsarvasvam, II-IV-155.
4. See page 290.
5. See page 258.

मन्दरोऽपरशैलोऽस्त इति धनपालमिधाने<sup>1</sup>

are the words with which the name of Dhanapāla is introduced.

*Dharmadāsa.*

There are two<sup>2</sup> references to Dharmadāsa. The former is likely to lead to the conclusion that Dharmadāsa wrote a lexicon. The reference is as follows:—

जवायां तु जपा स्त्रियाम्<sup>3</sup>.

But the other reference

नेत्रोष्ठाधरपाणिपादयुगलैः

makes Dharmadāsa a poet. Sarvānanda<sup>4</sup> refers to Dharmadāsa very probably as a grammarian. It is not known whether all these Dharmadāsa's were identical or different. If they were, then Dharmadāsa is older than the 12th century A. D.

*Dhātupārāyaṇa.*

Dhātupārāyaṇa, as the name indicates is a work based on the Dhātupāṭha of Pāṇini. It is very likely that it is a commentary on the Dhātupāṭha. We are at present aware of three works of the name of Dhātupārāyaṇa. One is by Hemacandra, published already by the Vienna Oriental Society. The other is the Dhātupārāyaṇa of Jumarānandin. The third Dhātupārāyaṇa is still to be discovered. That work is by Pūrṇacandra, evidently a Buddhist. There are four references to the Dhātupārāyaṇa<sup>5</sup> in this commentary and one<sup>6</sup> to its author. That Pūrṇacandra was the author of this Dhātupārāyaṇa could be gathered from the following reference in Sarvānanda's Ṭikāsarvasva.

ऋसुक्षो वज्र इति धातुपारायणे पूर्णचन्द्रः.<sup>7</sup>

This extract, without the name of Pūrṇacandra appears on page 24 of the work under notice. In the Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛtti there are several references to this Dhātupārāyaṇa.

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1. See page 191.
  2. See Pages 248 and 399.
  3. See page 248.
  4. See under I-iv-33. Ṭikāsarvasva.
  5. See pages 24, 114, 362 and 510.
  6. See page 840.
  7. page 34. Ṭikāsarvasva, I-i-44.

*Dhṛtidāsa.*

To Dhṛtidāsa there are a few references<sup>1</sup> in this work. Who Dhṛtidāsa is or what his work is cannot be conjectured at present. But from the quotations, it may be gathered that his work is a lexicon. To Dhṛtidāsa there are two references in Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda's commentary on the Amarakośa.

*Dvārapāla.*

To Dvārapāla is attributed a verse in this commentary. The verse itself runs as follows:—

कच्छः स्यादनटेऽन्येऽपि तटेऽस्त्री तुन्नकद्रुमे<sup>2</sup>.

Evidently this is a quotation from some lexicon of Dvārapāla. We do not come across the name of Dvārapāla either in grammatical literature or lexicographical literature. It is likely that the first syllable द्र is a mistake for त. Tārapāla is a familiar name in lexicography.

*Gauḍīyavyākhyāna.*

Kṣīrasvāmin refers in his commentary to an ancient commentator on the Amarakośa by the name Gauḍa. Who that Gauḍa is, he does not say. Sarvānanda is a Gauḍa but Kṣīrasvāmin, being older, cannot refer to the commentary of Sarvānanda. All other known commentators of Gauḍa belong to a period later than Kṣīrasvāmin. Now, in the ms. under notice we find

स्त्रीप्रत्ययनिर्देशस्तु स्त्रीप्रत्ययादर्शनार्थ इति गौडीयव्याख्या<sup>3</sup>.

But it should be noted that in the corresponding portion in the commentary of Kṣīra we do not across any such reference as stated above. To Gauḍīya Vyākhyā there is only one reference in this work.

*Gomi.*

Gomi is the same as Candragomin whose work on grammar is available in print. Gomi, Candra and Candragomin are referred to frequently in this work.

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1. See pages 121, 213, 259, 604, 595, 441, 559.
  2. See page 272.
  3. See page 365.

*Goyicandra.*

Goyicandra is the famous Bengal writer on Kātantra Vyākaraṇa. To Goyicandra there is a single reference<sup>1</sup> in this work.

*Govardhana.*

There are about seven<sup>2</sup> references to Govardhana in this work. Three<sup>3</sup> of them are from a Vṛtti by Govardhana on the Uṇādisūtras. This work is now lost to us. This Govardhana is older than Ujjvaladatta.

Two<sup>4</sup> references are to a lexicon by Govardhana. A lexicon of Govardhana is deposited in the Bikaner state Library and it is known as Nāmāvalī. Perhaps this is the same as the work from which quotations are found herein.

The other two references are to a literary work of Govardhana. We know of Govardhana, the author of the Āryā-saptaśati published in the Nirṇaya Sagara Press. He was a contemporary of Śaraṇadeva, author of Durghaṭavṛtti and was in the court of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. The author of the Āryāsaptaśati is not known to have written any other work and the verses quoted by the commentator are not Āryas and cannot obviously find a place therein.

The verses referred to in the present commentary have been referred to by Sarvānanda also. They are by another Govardhana or from a different work of the author of the Āryāsaptaśati.

*Haḍḍa or Haḍḍacandra.*

Haḍḍa or Haḍḍacandra as he is otherwise known is an ancient lexicographer, and grammariarn. He is referred to Sarvānanda, Ujjvaladatta and other writers. The references in the present commentary are from the lexicon of Haḍḍa, which is practically lost to us and from the grammatical work of his. The name of his lexicon and that of his work on grammar is not known.

*Haridāsa.*

One quotation from the work of Haridāsa

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1. See page 135.
  2. See pages 124, 173, 351, 460, do, 748, 760.
  3. See pages 124, 173 and 351.
  4. See page 460.



कलमैस्तुमुलवनीति हरिदासः

is found on page 498 of the work under consideration. We do not know anything more of this Haridāsa.

*Hariharāditya.*

The name of Hariharāditya is introduced in the following manner.<sup>1</sup>

चव्या खियामिति हरिहरादित्यः.

It is possible that the work of Hariharāditya is a lexicon. More of this author we do not know.

*Hariprabodha.*

The Hariprabodha is a Yamaka Kāvya of high antiquity. We find quotations from this work in such ancient treatises like the Kāvyaśāstra of Vāmana, etc. No ms. copy of the work is known to exist in any library at present. There are two quotations<sup>2</sup> in this work from that Kāvya.

*Hemamālī.*

Hemamālī is probably the name of an author of some lexicon. Only one quotation from this author is found in the work under notice and that is evidently an extract from a lexicon. It runs as follows:<sup>3</sup>—

आशीररुगदंष्ट्रायां शुभवाच्याभिलाषयोः.

*Jātarūpa.*

Jātarūpa is another lexicographer referred to in this commentary. Two<sup>4</sup> quotations are seen from that author. In the former of the two, we find his name associated with that of Ranti or Rantideva. In the latter, his name stands alone. We know of a Jātarūpa who has commented on the Amarakośa. But the reference,

पट्टी नान्तः पुमान् इति रन्तिजातरूपौ<sup>5</sup>

seems to have been taken from a lexicon, rather than from a commentary on a lexicon. Moreover the coupling of the name Ranti, who is certainly a lexicographer with that of Jātarūpa

1. See page 258.

2. See pages 23 and 135.

3. See page 128.

4. See pages 224 and 251.

5. See page 224.

lends weight to the supposition that he might have been the author of a lexicon himself.

*Jayakośa.*

Jayakośa is certainly the name of a lexicon. The name of its author is unknown. A single quotation is found from this work and it reads as follows:—

जम्बीरो जम्भीरो निम्ब इति जयकोशे ।<sup>1</sup>

*Kaliṅgadatta.*

Kaliṅgadatta, most probably a native of the Kaliṅga country is an authority referred to by Ujjvaladatta, Sarvānanda, Rāya-mukūṭa and others. Kaliṅgadatta is known by the shorter name Kaliṅga also. He seems to have commented on the Amarakośa. The extract,

ऐरावतादिचतुष्कं नागरङ्ग इति कलिङ्गदत्तसर्वानन्दादयः<sup>2</sup>

lends support to this view. The reference to Kaliṅga in the Tīkāsarvasva too lends weight to this conjecture.

*Kalpataru.*

A work called Kalpataru is referred to on page 565 of this commentary in connection with the meaning of the word पार. The quotation runs as follows:—

पारदः सकललोकनाशकः षड्भसौ निखिलपोगवाहकः ।

पञ्चभूतमययोगवाहको देहलोहवरसिद्धिदायकः ॥ इति कल्पतरुकारः<sup>3</sup>.

Evidently the verse should have been extracted from some work on medicine and we know of a medical treatise known as Kalpataru, composed by Mallinātha. Perhaps this quotation is from that work.

*Kāśirāja.*

The name of Kāśirāja<sup>4</sup> is introduced in connection with the meaning of the word अभया. We know of a Kāśirāja the author of the Cikitsākaumudī. The extract in the work under notice

उपमुज्यमानायामस्यां सत्यां नास्ति रोगभयमिति अभया इति काशिराजः<sup>5</sup>

might very well have been taken from the Cikitsākaumudī. No ms. copy of this work is known to exist at present in any of the libraries.

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1. See page 211.
  2. See page 222.
  3. See page 565.
  4. See page 237.
  5. See page 237.

*Kātya.*

Kātya is an ancient grammarian and lexicographer. Quotations from his lexicon are frequently met with in commentaries on the Amarakośa like that of Kṣīrasvāmin, etc.

*Kaumudīśvara.*

Kaumudī is a commentary on the Amarakośa. Copies of this commentary are available in Bengal. Only one reference to this commentary is seen in the work under notice. This commentary is older than Rāyamukūṭa, for we find several references in the work of the latter to the Kaumudī.

*Kedāreśvara.*

Kedāreśvara is referred to in the following words:—

नस्ता नासा मष्या शिरा नासा रज्जोश्च दृश्यते इति केदारेश्वरः ।<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to find out who this writer is.

*Kesaramālā.*

Kesaramālā is a comparatively old lexicon, having been referred to by Sarvānanda. From the work under notice we find that the words of the lexicon should have been arranged according to the initial syllable. The dictionary seems to have been one of synonyms.

शारङ्गश्चातके ख्यातः शाबले हरिणे त्रिषु इति तालव्यादौ चातकपर्याये  
केसरमाला<sup>2</sup>

is the extract from the present commentary that give us the necessary information.

*Kramaviśvara.*

On page 392 of the present work we find

शेफः पवर्गोपधमिति क्रमवीश्वरः ।

Kramaviśvara is practically an unknown name. We know of Kramadiśvara who is the author of the grammatical treatise Saṁkṣiptasāra. The word Kramaviśvara seems to be a corruption of Kramadiśvara.

1. See page 542.

2. See page 321.

*Kṛṣṇadāsa.*

Kṛṣṇadāsa's name is mentioned<sup>1</sup> several times over in this work. He seems to have been a commentator on the Amarakośa. From the fact that in most of the southern commentaries his name does not appear it is likely that he belonged to North India, probably to Bengal. Rāmanātha in his Trikāṇḍa-viveka refers to the commentary of Kṛṣṇadāsa on the Amarakośa.

*Kulakabhaṭṭa.*

The name of Kulakabhaṭṭa is known through a single reference in this commentary,

समाज्ञात इति समाङ्पूर्वात् जिनातिरिति ख्यातौ<sup>2</sup>.

The identity of Kulakabhaṭṭa and his work, if any, is not known.

*Kumudākara.*

Kumudākara is the author of a lexicon of unknown name. Six<sup>3</sup> quotations from the lexicon of Kumudākara are found in the work under notice. Nothing more of this author is known.

*Kusumākara.*

Kusumākara is either a lexicon or a lexicographer, hitherto unknown. Only one quotation is available from the Kusumākara and it reads as follows :—

जागुडं हरिताले स्यात् कनकेऽपि नपुंसकम् ।

कुङ्कुमादावपि इति कुसुमाकरः<sup>4</sup>.

*Mādhava.*

There are several references to Mādhava in this work. Among the references at least two writers of the name Mādhava are to be found. One of them is a lexicographer and the other is probably the Mādhava of the Mādhavanidāna fame. The lexicographer Mādhava wrote probably on the model of the Anekārthasamuccaya of Śāśvata in that he arranged the *Paryāya śabdās* in full verses, half verses and so on. Subhūtī-candra<sup>5</sup> tells us that the lexicon of Mādhava was known as *Paryāyaratnamālā*. That Mādhava's was *Paryāyaratnamālā* or

1. See pages 12, 51, 81, 106, 131, etc.

2. See page 94.

3. See pages 733, 739, 740, 743, 754, 761.

4. See page 561.

5. See Subhūtī—R. 2933, p. 184.

simply Ratnamālā is referred to in the present work on page 163. In one place in the present commentary we find<sup>1</sup>

तथा च श्लोकार्धपर्याये माधवः—

मनश्शिला मनोज्ञा च नैपाली कुनटी शिला इति ॥

We know that Subhūticandra is older than Śaraṇadeva, the author of the Durghaṭavṛtti, who belonged to about 1173 A. D. Mādhava who is referred to by Subhūti must be much older. This Mādhava is sought<sup>2</sup> to be identified with the author of the Rugviniścaya—Mādhava, who belonged to the 8th or 9th century.

*Mādhavī.*

Mādhavī, or Madhumādhavī in its fuller name, is a commentary on the Amarakośa by one Madhumādhava. This Madhumādhava is referred to by Vidyāvinoda too in his commentary. It is very likely that he belongs to Bengal.

*Madhumitra.*

Madhumitra is the author of a lexicon of synonyms. Only one quotation is found from his work and it reads as follows:—

मधुमित्रस्तु तुलसीपर्याये

तुलसी वैष्णवी पूजा पवित्रा माधवेति च ।

अमृता पत्रपुष्पा च सुगन्धा पापहारिणी ॥<sup>3</sup>

Neither the name of the lexicon, nor the date of author is known.

*Mahendra.*

Mahendra is another compiler of synonyms. He seems to have brought those words in groups of two synonyms, three, four and so on. Mahendra is referred to as follows:—

द्विपर्यायवर्गे कुम्भोद्धखलमेकं नाम इति महेन्द्रः<sup>4</sup>.

Nothing more of the author is known.

*Matsyāyana.*

Somebody of the name of Matsyāyana is referred to in the following words :—

1. See page 570.

2. See Winternitz, III-550.

3. See page 250.

4. See page 219.

अवि सधर्मिणीं विद्यात्' इति मत्स्यायनः<sup>1</sup>.

But this extract in a slightly different form, which is possibly the correct reading, is found attributed to Kātya in Bhānuji's commentary on the Amarakośa. He says :—

अवि स्त्रीधर्मिणीं विद्यात्' इति कात्याः.

We do not know whether मत्स्यायन is a mistake for कात्यायन.

*Mukuta.*

Mukutarāya, Rāyamukuta, or Bṛhaspati is a commentator on the Amarakośa. Bṛhaspati is his name and the rest titles. He composed his commentary in A. D. 1431. He belonged to Bengal and several copies of his commentary are available.

*Nāmamālā.*

Several lexicons of this name are known to us. Vāmana in his Kāvyaśaṅkārāsūtravṛtti quotes from the Nāmamālā of Kātya. Dhanañjaya's Nāmamālā is available in ms. to day. There are other Nāmamālās also. The commentary under notice quotes simply from Nāmamālā, without specifying the name of the author.<sup>2</sup>

*Nāmānuśāsana.*

This is referred to only once in this commentary as follows :—

असुक्षणोऽपि नामानुशासने ह्रस्वोकारवान्<sup>2</sup>.

Bhānuji<sup>3</sup> refers to this work once in his commentary but in neither place do we find the name of author.

*Narasimha.*

We get three different forms of presumably the same name. In one place<sup>4</sup> we find a half verse from a lexicon quoted as from Nārasimha. In another place<sup>5</sup> we find इति नरसिंहः. A third set of quotations are from Śābdika Narasimha.<sup>6</sup> Narasimha wrote some lexicon from which the extracts referred to above are citations.

1. See page 353.

2. See pages 64, 131, 206, 230, 251, etc.

3. See page 115.

4. See page 146.

5. See page 213.

6. See pages 143, 157, 213, 281, etc.

*Nigamābhīdhāna.*

The Nigamābhīdhāna is an old lexicon of unknown authorship. The work is older than Sarvānanda who quotes from it.

*Nirṇayaadīpikā.*

See Vācaspati.

*Nītiratnākara.*

The Nītiratnākara is referred to only once in the commentary under notice. The reference runs as follows:—

तथा हि नीतिरत्नाकरे—

संबन्धः लाभः उपाकृतः अभेदः गुणक्रीडनं च । भेदास्तु दृष्टभयं  
वचनं संबन्धलाभात्तूपाकृत्य भेदौ गुणकीर्तनं साम पञ्चविधं भेदो दृष्टादृष्टभयं  
चेति<sup>1</sup> ।

The Nītiratnākara is by Caṇḍīśvara.

*Parapāla.*

The lexicographer Parapāla is mentioned only once in the following citation:—

उष्मो घर्मेऽग्रणि ज्येष्ठे पुमानुष्मा स्त्रियामपि<sup>2</sup>.

*Pārijātaka.*

It is not known what this work is like. The following quotation is found from the Pārijātaka.<sup>3</sup>

कर्पूरागरुकस्तूरी कक्कोले घुसृणानि च ।

एकीकृतमिदं सर्वं यक्षकर्म उच्यते ॥

*Prāṇeśvara.*

Prāṇeśvara is very probably a lexicographer of antiquity. Sarvānanda refers to him as follows:—

नद्यां कूपतटे तरौ च विवरे शैले चितौ बल्मिकः इति प्राणेश्वरः<sup>4</sup>

and the same quotation occurs on page 173 of the ms. under notice. More of this author, we do not know.

*Pūrṇacandra.*

See Dhātupārāyaṇa.

*Rabhasa.*

Rabhasa is an old lexicographer and several extracts from his lexicon are available, though the lexicon itself is not extant.

1. See page 465.
2. See page 69.
3. See page 426,
4. See *Tīkāsarvasvam*, under II-i-14.

More than 200 extracts are available in this work. Rabhasa is older than Sarvānanda.

*Rakṣita.*

Rakṣita is probably the same as Maitreya Rakṣita whose Dhātuvṛtti is available in print. In certain places in his Unādivṛtti Ujjvaladatta remarks—इति दुर्घटे रक्षितः and that Rakṣita should be distinguished from Maitreya Rakṣita. Ujjvaladatta's Rakṣita is Sarvarakṣita and it is not unlikely that Sarvarakṣita is referred to as Rakṣita by the commentator whose commentary on the Amarakośa we are now dealing with.

*Rāmadāsa.*

There are nearly ten references to a Rāmadāsa in this commentary. He is referred to by Subhūti and Sarvānanda in their commentaries on the Amarakośa and he is therefore older than the 12th century. Rāmadāsa seems to have composed some works on grammar. Aufrecht attributes to him a work called Kātantravyākhyāsāra.

*Ranti.*

Ranti seems to be a shortened form of Rantideva, an old lexicographer. He is referred to as an authority by Sarvānanda and is therefore older than the 12th century. There are several extracts from Rantikośa in the present work.

*Rasakośa.*

So far only one reference to the Rasakośa has come to light and that is,

दुर्दिनं जलदध्वान्तम्<sup>1</sup>.

It is worthy of note that the same quotation is attributed both in the Ṭikāsarvasva and Vyākhyāsudhā to the Ratnakośa. It is not known whether Rasa is a mistake for Ranta.

*Rasavatī.*

The Rasavatī is referred to only once in the work. Aufrecht tells us that Rasavatī comprises the additions made to the Samkṣiptasāra by Jumarānandin. As a matter of fact the Rasavatī is a Vṛtti on the sūtras of the Samkṣiptasāra school by the founder himself, Kramadīśvara.

*Ratna.*

Ratna is a kośa. There are two lexicons by name Ratna-mālā and Ratnakośa. Ratna may be a shortened form either of

1. See page 45.

2. See page 28.



the former or the latter. In many instances it happens to be the shortened form of Ratnakośa. Ratnakośa itself is older than Sarvānanda and from the quotations available, we are able to infer that it should have consisted of verses in various metres. Sarvānanda tells us that the Ratnakośa was divided into Kāṇḍas and that there were three Kāṇḍas, *i. e.*, Strikāṇḍa, Puṁskāṇḍa and Napuṁsakakāṇḍa. He says:—

ननु रत्नकोशादिवत् स्त्रीपुंनपुंसककाण्डविधानेनैव कथनमुचितम्<sup>1</sup>.

*Ratnaśāstra.*

The Ratnaśāstra is a work on the qualities of precious stones. We find the following quotation from that work:—

येन क्षीरं भवेन्नीलं तद्वैरेयं निगद्यते ।

येन धूम्रायितं क्षीरं तच्छूद्रं विनिगद्यते ॥<sup>2</sup>

The name of the author of the work is not known.

*Rudra.*

Rudra is the author of the Rudrakośa from which copious extracts are cited by Sarvānanda, Bhānuji and others. In the present commentary there are nearly 150 citations from the kośa of Rudra. It was very probably a lexicon of homonyms. Rudra is older than the 12th century.

*Rūparatnākara.*

Rūparatnākara is older than Bhānuji who quotes from the following extract from that work: धनुः प्रियाल द्रुमः<sup>3</sup> In the work under reference there are two references to the Rūparatnākara and they are :—

आमण्डो मण्ड आमण्डः इति रूपरत्नाकरः<sup>4</sup>.

परः कोटिशतेति रूपरत्नाकरः<sup>5</sup>.

It is clear that the Rūparatnākara is a lexicon.

*Śabarāsvāmin.*

At least two Śabarāsvāmins are known to us at present and they are: 1. The author of the famous Mīmāṁsābhāṣya; 2. the author of a Liṅgānuśāsana. Ujjvaladatta quotes most probably from a lexicographer Śabarāsvāmin and the Śabarāsvāmin

1. See page 4.
2. See page 557.
3. II-i-4-35.
4. See page 233.
5. See page 630.

referred to in the commentary under reference also seems to be a lexicographer. The following is the quotation :—

पद्मं च कुमुदं चापि रक्तं कोकनदं स्मृतम्<sup>1</sup>.

*Śābdika, and Śābdika Narasimha.*

See Narasimha.

*Sāhasāṅka.*

Sāhasāṅka is another old lexicographer. We have nearly a dozen quotations from the lexicon of Sāhasāṅka. Sāhasāṅka is one of the authorities mentioned in Viśvaprakāśa and the Viśvaprakāśa was composed in 1111 A. D. Sāhasāṅka is therefore an old writer.

*Sājja.*

Sājja or Sāñjha (the name is written either way) seems to have commented on the Amarakośa. Neither the identity of the author nor the name of his commentary is known. Among other writers who quote Sāñjha is Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda. There are nearly 20 references to Sāñjha in the work, under notice. Aufrecht spells the name as Sāñja. Sāñja is referred to by Rāmanātha in his commentary on the Amarakośa.

*Saṁsārāvarta.*

Saṁsārāvarta is a lexicon referred to by Puruṣottamadeva in the following words:—

शब्दार्णव उत्पलिनी संसारावर्त इत्यपि ।

कोशा वाचस्पतिव्याडिविक्रमादित्यनिर्मिताः ॥

This is understood to mean that the Saṁsārāvarta is by Vikramāditya. On the other hand Saṁsārāvarta is mentioned as an authority in the Medinikośa along with Vikramāditya. There are about eight quotations from Saṁsārāvarta in this work.

*Sanātana.*

Sanātana, a poet is referred to thrice in this work. The following citations occur in the name of Sanātana.

तथा हि सनातनः—

स्वरपिमेनमनोहरमुत्त्रसप्तपृषतलोचनया रहितं त्वया<sup>2</sup>.

अर्चाषि पूर्व जगृहुर्दुतं स्वम्<sup>3</sup>.

1. See page 164.

2. See page 4.

3. See page 31.

These references certainly indicate that he must have been a poet. But the third reference which reads as follows:—

वहस्यैर्य[?]लुनातीति वल्लवः, पचाद्यच् इति सनातनः<sup>1</sup>

seems to indicate that Sanātana is a grammarian. It is not known whether this Sanātana is the same as the poet. Sanātana the poet is referred to by Sarvānanda and the first of the quotations is found in the Ṭikāsarvasva also. Another reference in the same work makes him out to be a grammarian. He is therefore older than the 12th century.

Sarvānanda refers to a work called Yogaśatakavyākhyā of Sanātana and quotes from it as follows:—

तथा च योगशतकव्याख्याने सनातनः—

रीतिकायां ध्यायमानायां यदुत्पद्यते मलं तत् पुष्पाञ्जनम् इति<sup>2</sup>.

The same extract is cited on page 567 of the ms. of the work under notice.

*Sārārṇava.*

A work by name Sārārṇava is referred to on page 564 of this ms. and nearly five verses are quoted therefrom. The verses are:—

शुक्लः स्याद्ब्राह्मणो ज्ञेयः शोणितः क्षत्रियो मतः ।  
पीतो वैश्यस्तथा श्यामः शूद्रः स्यादिति दृश्यते ॥  
कफक्षयकरो विप्रः क्षत्रियश्च त्रिदोषनुत् ।  
वैश्यः पित्तक्षयकरः शूद्रः स्यात् कफवृद्धिकृत्  
सङ्करः क्षत्रविप्रोत्थः कफत्रातविनाशकृत् ।  
वर्णेन शीतरक्ताभो राजवश्यकरो भवेत् ॥  
कफपित्तविनाशाय वैश्यः शूद्रोऽथ सङ्करः  
वर्णेन धूम्रवर्णः स्याज्जातरोगविनाशनः ॥  
यत्र राज्ञो यदंशः स्यात् तस्य नाशाय जायते ॥

*Sārasaṅgraha.*

This is very probably a lexicon. Two citations from this work are available and they are:—

1. See page 538.

2. See Ṭikāsarvasva, II-ix-103.

दूषीका पिच्छटी दूषी पिच्छं दूषिकेति च<sup>1</sup> ।  
दीक्षान्तो यज्ञोऽवमृथः<sup>2</sup> ।

The author of the lexicon is not known.

*Sarvadhara.*

Sarvadhara and Sarvānanda are together mentioned thus :—

प्रत्यग्विमुखं पुष्पमस्या इति प्रत्यक्पुष्पी इति सर्वधरसर्वानन्दौ<sup>3</sup>.

This extract forms the commentary of the word प्रत्यक्पुष्पी in II-iv-89. The reading adopted by Kṣīrasvāmin, Bhānuji, etc. is प्रत्यक्पर्णी but Sarvānanda's reading is प्रत्यक्पुष्पी though he is not unaware of the other reading. Sarvadhara who is probably a commentator on the Amarakośa adopted the same reading as Sarvānanda.

*Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharāṇa.*

This is the grammar of Bhojadeva. Only one quotation is found from this work.

*Śatānanda.*

The name of Śatānanda is introduced in connection with the word पृषन्ति where it is said—

‘पृषन्ति बिन्दुपृषता’ इति द्वन्द्वात् पृषन्तिशब्द इकारान्तः पुमान् इति शतानन्दः<sup>4</sup> ।

We do not know who this Śatānanda is or what work he wrote. Did Śatānanda write on the Amarakośa? Rudraṭa, the famous Ālaṅkārika was a Śatānanda. Perhaps he is not the same as the Śatānanda referred to here.

*Somanandin.*

As the name indicates Somanandin should have been a Jaina writer. Pūjyapāda the famous Jaina philosopher had a pupil by name Somanandin and it is not unlikely that he is the same as the referred to here. The contribution of Jains to grammatical literature in Sanskrit is great and Somanandin has contributed his share. Ujjvaladatta refers to Somanandin as an authority and we have in the work under notice the following :—

1. See page 385.
2. See page 443.
3. See page 254.
4. See page 139.

अपगच्छतीत्यपगा इति सोमनन्दी<sup>1</sup> ।

Somanandin is older than the 12th century; he must be much older if he were the same as the pupil of Pūjyapāda.

*Śrīdhara.*

The following is the quotation from Śrīdhara in this work :

चन्द्रशाला तु बलमिः स्यातां प्रासादमूर्धनि<sup>2</sup> ।

It is clear that Śrīdhara is a lexicographer. What his lexicon was, we do not know.

*Śrīnivāsa.*

Śrīnivāsa, probably a lexicographer is referred to thus :

जीवोऽङ्गिराः सुरगुरुः वचसां पतिः याज्यः<sup>3</sup> ।

It is not known who Śrīnivāsa is.

*Śubhāṅga.*

This is another lexicographer from whom there are four<sup>4</sup> quotations in the work under reference. Śubhāṅga is referred to by Sarvānanda and he is therefore older than the 12th century.

*Subhūti.*

Subhūti is another old commentator on the Amarakośa, older than Ujjvaladatta and Sarvānanda. A big fragment of Subhūti's commentary<sup>5</sup> is available in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

*Tāpasimha.*

The views of one Tāpasimha are referred to<sup>6</sup> regarding the spelling of the word *Kāśī*. Tāpasimha held that the word could be spelt *Kāśā* also.

*Tārapāla.*

Tārapāla is another old lexicographer referred to by Sarvānanda and others and he is therefore older than the 12th century. There are a dozen quotations from Tārapāla in this work.<sup>7</sup>

1. See page 157.

2. See page 186.

3. See page 52.

4. See pages 152, 332, 416, 469.

5. In the further issues of this Journal the commentary of Subhūti will be noticed in detail.

6. See page 298.

7. See pages 129, 152, 206, etc.

*Trikāṇḍa.*

See Bhāguri.

*Umāmaheśvara.*

Umāmaheśvara seems to have been a lexicographer.

विरुदिरव्रस्तथा विप्रो नासिकाविगतापि सा<sup>1</sup>

is the quotation from Umāmaheśvara in this work.

*Upādhyāyasarvasvam.*

See Dāmodara.

*Utpalamālā.*

Utpalamālā is an old lexicon. The work is cited as an authority in the Ṭikāsarvasva and therefore the work is older than the 12th century. The work is referred to thus—

सयक्षमरोगराजोऽयम् इत्युत्पलमाला<sup>2</sup> ।

*Utpalinī.*

Three quotations occur from a lexicon called Utpalinī in this work. In the opinion of Amaracandra, the Utpalinī is a composition of Vyāḍi. In the opinion of Sarvānanda Vyāḍi is different from the author of the Utpalinī. Whoever was the author, the Utpalinī is older than Sarvānanda.

*Vācaspati.*

Vācaspati is a sufficiently old lexicographer. The lexicon of Vācaspati seems to have been known as Nirṇayadīpikā according to the author of the commentary under reference. It is said<sup>3</sup>

‘द्वारुरुर्वारुरेव उर्वारुरिति चेप्यते’ इति निर्णयदीपिकायां वाचस्पतिः ।

On the other hand the couplet from the Hārāvalī referred to already has been interpreted to mean that Śabdārṇava is the name of the lexicon of Vācaspati. In the face of this reference we are obliged to reject the interpretation of the verse of the Hārāvalī which seeks to make out that Vācaspati wrote the Śabdārṇava. Vācaspati is older than Sarvānanda. We come across nearly 60 quotations from Vācaspati in this work.

*Vaikunṭha.*

Vaikunṭha is a lexicographer hitherto unknown. The following *ardha* from the lexicon of Vaikunṭha is cited:

प्रकारमूलबन्धेऽपि समूहेऽपि च यो मतः<sup>4</sup> ।

1. See page 369.

2. See page 373.

3. See page 291.

4. See page 178

*Vasantarāja.*

There are three<sup>1</sup> references to Vasantarāja of which one is evidently from a lexicon. It runs as follows :

पल्लिका गृहगोधिका<sup>2</sup> ।

The other references are not from any lexicon; in fact we cannot say from which work they may have been taken.

*Vibhākara.*

Vibhākara who is referred to here is evidently a poet. The following quarter verse of his referred to in this work.

यदूदुर्गन्धि मदाविलं मलशतैः यत्पूतिनाडीमयम्<sup>3</sup> ।

This quotation occurs in Sarvānanda's Ṭikāsarvasva in the name of Vibhākaravarman. So Vibhākaravarman is an old poet belonging to a period anterior to the 12th century.

*Vidyāvinoda.*

Vidyāvinoda Nārāyaṇa is a commentator on the Amarakośa. His commentary is available and detailed information regarding that work will be furnished in one of the further issues of this Journal.

*Vikramāditya.*

Vikramāditya is another lexicographer, older than Sarvānanda. It is to this author that the Saṁsārāvarta is attributed by certain scholars. Three<sup>3</sup> quotations occur in the name of Vikramāditya in this work.

*Viṣvaksena.*

Viṣvaksena is the author of an unknown lexicon. There are nearly forty<sup>4</sup> references to Viṣvaksena in this work.

*Vṛddhāmarakośa.*

In Smṛti literature we very often come across works of the same name with the words वृद्ध, बृहत् or लघु prefixed to them, as for instance वृद्धमनु, बृहन्मनु, लघुमनु etc. The Manusmṛti is the one standard work that we know of and the Vṛddhamanu or the Laghumanu must be regarded either an expanded or a condensed Manusmṛti. Similarly in lexicographical literature we

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1. See pages 110, 197, 317.
  2. See page 317.
  3. See page 82.
  4. See pages 194, 391, 506,
  5. See pages 70, 128, 225, etc.

have works like *Bṛhad Amara*, *Bṛhad Utpalinī*, *Vṛddhāmara*, etc. The *Vṛddhāmara* is referred to in this work nearly a dozen times.<sup>1</sup> Who compiled the *Vṛddhāmara* is not known at present.

### *Vyāḍi.*

Vyāḍi is an ancient lexicographer and grammarian. Vyāḍi wrote a work in 1,00,000 granthas a work on grammar and it is known as *Saṅgraha*. Unfortunately it is now lost. Whether Vyāḍi, the lexicographer is the same as that writer is yet to be determined. One reference to Vyāḍi among others is worthy of notice at present.

कमपि भूभुवनाङ्गणकोणमिति व्याडिभाषासमावेशः<sup>2</sup> ।

Vyāḍi must have written a *Kāvya*, in which there must have been *Bhāṣāsamāveśa* Sarga, as we find in Bhaṭṭi. What it is, one should discover.

### *Vyūḍha.*

The following verse,

लक्ष्मीसरस्वतीधात्रीत्रिवर्गसंपद्धिभूतिशोभासु ।

उपकरणवेषरचनाविधासु श्रीरिति प्रथिता ॥

is cited on page 1 of the work as extracted from *Vyūḍha*. On the other hand the same verse is cited as Vyāḍi's in the *Ṭikā-sarvasva*.<sup>3</sup> What this *Vyūḍha* is, one cannot say.

Thus we find that a host of writers and works, many of which are practically unknown is referred to in this commentary. Judging from these references it is possible to regard the author of this commentary as later than the 17th century. Liṅgabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Amarakośa* is one of the latest commentaries and since it is referred to in the work under notice, the latter must be placed after the 17th century.

1. See pages 14-15, 122, 203, 247, etc.

2. See page 185.

3. See page 2.



## THE MADURAI CHRONICLES AND THE TAMIL ACADEMIES.

BY

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### VII

The legends which have been piously embodied in the sacred chronicles of Madurai could not have risen before the founding of that city nor before the raising of temples in it to Viṣṇu and to Śiva.

The earliest of the datable records in which allusions to the city seem to be traceable are the early Brāhmī inscriptions incised in caverns in the Siddhar-malai and the Aḷahar-malai, hills not far distant from Madurai. The inscriptions belong probably to the third century B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and it is not improbable that Madurai is really mentioned in them.<sup>2</sup> The next of the datable references is to be found in Pliny (77 A. D.); he makes mention of the 'Mediterranean emporium of Modoura.'

The temple at Madurai dedicated to Śiva as the Lord Sundara seems to be at least as old as the Sangam period, for, it is mentioned in poems of that age.<sup>3</sup> So popular and well-known is the temple that it is needless to say anything about it except that through the pious labours of numerous kings and in spite of time and vandalism it is one of the grandest temples in this country and that it is impossible to discover in its architecture any traces which would take the present structure much earlier than the tenth century A. D. The temple to Viṣṇu as Sundara-rāja is also referred to in poems attributed to the Sangam period.<sup>4</sup>

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1. K. V. Subrahmanya-Aiyar, in *PTAI OC.* 4 (1924 Madras), 280-2.

2. *Ib.* 298-9; Krishna-Sastri in *Ib.* 1 (1918 Poona), 342-6.

3. *Pt. Pt.* 6 *MK.* 453-5.

4. *Pari-Pāḍal*, p. 165. See also Gopinatha-Rao, in *ST.* (1906 A-S) iv. 541-3, and Pandit M. Rāghava-Aiyāṅgār in *Ib.* (1910 J-F) viii 111-4.

Of this temple it has been said that 'the central shrine was designed on regal lines, but was apparently never finished',<sup>1</sup> and that its execution is in the same style as that of the Vaikunṭha-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeevaram and the Shore temple at Mahā-balipuram,—that is, in the style evolved in the days of the Pallava king Narasinhavarman II (c. 700 A. D.).<sup>2</sup> The Sangam period not being later than the third century A. D., both the temples must have been in existence by then, and both of them must in later times have been so completely rebuilt that not the least trace is now visible of the structures which must have existed as early at least as the third century A. D.

But it should not be concluded that the city could not have been founded before the 3rd century B. C., nor the temples raised before the 3rd century A. D.; the absence of positive evidence is no ground on which to assume a conclusion in the negative.

The legends concerning Madurai and the Pandyas fall into three main groups,—those which seek to derive the Pandyas from one or other of the famous figures of antiquity, those which would make out that their line was prolific of men of high attainments and great achievements, and those which are the products of an endeavour to make out that the kings of this line were the recipients of the especial grace of the Viṣṇu and the Śiva of Madurai.

The legends linking the Pandyas with some classic celebrities,—those of the first group—do not strictly fall within the scope of the present inquiry and will receive attention elsewhere, though we shall have to consider some of these legends incidentally in endeavouring to trace the origin of a few legends which pertain to the second group.

The legends narrating the achievements of the great king's of the Pandya line,—those of the second group,—can be traced from very early times down to the days of the degenerate

1. Francis, W., *Madura Gazetteer*, (1906) i. 273.

2. See Gopinatha-Rao, *op cit.* 543 n. We know of another temple to Viṣṇu (under the name of Kariya-māṇikka Perumāḷ), 'which formerly stood immediately south-west of the *Chinna moṭṭai gōpuram*, of the great Śiva temple, but 'it was demolished' (Francis, W., *op cit.*, 269). This temple is different from the one round which the legends have gathered.

Pandyas of the sixteenth century A. D. These legends are not merely popular but are also of value for the purposes of history. They are divisible into three sub-groups. Those of the first sub-group have remained distinct and have preserved their individuality. In Iḷam-Kō-Aḍihaḷ's *Śilapp-Adihāram*, we are told of a Pandya who cut off his own hand.<sup>1</sup> The commentary on Iṟaiyaṇār's *Ahaṇ-Poruḷ* tells of a Pandya, Mā-Kīrti, who made the dēvas and the asuras friends.<sup>2</sup> The *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai* preserves three legends of the Pandyas,—a Pandya learning Tamil from Agastya,<sup>3</sup> a Pandya securing amṛta for the gods,<sup>4</sup> and a Pandya effecting peace between two warring kings.<sup>5</sup> In the two ninth century grants of the Pandyas we have a few more legends,—the Pandyas having Agastya for their family priest and getting crowned by him, their defeating Agni and the enemies of the gods and employing the gods themselves as messengers, and a Pandya churning the milk-ocean with the Mandara mountain. In the other two grants,—of the early tenth century,—we have mention of practically all the legends embodied in the two earlier grants, and also a few more:—of Pandyas exacting services from goblins, bestowing a thousand elephants on supplicants, making Rāvaṇa sue for peace, going round the earth, and acting as ambassadors to secure victory for the gods, being pupils of Agastya, and being learned deeply in the śāstras and in Tamil. It is unnecessary to trace these tales in the records of still later days. To the second sub-group belong a number of legends which, of little value by themselves, are useful as indicating the course of the evolution of the legends of the first of the main groups already mentioned. The third sub-group is of importance in the present enquiry as it is from the legends of this class that those of the third of the main groups have been derived.

We may now pass on to a study of the third group of the legends of Madurai—those which narrate the deeds which Śiva

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1. xxiii (*Kaṭṭurai*). 42-53; this legend is often referred to in later literature.

2. I. *AP*. 34. B. 210.

3. St. 93.

4. St. 214.

5. St. 245.

6. Most of these will be found repeated, for instance, in the 'historical introductions' to some of the inscriptions of the Pandyas from about the eleventh century A. D. See the list at foot of the next page

or Viṣṇu was pleased to perform for his devotees, the Pandyas. The growth of this group is interesting to trace, not merely because it gives us an idea, however vague, of the ways in which mythology and religion were made to subserve each other, but also because we are able, in the process, to perceive how from devotees of Śiva the Pandyas were transmuted into descendants of that god.

In none of the anthologies of the Sangam period do we seem to find allusions to the events which in the *Tiru-Viṭaiyāḍal Purānam*s are styled 'Sports'.<sup>1</sup> Iḷam-kō-Adihaḷ's *Ṣilapp-Adihāram* tells of a Pandya throwing a javelin at the sea and, perhaps, trampling it with his feet,<sup>2</sup> and also of a Pandya vanquishing Indra

TABLE of HISTORICAL INTRODUCTIONS in the published inscriptions of the Pandyas :

KING	INTRODUCTION	REFERENCES.
Śrī-Vallabha	J. திருமடந்தையும் ஜயமடந்தையும் }	<i>PI.T.</i> 243. <i>SII. T.</i> v. 6, 294, 298, 732.
Parākrama	M. திருமகள் புணர	<i>SII. T.</i> v. 297.
Parāntaka	J. திருவளரச் செயம் வளர }	<i>TrAS.</i> i. 21.
Śrī-Vallabha	M. பூமகள் ஜயமகள்	<i>TrAS.</i> iv. 125, vii. 3.
Vīra	J. பூமடந்தையும் ஜய மடந்தையும் }	<i>TrAS.</i> ii. 18.
Kulaśēkhara	J. பூதலமடந்தை பூதலவனிதை	<i>SII. T.</i> v. 293, 296. <i>SII. T.</i> v. 301, 428.
"	பூவின் கிழத்தி }	<i>PI. T.</i> 246. <i>SII. T.</i> v. 302, 412, 415.
Sundara	M. பூமருவியதிருமடந் தையும் }	<i>PI. T.</i> 250, 256, 290, 323. <i>SII. T.</i> iv. 372; v. 300, 431.
"	பூமலர் திருவும்	<i>SII. T.</i> v. 421, 440, 446, 448, 734.
Sundara	J. பூமலர்வளர்	<i>SII. T.</i> v. 459; <i>ST.</i> iv, 514-6.
Vīra	J. திருமகள்வளர்முலை	<i>PI. T.</i> 366.
"	கொங்கீழங்கொண்டு	<i>PI. T.</i> 370.
Kulaśēkhara	M. தேர்போல்	<i>SII. T.</i> iv. 426.

1. In the commentaries on two of the poems of this period (*PNN.* 9: 13, and *PtPt.* 6 *MK.* 61), attempts have been made to discover allusions to the abasement of the sea (*PPPN* 21: *PJ* 13), but in the texts themselves we find little to support the attempts. The comment on the latter passage comes in for discussion lower down.

2. *PPPN* 21: *PJ* 13; see *IKA. SA.* (xi. *Kāḍu-kāṇ-*) 17-22.

and breaking his wristlet on Indra's head and taking the clouds captive.<sup>1</sup>

It has been assumed that a few of the 'Sports' are referred to in some passages in the hymns of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu<sup>2</sup> and Jñāna-sambandha,<sup>3</sup> and so long has the assumption remained un-

1. PPPN 44: PJ 14; see IKA. SA., xi. (*Kūḍu-kūṇ*) 23-30; xvii (*Āycciyar*-) *Uḷvari* 1-2; *Paḍarkkai*, 3: 11-2; xxiii (*Kaṭṭurai*-), 50-1.

2. TABLE of possible references by TIRU-NAVUKKU-ARASU in his *Tevarams* to the SPORTS:

PPPN. PJ.	REFERENCE.	PPPN. PJ.	REFERENCE.
12 19 1	அதிகை நே. 25 : 2	31 23 1	காஞ்.மே.நே. 43 : 2
" " 3	ஆல. தா. 19 : 1	" " 2	கோயில். கு. 1 : 7
16 52 3	புத். தா. 76 : 3	" " 3	மறை. தா. 23 : 9
20 56 3	பூவ. தா. 18 : 9	" " 3	ஆருர். தா. 34 : 6
22 57 3	அதிகை.தா. 3 : 1	" " 3	வெண். தா. 36 : 6
" " 3	காள. தா. 8 : 4	44 14 3	புத். தா. 76 : 10
" " 3	சாய். தா. 82 : 2	47 49 1	அதிகை.நே. 25 : 2
23 32 3	ஆல. தா. 19 : 9	" " 1	ஆல. நே. 62 : 1
28 59 1	ஆருர் கா. 4 : 2	" " 3	ஆல. தா. 19 : 1
" " 2	வீழி. கு. 12 : 8	58 46 1	பருப். நே. 58 : 1
" " 2	ஆதிபு. கு. 100 : 7	" " 1	கண்டி. வி. 93 : 1
" " 3	நெய். தா. 41 : 5	" " 2	நள். கு. 68 : 5
30 61 3	பூவ. தா. 18 : 9	" " 3	சோழ். தா. 44 : 7
31 23 1	கோயில்.நே. 22 : 9	" " 3	சிவ. தா. 87 : 6
" " 1	கோயில்.நே. 22 : 10	64 16 1	ஆல. நே. 62 : 1

3. TABLE of possible references by JNANA-SAMBANDHA in his *Tevarams* to the SPORTS:

PPPN. PJ.	REFERENCES.	PPPN. PJ.	REFERENCES.
2 2 2	ஆனை. இந். 23 : 4	38 63 3	ஆல. நால. 108 : —
" " 2	வெண். சீ. 48 : 7	41 49 1	ஆல. குறி. 94 : 7
5 6 3	ஆல. கௌ. 2 : —	55 42 1	கோளி. பழ. 62 : 9
15 51 3	ஆல. கௌ. 51 : 4	" " 3	ஆல. இல. 115 : 6
" " 3	கௌசி. பாசு. 54 : 11	59 46 1	சேய்ஞ.பழ. 48 : 6
" " 3	தேஜு. இரா. 74 : 11	" " 2	தெளிச்.இந். 3 : 1
31 23 1	இலம். கு. 76 : 3	64 16 1	சேய்ஞ.பழ. 48 : 1
" " 1	கடைமு.வி. 111 : 1	" " 1	முதுகு. மே. 131 : 7
37 62 2	ஆல. கா. 66 : 11	" " 1	வீழி. மே. 132 : 1
" " 3	ஆல. கொ. 39 : 11	" " 2	ஐயா. இரா. 32 : 4
" " 3	ஆல. கௌ. 51 : 11	" " 3	ஆல. கௌ. 52 : 8
" " 3	ஆல. பு. 120 : —	" " 3	ஆல. பழ. 62 : 9
38 63 3	ஆல. கௌ. 47 : 4	" " 3	ஆல. பழ. 115 : 2
" " 3	நள். சா. 87 : 8		

challenged that it is now difficult to make even scholars divest themselves of the ideas in which they have grown up and to re-examine the passages apart from the tales with which they now stand linked. The passages being too many in number to be conveniently examined here at the length and with the minuteness necessary to dispel deeply rooted notions,<sup>1</sup> we must content ourselves with saying that some of them are too bald and some are too vague for us to test whether they do really refer to any of the 'Sports.' A few passages seem to refer to miracles worked by the Lord elsewhere than at Madurai, and some others look like adaptations of well known legends. Indeed it is doubtful if most of the alleged references to the 'Sports' would not have been rejected summarily if scholars had only realised the futility of interpreting the language of early works in the light of latter-day romances.

The only satisfactory test is to determine whether the passages in which allusions to the Sports are traced would yield us these romances if read independently of the *Tiru-Vīlaiyāḍal Purāṇams*. Let us therefore examine some of the passages which are claimed to be allusions, explicit or covert, to the Sports,—especially those which are held to allude to the Academies.

Would any one have thought of discovering in Tiru-Nāvukku Araṣu's words, 'He who is enshrined at Adiyaraiya-maṅgai',<sup>2</sup> a reference to the legend of Śiva marrying a fisherman's daughter<sup>3</sup> had he known that Adiyaraiya-maṅgai is the name of a village?<sup>4</sup> The confusion has arisen from the fact that the name of the village is capable of being rendered also into 'the maiden of the fisherman caste'.<sup>5</sup>

1. An examination of all these passages and, indeed, of the numerous passages in various Tamil literary works in which allusions to historical events have been suspected has been undertaken by me in a book, *Tradition and History in South India*, which I hope will be published in a few months. By way of illustration of the method I have followed I may be permitted to refer the reader to an article by me on the date of Māṇikya-vācaka: *QJMS*, xxii (1931 Oc.) 185-200.

2. அதியரையமங்கை அமர்ந்தான் தன்னை. TNA. T. 3 : 3 : 1.

3. PPPN 22: PJ 57.

4. Two villages known are ; see *SIIT.*, vi. 287 : 1 ; *SI. T.*, 78.

5. The word அமர்ந்தான் cannot be easily got over by those who make the passage allude to the legend.

In one of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu's hymns occurs a passage in a hymn,—‘Look at Him who was gracious enough to appear in the assembly as a poet of fine poems and presented the purse of gold to Darumi’. From this passage has been inferred the existence of an Academy at Madurai as envisaged in the *Tiru-Viḷai-yāḍal Purāṇams* and Iraiyanār's *Ahaṇ-Poruḷ*. The popular impression, based mainly on these works, is that the Sangams were three in number, that they came one after the other in practically unbroken succession, that they were organised on a well-planned constitution with Presidents and Secretaries and Laureates, that they were housed in their own Hall and that they sat day in and day out and from generation to generation and for thousands of years and held convocations from time to time at which honours were conferred on scholars of renown. If we grant that such an Academy did exist it may not be difficult to imagine that the assembly before which the Lord appeared for Darumi was that Academy, but from the words of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu alone it is hard to evoke a picture of the assembly as limned in the pages of the Chronicles. To determine the character of the assembly in which, according to Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu, the prize was won for Darumi, we cannot do better than turn to a hymn of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu's famous contemporary, Jñāna-sambandha. In singing of the Śiva enshrined at Kaḷumalam he tells of poets receiving great largesses for singing hallelujahs to that deity; the hymn suggests that the presents were offered in the temple at Kaḷumalam in the immediate presence of the Lord for hymns composed on Him.<sup>1</sup> Of an assembly of a similar type we have an excellent example in the legend of Periya-Ālvār told in the *Kūḍal Purāṇam*. A king's mind is vexed with a doubt and his preceptor calls scholars together to resolve the doubt, but they fail in the task set them: the king then sends far and near for scholars to unravel the knot, and he offers a royal reward; scholars assemble and hold long disputations, and at last one of them emerges victor; and to him the king awards the rich guerdon he had announced. What is there in the tale of Darumi as told by Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu that could induce us to accept that it differs in essence from the assemblies of the

1. பாமருவகலைப்புலவோர்பன்மலர்கள் கொண்டணிந்துப் பரிசினாலே  
காமனைகள் பூரித்துக்களிகூர்ந்து நின்றேத்துங்கழுமலமே.



kind envisaged by Jñāna-sambandha or in the *Kūḍal Purāṇam*? Disputations on problems of philosophy and assemblies of scholars are as old as the dawn of Indian culture. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa*, for instance, tell of a scholar, Uddālaka Āruṇi, challenging other scholars to a disputation and offering gold as a prize to him who would vanquish him in the contest. The practice was older even than the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, for that work itself speaks of the practice as an ancient one: 'in the time of our forefathers a prize used to be offered by the chosen when driving about for the sake of calling out the timid to a disputation'.<sup>1</sup> Teachers of those days had their assemblies of the learned,<sup>2</sup> and scholars used to be convoked in *pariśads* to consider moot questions of philosophy.<sup>3</sup> The assembly of scholars is a cultural institution of much antiquity and great popularity,<sup>4</sup> and it has persisted even to modern times; but it has always been a casual body convoked to discuss a topic of interest or difficulty or to listen to and appraise a poem or a song,<sup>5</sup> but it never assumed the character of a permanent corporation. The tale of Darumi of which the memory is preserved by Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu must have been closer to the story of the *Kūḍal Purāṇam* than to the tale of the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇams*: indeed, there is little to distinguish between Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu's brief tale and the elaborate narrative in the *Kūḍal Purāṇam* except that in the former occurs an

1. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi. r. 1. 1-9; *Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa*, i. 3.8-.

2. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, vi. 1. 1; *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, ii. 11.13, 14.

3. *Gōbhila Gṛhya Sūtra*, iii. 2.40.

4. See Macdonnell and Keith, *VJ.*, i. 117 (Ṛṣi), and i. 497 (Pariśad).

5. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri would admit that 'the practice of assemblies listening to new works and appraising them receives epigraphical confirmation' in later times (*JMU.*, 1930 D., iii. 28 n), but he does not point to one instance of such assemblies having had a permanent existence or a well defined constitution such as are associated with the Academies of the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇams* or the Preface to the Commentary on Iṭaiyaṇār's grammar. Allusions such as those to which the Professor draws attention do not necessarily refer to academies of the kind contemplated by tradition: indeed, they go to support the contrary contention that the only literary assemblies we know of are the gatherings brought together occasionally as and when necessity arose for them.



ambiguous word (*śaṅgam*) which could with equal propriety be interpreted to mean an assembly or an academy. If further proof were necessary to show that the *Tiru-Vīlaiyāḍal Purāṇams* present the legend of Darumi in a form varying greatly from what must have been the real facts, it would be found in the circumstance that Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu who is the first to tell the tale does not associate the miracle with Madurai at all; he would seem to have believed that the victory for Darumi was obtained at a different place,—Tirup-Puttūr,—for, it is in a hymn on the Śiva of that place that he makes mention of the miracle. The probabilities are that a miracle associated originally with Tirup-Puttur was converted into one of the 'Sports' of the Lord of Madurai when it became necessary to discover material for as many as sixty-four of them.

The passage in another hymn<sup>1</sup> in which an allusion to the legend of Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ<sup>2</sup> is generally traced tells nothing more than that the temple of North Ālavāy and the image of the Lord thereof stand on the very brink of the river Vaigai : it contains no hint whatever of the circumstances in which that temple was built or the idol of the Lord was installed in it,—much less of the tale of that temple having been raised in consequence of the Lord having deserted the great temple of Madurai in high dudgeon at the insult heaped on His great devotee, Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ. The passage cannot reasonably be relied on to support any theory which goes farther than that in the days of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu a temple to the Lord stood on the banks of the Vaigai.

We may now pass on to consider the allusions which are usually discovered in the hymns of Jñāna-sambandha. Three passages in his hymns are pointed to as allusions to the Academies. One of them says merely that the Pandya had round him an assembly of the learned.<sup>3</sup> Which Indian king was ever without his retinue of scholars ? Was not a Hall of Learning offered as tribute to Karikāla-Cōla by the warlike king of Magadha ?<sup>4</sup> The second passage is taken to refer to the assembling of poets in

1. வைகதைத் திருக்கோட்டிநின்றதோர் திறமும்: TNA. T. 3. Pūva-Tāṇ. 18 : 9.

2. PPPN 20 : PJ 56.

3. பட்டிமண் தென்னன் பாண்டியன் JS. T., 3. Āla. Kanu. 51 : 4.

4. மகதநன்னாட்டுவாள்வாய் வேந்தன்

பகைப்புறத்துக் கொடுத்த பட்டி மண்டபமும்

an academy at Madurai,<sup>1</sup> but the assembling need refer to nothing but the bringing together of the four 'canopied halls' in that city<sup>2</sup> or to the compiling of the books of selections known as the Sangam collections. The third passage<sup>3</sup> is hard to construe if an allusion to an academy is to be read into it, but becomes easy of interpretation if we take it to allude to the devotion<sup>4</sup> which suffuses the poet's poems.<sup>5</sup>

The only allusion to the 'Sports' which we can be reasonably certain of in the hymns of Tiru-Nāvukku Araṣu is the reference to the victory of a Pandya over Indra;<sup>6</sup> similarly, in the hymns of Jñāna-sambandha we may be fairly certain that the only references out of which allusions to the Sports could be spelt out are those relating to Jñāna-sambandha curing a Pandya<sup>7</sup> and his vanquishing the Jains in a disputation.<sup>8</sup>

The *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai* refers to only two incidents which have been transformed into Sports,—a Pandya defeating Indra<sup>9</sup> and the carving the Pandya crest on Mount Mēru.<sup>10</sup>

In the two earlier sets of grants of the Pandyas<sup>11</sup> we find mention of a Pandya king bathing in the southern sea,<sup>12</sup> defeating Indra,<sup>13</sup> and incising the carps on Mount Mēru.<sup>14</sup> In the other two sets of grants<sup>15</sup> we have references to these three achievements, and to three more,—the founding of the city of Madurai by a Pandya,<sup>16</sup> his bathing in the four oceans in a single day,<sup>17</sup> and

1. மதுரைத் தொகையாக்கினனும் JS. T., 3. Kan-. Pāśuram, 54: 11.

2. PPPN 12 : PJ 18.

3. சங்கமலி செந்தமிழ்கள் பத்துமிவை வல்லவர்கள் சங்கையிலரே.

JS. T., 3: Tēvur, Śa. 74 : 11

4. The word சங்கம் means 'devotion'; சங்கந்தரு முத்தியாம் பெற, MV. TSK. 85. In the old scholiast's comment thereon, சங்கம் is rendered into திரு அடிக்கண் உண்டாகிய பற்று. See also JS. T. 1: 47: 11 ; 4.

5. The passage would then refer to 'the hymn of ten stanzas abounding in devotion'.

6. PPPN 44 : PJ 14.

7. PPPN 37 : PJ 62.

8. PPPN. 38 : PJ 63.

9. PPPN 44 : PJ 14, I. AP. B., PK., 156.

10. PPPN 61 : PJ 15 ; I. AP. B., PK., 52, 102, 111, 156, 202.

11. The Tēlvikkudi and the Madras Museum grants.

12. PPPN. 21 : PJ.

13. PPPN. 44 : PJ 14.

14. PPPN 61 : PJ 15.

15. The two Śiṅṅamaṇūr grants.

16. PPPN 2 : PJ 2.

17. PPPN 8 : PJ 9.

his maintaining an assembly,<sup>1</sup>—and also to Śiva having been a Pandya.<sup>2</sup> The passage relating to the assembly,<sup>3</sup> is ambiguous: it may mean either that the Pandya 'maintained an assembly in the city of Madurai' or that he 'maintained the assembly of the city of Madurai': on the latter interpretation the assembly is obviously a civic one, while on the former it has still to be shown that the assembly was one of literati and that it answered to the description given by the chroniclers.<sup>4</sup>

The interpolated preface to the commentary on *Īraiyaṇār's Ahaṇ-Poru* contains the first record of three Academies fostered by an unbroken line of Pandya kings, of Śiva himself being an academician, of some of the Pandyas being members of the Academies and of Rudra-Janman approving of the commentary on *Īraiyaṇār's* treatise.

The *Tiru-Vāśaham* of Māṇikya-vācaka is generally believed to embody allusions to a large number of the Sports, and, indeed, an impressive list could be made out of passages which, *prima facie*, look like references to the Sports.<sup>5</sup> But, most of the refer-

1. PPPN 15: PJ 9.

2. PPPN. 4: PJ 6.

3. 'Madhurā puric-śaṅgam vaittum'.

4. And yet, Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri asserts: 'Surely only an academy or College can be meant'; *JMU* (1930 D) iii, 29 n. See also, Dr. S. Krishnaswami-Aiyangar, in *IA*. lvi. (1932 M).

5. TABLE of possible references in Māṇikya-vācaka's *TIRU-VASAHAM* to the Sports:

SPORT	REFERENCE.	SPORT	REFERENCE.	SPORT	REFERENCE.
2	2 4 — 162-3	27	58 See note	30	61 2 — 56-7
	11 12 45-6	28	59 2 27-8		8 8 46-8
4	5 4 — 964		" — 33		13 16 61-4
	" — 112		" — 36-41		30 2 5
	8 10 57		" — 44-5	31	23 13 19 73-4
	14 — 8		8 3 17	39	30 2 — 66-7
	18 7 27-8		" 20 115-7	42	33 2 — 63-4
	11 — 15		16 8 45		4 — 162-3
	13 — 2		17 7 28	43	35 2 — 58-9
	17 — 5		18 6 21-3	45	36 2 — 50-1
	36 3 10		" 7 27-8	46	37 2 — 64-5
	" 7 25-8		" 8 32		48 3 9-11
	49 1 6		36 1 3	48	40 4 — 213-4
5	6 2 — 138		" 2 6-8		8 11 63-4
13	20 2 — 43		" 3 10-1	53	3 4 — 207-9
22	57 2 — 17		" 7 25-8	58	45 4 — 167
	4 — 208		" 9 33-5		43 6 21-4
	8 2 11-2		38 1 3-4		50 5 17
	16 8 44		43 10 37-40	60	47 4 — 209
	43 3 11-2		" 4 14-6	64	16 2 — 18
	48 3 9-11		48 2 5-7		49 — 7
	49 1 8		50 7 25-8		

ences are no better than similar ones in the hymns of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu and Jñāṇa-sambandha. On a critical examination, it will be found that even granting that the miracles over which Māṇikya-vācaka goes into raptures are identical with the Sports of the *Tiru-Vīlaiyādal Purāṇams*, it is possible, from the language of Māṇikya-vācaka, to identify only one with the Pandya,<sup>1</sup> only two with Madurai,<sup>2</sup> and only three with the Pandya country.<sup>3</sup> Six of the miracles,—including two dealing with the Sports played for Māṇikya-vācaka himself,—<sup>4</sup> seem to be associated with Perum-Turai and not with Madurai; two miracles seem to be associated with Uttara-Kōśa-Maṅgai and one with Gō-kālī.<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to find the miracle of the metamorphosis of jackals into horses<sup>6</sup> associated not only with Perum-Turai but with Uttara-Kōśa-Maṅgai and Gō-kālī as well. A list can be drawn up of Sports, the scene of which Māṇikya-vācaka would seem to lay at places other than Madurai.<sup>7</sup> It looks even probable, on a perusal of some of the hymns of Māṇikya-vācaka, that a few of the legends which now appear as Sports were known to Māṇikya-vācaka in versions varying greatly from the ones found in the *Tiru-Vīlaiyā-*

*Note:—*The allusions to Sport 27 : 58 being generally considered numerous, the references are not given here. They will be found in MMU. V. Sāmināda-Aiyar's edition of PPPN. *TVP*.

1. Sport connected with Pandya.			
SPORT	REFERENCES		
28 : 59	2	—	36-41
"	36	1	3
"	36	2	6-8
"	36	3	10
"	36	7	25-8
"	36	9	33-5
2. " Sports connected with Madura.			
SPORTS	REFERENCES		
28 : 59	2	—	44-5
"	50	7	25-8

28 : 59	43	10	37-40
30 : 61	2	—	46-7
"	8	8	46-8
"	13	16	61-4
3. " Sports connected with Pandya Country.			
SPORTS	REFERENCES		
4 : 5	8	10	57
42 : 33	4	—	*162-3
48 : 40	8	11	63-4

\*Not unless read with P 164.

#### 4. PPPN 28 : PJ 59, and PPPN 30 : PJ 61.

5. Sports apparently connected with other places.			
PERUM TURAI			
22 : 57	43	3	11-2
"	48	3	9-11
28 : 59	8	20	115-7
"	43	4	14-6
"	48	2	5-7
"	48	3	9-11
30 : 61	30	2	5
31 : 23	13	19	73-4
46 : 37	48	3	9-11
58 : 45	43	6	21-4

UTTARA-KOSA-MANGAI			
22 : 57	16	8	44
28 : 59	16	8	45
GO-KALI			
28 : 59	18	6	21-3

#### 6. PPPN 28 : PJ 59.

7. Other places mentioned.			
SPORTS	REFERENCES		
5 : 6	2	—	138 Tillai
27 : 58	2	—	*60-1 Venkadu
42 : 33	2	—	63-4 Patta-mangai
45 : 36	2	—	50-1 Puvanam

\*(cf. 2:—21.)

*dal Purāṇams*.<sup>1</sup> In the result, it looks possible that according to the *Tiru-Vāśaham* the only Sports which were worked at Madurai and could therefore have gone into the Chronicles of the Sports at Madurai are those of the metamorphosis<sup>2</sup> and the carrying of earth.<sup>3</sup>

In the *Tiruc-Sirṟambalak-Kṛvāi*, a poem attributed to Māṇikya-vācaka, occurs a stanza referring to Śiva examining Tamil at Madurai,<sup>4</sup> but there is nothing in it to suggest that He 'studied' Tamil as a member or as the head of an academy.

We may now take stock of the legends which down to the days of Māṇikya-vācaka were associated with Madurai or with the Pandyas,— omitting from consideration those legends which never showed signs of becoming Sports. The only Sports to which we have allusions from the earliest days of Tamil literature to the close of the eighth century A. D. are those of the abasement of Indra, the Mount Mēru and the sea. But nowhere are these attributed to Śiva; they appear merely as the achievements of the Pandyas. The hymnal literature in Tamil is replete with the tales of the Lord, but, down to this period, those tales are only those that are familiar themes in early Sanskrit literature. The only exceptions are those which connect Agastya with Tamil and those that are based on incidents in the life of Jñāna-sambandha. The allusions to miracles and Sports are very few,— and even they are not associated with Madurai; for instance, *Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu* does not even suggest that the miracle of the metamorphosis was enacted at Madurai, and he affords room for the suspicion that it was at Tirup-Puttūr that Darumi obtained the prize. Early in the ninth century legends become popular in which Śiva is made to appear as an Academician and to 'examine' Tamil at Madurai, and in the hymns of Māṇikya-vācaka He becomes a Pandya. From about the ninth

1. Other possible versions.		30 : 61	13	16	61-4		
SPORTS	REFERENCES	31 : 23	13	19	73-4		
6 : 7	16	8	43-4	39 : 30	2	—	66 7
28 : 59	2	—	27-8	48 : 40	4	—	213-4
"	2	—	36-41	"	8	11	63 4
"	36	7	25-8	"			

2. PPPN 28 : PJ 59.

3. PPPN 34 : PJ 61.

4. சிறைவான் புனற்றிலிலச் சிற்றம்பலத்து மென்சிறைதயுள்ள  
முறைவானுயர் மதிர்கூடலினுயர்ந்த வொண்டந்தமிழின்

MV. TSK., 20.

century may therefore be dated the popularity of the legends which make out Śiva to be concerning Himself with the Pandyas. Early in the tenth century A. D. we have two or three more legends which approximate in some degree to the miracles narrated in the *Tiru-Vīlaiyāḍal Purāṇams*.

In the *Kallāḍam*, a book of about a hundred Tamil hymns of great literary beauty, we have as many as thirty-one of the Sports referred to at some length.<sup>1</sup> The hundred hymns are all in praise of the Śiva of Madurai and they attribute the Sports to Him. We have also a passage in which the total number of the Sports is set down at sixty-four. This work is therefore of considerable importance in this enquiry. But nothing whatever is known of the author or his date: he is variously assigned to the period of the poets of the Sangam, to a period much later than the ninth century A. D.<sup>2</sup>, and again, to a period later than the thirteenth century A. D. on grounds such as that he has not been

1. TABLE of references to the SPORTS in the *Kallāḍam* :

SPORT			REFERENCE			SPORT			REFERENCE		
PPPJ	PJ	Poem	No.	Lines		PPPN	PJ	Poem	No.	Lines	
1-64	1-64	வனப்புடை	98	12-4		20	56	கடன்மகள்	78	9-10	
1	1	பற்றலர்	30	4-10		21	13	பெருந்துயர்	77	13-7	
4	5	பூமணி	4	7-14		22	57	கல்லுயர்	17	21-4	
"	"	தன்னுழை	11	11-3		23	32	நின்றறி	47	14-22	
"	"	சூரவ	14	12-8		25	17	தன்னுழை	11	14-5	
"	"	நீர்நிலை	22	61-3		28	59	ஈன்ற	44	13-6	
"	"	வள்ளுறை	32	20-1		"	"	வனப்புடை	98	12-4	
5	6	குங்கும	19	7-9		30	61	கருங்குழல்	49	19-28	
"	"	நீர்நிலை	22	59-61		32	24	வானவர்க்கு	24	34-5	
"	"	வள்ளியோர்	28	26-8		35	27	வியாழுது	51	7-16	
"	"	உழைநின்	18	4-19		41	39	இலதெனின்	46	14-27	
"	"	கடன்மகள்	78	19-20		44	14	பொருப்பு	21	32-4	
7	8	வடிவழி	12	17-23		46	37	நிலைநீர்	82	11-9	
8	9	வேற்றுப்பிடி	27	37-9		47	49	பசியமல்	48	8-10	
10	11	பெருந்துயர்	77	9-12		"	"	நெடுவரை	61	22	
14	21	ஈன்ற	31	10-11		51	—	விடம்	57	12-25	
15	51	பகையுடன்	5	10-8		53	3	நிலவுபகல்	42	19-21	
"	"	நீராமக	65	66-27						36-7	
16	52	அழுதமும்	3	9-14		54	41	கவைத்துகிர்	45	24-35	
17	53	அவ்வுழி	52	23-9		55	42	நிலையினில்	13	25-30	
18	54	பாய்திரை	Mu	47-9		59	46	வடமீன்	39	9-15	
19	55	"	Mu	52-5		60	47	முன்னியாகு	41	39	

quoted from by the great commentators of the Tamil classics.<sup>1</sup> But three points in the work seem to justify a different conclusion: it tells the story of Rudra-janman;<sup>2</sup> it does not tell of the Sports associated with Jñāṇa-sambandha;<sup>3</sup> in narrating the legends of the metamorphosis<sup>4</sup> and the carrying of earth<sup>5</sup> it does not link them with Māṇikya-vācaka. In Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's chronicle Māṇikya-vācaka is indissolubly bound up with the two legends just mentioned, but the *Kallāḍam* does not know of him; had the poet of the *Kallāḍam* been aware of the Sports having been played for Māṇikya-vācaka, it is scarcely probable that Māṇikya-vācaka's name would have been kept out: the poem must therefore be earlier than the chronicle. The miracles with which Jñāṇa-sambandha is identified are not even alluded to in the *Kallāḍam*, in spite, on the one hand, of Jñāṇa-sambandha's hymns containing hints out of which the tales must have grown, and, on the other hand, of the *Kallāḍam* being a work devoted exclusively to the glorification of the Śiva of Madurai. But, the hints in Jñāṇa-sambandha's hymns seem to have been expanded into presentable legends by the time of Nambi-Āṇḍār Nambi, for, he refers to them frequently in the panegyrics he has composed on that saint. The *Kallāḍam* should therefore have been written in the period intervening between Māṇikya-vācaka and Nambi-Āṇḍār Nambi. The tale of Rudra-janman being for the first time narrated in extenso in the interpolated Preface to the commentary on Irāiyanār's grammar,—a Preface which seems to be assignable to about 850 A. D.,—and Nambi-Āṇḍār Nambi appearing to have lived in the last quarter of the tenth century A. D., it looks probable that the *Kallāḍam* could not be earlier than 850 and perhaps, not later than 950 A.D.<sup>6</sup> Tales of as many as thirty-one of the Sports must have become popular by then,—that is, by the time of the *Kallāḍam*, in which they are first found alluded to. Still, it need not follow that when the author of the

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1. Pandit T. V. Sadasiva-Pandarattar, in *ST.* xv. 113; see also the Introduction to the Ripon Press edition of the *Kallāḍam*.

2. PPPN 19.

3. PPPN 37, 38, 62

4. PPPN 28.

5. PPPN 30.

6. The argument that the *Kallāḍam*, not having been utilised by the great scholiasts, must be later than them,—that is later than about the thirteenth century A. D.,—is not of much value, for works of undoubtedly much earlier periods,—such as the hymns of the *Tēvāram* collection,—are not quoted from by the scholiasts.



*Kallāḍam* set the number of Sports down at sixty-four he had in mind all the sixty-four legends as narrated by Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi. Some of the Sports might not have been fabricated at all, and the total number might have been fixed at sixty-four, not because as many Sports were then known, but because of some mystic significance having been ascribed to that number.

To trace the beginnings of these myths is not an easy task. So numerous are the ingredients which have gone to the making of the legends and so varied are the shapes which they have assumed that it is very hard to flake off the unessentials and reach the core of genuine historical fact in them.

Let us take, for instance, the legend which tells how the city of Madurai got its name.<sup>1</sup> The legend has been woven round the name *Madhurā*, but so frequently is the city referred to as 'South Madurai' in even the Chronicles<sup>2</sup> that there can be little doubt but that it was considered the southern counterpart of the *Mathurā* (Muṭṭra) associated with the Śaurasēnas and Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The Sanskrit word *Mathurā* becomes *Madhurā* in the Śaurasēni language, and, what is equally important, the change seems to be possible only in that language and in the Māgadhi, which is under heavy obligation to the Śaurasēni.<sup>3</sup> The form *Madhurā* would therefore seem to point to a period when among the inhabitants of the city were to be found those who derived something at least of their culture through Śaurasēni or Māgadhi channels. The city must have been named after the Mathurā of the north but must have come to be popularly known as Madhurā; then, the linguistic fact that Madhurā is only a variant of Mathurā must have been forgotten or ignored, and a legend must have been fashioned to account for the city being known as Madhurā.

The tale of the Lord bringing the seven seas to a sacred pool in Madurai to enable His mother-in-law to have a sea-bath<sup>4</sup> is not referred to earlier than the *Kallāḍam*. In a record which seems to be almost of the same period,—the latter of the two Pandya grants already mentioned<sup>5</sup>,—a Pandya is alluded to as

1. PPPN 36 : PJ 28-9.

2. For instance, PPPN. TVF., *Kaḍavuḷ-vāḷttu*, 14 and 62 ; 25.

3. Dr. B. M. Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, 165-7.

4. PPPN. 8 : PJ 9.

5. Śiṅṅamaṇūr Grant (Larger set of plates.)



'He who bathed in a single day in the four oceans'. The two legends are similar to the tale in the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of how Vāli when engaged in performing the *sandhyā* at the confluence of the four oceans was challenged to a combat by Rāvaṇa, how Vāli picked up Rāvaṇa, and, tucking him away under his armpit, flew from ocean to ocean and performed the *sandhyā* in all the four oceans.<sup>1</sup> Obviously, the legend in the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇams* is no more than an adaptation of the much more ancient story found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,—the recasting having been necessary to make the story fit into the scheme of a *sthala-purāṇa* in which the pools, the trees and the like in the *sthala* have to be invested with the halo of sanctity.

Some of the legends are mosaics made up of pieces taken from various sources, and so heterogenous are the bits in a few cases that it is difficult to discover how from them the complete pattern was evolved.

An excellent illustration is the legend of the defeat of the ocean<sup>2</sup>. It appears occasionally mixed up with a tale of the Pandya obtaining lands in substitution of those swallowed up by the sea: so, to arrive at the earliest version of the legend we have to disintegrate the allusions and consider only those portions that relate to the miracle. The tale in the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇams* is that when the sea advanced against Old Madurai, Ugra-Pandya aimed at the sea the javelin given to him by his divine father and that the sea, subsiding instantly, 'laved the margins of his feet'.<sup>3</sup> The passage in Iḷam-Kō-Aḍihaḷ's *Śiḷapp-Adihāram* speaks of the ancient grudge which the sea bore to the Pandyas on account of an ancestor of theirs 'proving to (other) kings his greatness with his feet and throwing a sharp javelin'.<sup>4</sup> The suggestion here is that the feet played an active part in quelling the sea, but in the *Chronicles* the feet play a merely passive role. The reference in one of the two earlier Pandya grants is to the effect that a

1. Ch. 39.

2. PPPN. 21 ; PJ 13.

3. . . . . அடிவாழம்பலம்ப நின்றது . . . PPPN 21 ; St. 6

4. அடியிற்றன்னளவாசர்க்குணர்த்தி  
வடியேவெறிந் தவான்பகைபொழுது

xi. 17-8.

'A sharp javelin' or 'sharp javelins.'

Pandya bathed in the southern waters.<sup>1</sup> This is neither the legend of the conquest of the sea nor that of the bathing in the oceans.<sup>2</sup> Of the two later grants, one tells that a Pandya 'sped a sharp javelin and caused the quick return of the sea'<sup>3</sup> and the other tells of a Pandya who 'threw a javelin to make the sea go back'<sup>4</sup>: but, the feet are not referred to in these. The *Kallāḍam* tells of the Lord causing His son, Ugra, to hurl javelins without intermission at the sea and make it boil and parch up:<sup>5</sup> here too, the feet are not even mentioned. The commentator on the *Pura-Nāṇūru* speaks of him 'who stood in the sea washing the margin'.<sup>6</sup> Nacciṇārkkū-Iniyar, in commenting on a reference to a 'great one who wore a golden garland on his breast'<sup>7</sup> says that he was 'the Pandya who stood, the margin being laved'.<sup>8</sup> Where did the Pandya stand and who laved the margins? And, the margins of what? One of the references cited above limits the number of javelins to one, while another is explicit that the number was large; the others are equivocal. How, then, did the legend run originally? The *Silapp-Adihāram* does not know of the sea swelling up and threatening to submerge the land; perhaps, the tale as known to Iḷam-Kō-Aḍihaḷ was that a king sought to prove his command over the sea by throwing javelins at it and by trampling it with his feet, and perhaps the sea was more submissive to the Pandya

1. தென்னலராடி: (Madras Museum Plates.)

2. PPPN; PJ. 9.

3. வெம்முனை வேலென்றுவிட்டும் விரைவரவிற்ப் கடல்மீட்டும்

(Larger Siṇṇamaṇṇūr Plates)

The latter half is not easily intelligible.

4. ஒதமீளவேலெறிந்தும்:

(Smaller Siṇṇamaṇṇūr Plates.)

'Threw a javelin' or 'threw javelins'.

5. நெடுநாட்டிருவாயிற்றருளுடனிருந்த

நெடுஞ்சடையுக்கிரற் பயந்தருணிமலன்

மற்றவன் நன்னூல் வடவரையின் கொழுந்துசுட்

டாற்றாதுடலமு மிமைக்குறுமுத்தமும்

விளர்த்து நின்றணங்கி வளைக்குலமுழங்குங்

சருங்கடல் பொலிய வொருங்கு வேல்விடுத்த

வதற்கருள் கொடுத்தமுதற் பெருநாயகன் 77: 11-7.

6. முந்தீர்க்கண் வடிம்பலம்ப நின்ற னென்ற வியப்பால்

PNN. 9.

7. பொலந்தார் மார்பின் நெடியோன்: PtPt.; 6 MK; 61.

8. வடிம்பலம்ப நின்ற பாண்டியன்,

than it was to king Canute. When this legend is mixed up with the other one about the Pandya reclaiming lands from the sea, we obtain the tale of the sea being bidden to go back at the point of a javelin. But there is yet another element in the legend,— ‘the laving of the margins’,— which remains unaccounted for.

Very valuable clues are to be found, however, in the two related Sports,— that of the victory over Indra and that of the abasement of Mount Mēru. These Sports themselves seem to be based on certain legends which date very far back indeed.

Three great achievements are popularly associated with Agastya— victories over Indra, over the Vindhya and over the ocean. Legends tell how Agastya humbled the presumptuous Vindhya<sup>1</sup>, how he drank up the inexhaustible ocean<sup>2</sup> and how on his cursing Nahuṣa, a king who had attained the status of Indra, he was born as a serpent.<sup>3</sup> But, another legend of Agastya is not equally well known: when Agastya performed a twelve years’ sacrifice Indra ceased to pour rain on the earth, and the assembled ṛṣis were afraid that the world would have to go for twelve years without rain; but Agastya, refusing to be baffled, threatened to change himself into Indra, whereupon, realising the power of Agastya’s penances, Indra sent plentiful rains betimes.<sup>4</sup> The similarities between these legends and those narrated in the Madurai chronicles are too marked to be merely accidental, and, in the all too obvious absence of any evidence to warrant a suggestion that the Sports of the Madurai chronicles are even half as old as the cycle of legends about Agastya, the inference is not far-fetched that the glories of Agastya were transferred to the Pandyas. Such a transfer is by no means improbable, for, the Pandyas claim to be the disciples of Agastya: the achievements of the preceptor must have been attributed to the disciples.

The legends of Agastya, however, do not tell of a combat with Indra nor of a golden garland given by him nor yet of a mountain disgorging the treasures hidden in its entrails on its being struck down with a club,— incidents which loom large in the *Tiru-Vīlaiyāḍal Purāṇams*. From the ancient purāṇas we learn

1. MB. 3 (*Vana-*); 103 (*Tīrtha-*): 16; 104: 1-15.

2. *Ib.* 104 (*Tīrtha-*): 16: 24; 105: 1-.

3. *Ib.* 103 (*Tīrtha-*): 15; 181 (*Ajagara-*): 30: 43; 5 (*Udyōga-*); 17 (*Śainyōdyōga-*): 1; 13 (*Anu-*): 99, 100 (*Anuśāsanika-*).

4. 14 (*Aśva-*): 92 (*Anugīta-*): 4-38.

that Skanda fought with Indra and vanquished him,<sup>1</sup> that Indra placed round Skanda's neck a garland of gold fashioned by Viśvakarma,<sup>2</sup> and gave him two companions armed respectively with thunderbolt and club,<sup>3</sup> and also gave him a dart for the destruction of the enemies of the celestials<sup>4</sup> and that Skanda, hurling the dart and innumerable arrows at the Mount Krauñca and, striking it with his mace, rent it in twain.<sup>5</sup> The legends in the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇams* seem therefore to have been influenced by these tales of Skanda as well.

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1. *Ib.* 3 (*Vana*-); 226 (*Mārkaṇḍeya*):

2. *Ib.* 228 ; 25.

3. *Ib.* 9 (*Salya*-); 45 (*Gadāyuddha*-); 34.

4. *Ib.* 46 : 44.

5. *Ib.* 3 (*Vana*-): 224 (*Mārkaṇḍeya*-); 32-6; *Ib.* 9 (*Salya*-) : 46 (*Gadāyuddha*) 80-91.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

VIBHRAMA-VIVEKA OF MANDANA MISRA: EDITED BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VIDYAVACASPATI DARSANA KALANIDHI S. KUPPU-SWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S., AND VEDANTALAMKARA T. V. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR (Published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras) 1932. Price As. 12. Foreign 1½ sh.

Students of Indian philosophy will welcome the appearance of this work ascribed to one of the greatest thinkers of medieval India. Maṇḍana Mīśra was an elder contemporary of Śaṅkara and, though an Advaitin holding by the conception of *nirguṇa* Brahman, he differed from Śaṅkara in some important respects as, for example, in not recognizing the ideal of *jīvan-mukti*. The edition is based upon a single manuscript which shows lacunae in several places. But the learned editors have succeeded in restoring the text almost completely with the aid of those portions of Maṇḍana's other works which treat of the same topic. The theme of the book, as indicated by its title, is the problem of Error (*vibhrama*). It is sometimes stated now that not much light can be thrown upon the problem of knowledge by Indian thinkers whose prime interest is in ontology and ethics. But that is a misapprehension due to discussions bearing upon epistemology being generally found mixed up in Indian philosophical works with those on other points; and the publication of works like the present one dealing exclusively with that problem ought to be sufficient to remove it. The treatise is quite short, consisting of about 160 stanzas; and it is difficult in certain places, especially as the assistance of a commentary is lacking. But one of the editors—Prof. Kuppaswami Sastri—has contributed an English Introduction which discusses the question from various standpoints and elucidates what is obscure in the work. It is not possible in a brief review like this to enter into the details of this discussion. We shall content ourselves with quoting from it the following passage which states so well and so correctly the principle that underlies all the explanations of Error: "An intelligent attempt to review synthetically all the theories of *bhrama*

known to Indian philosophy will bring to light the fact that, in some manner or other, a negative element is involved in every one of the five *khyātivādas* (theories explaining the nature of *bhrama*). In the *asaṅkhyāti* doctrine, the negative element is obvious: and in *ātmakhyāti* doctrine, it is obvious in so far as objective externality is concerned. In the *anyathākhyāti* view, the negative element is to be found in the *saṃsarga* part or in the idea that one reality is presented as another reality which it is not or that a real substantive is presented as having a real attribute which it has not; and in the *akhyāti* doctrine, one can easily detect the negative element in the idea of non-discrimination (*aviveka*). The *anirvacanīyakhyāti* doctrine appears on the surface to eschew the negative element from the conception of *bhrama*; but, in fact, the negative element is replaced by *relativity* which implies a negative element and transfers the negative element from the side of object to the side of definite predications (*nirvacana*) with reference to the object."

M. HIRIYANNA.

A PRIMER OF INDIAN LOGIC BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VIDYA-VACASPATI DARSANA KALANIDHI S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S., (P. Varadachary & Co., 8, Linga Chetty Street, Madras, 1923).

Those who are interested in the spread of an accurate knowledge of ancient Indian thought have reason to be thankful that this work has been published. For its author has by long study made Indian philosophy peculiarly his own, and his intimate acquaintance with its literature together with the vast experience he has gained as a teacher easily singles him out as the best equipped for expounding the subject. Though styled a 'Primer of Indian Logic', the book gives a comprehensive account of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system, incidentally contrasting its views with those of the other Indian schools. It may, in fact, be described as a manual of Indian philosophy in its diverse systems and will be found to be an authoritative guide to their study. The book, however, does not stop at merely giving a faithful account of Indian thought. It successfully combines with it interpretation and criticism. For a striking example of one of these features, we may refer to pages 61-6, where the difficult and important problem of relations is discussed at length and its significance to

the various doctrines clearly pointed out in terms of modern thought. Such discussions should make a particular appeal to the modern student. The book is divided into three Parts. It begins with an Introduction which is valuable not only for the wealth of information it contains but also for the independent historical reconstruction which it attempts. The second Part gives the Sanskrit text of the well-known *Tarka-saṃgraha* and adds a transliteration of it in Roman characters for the benefit of readers that may not be conversant with the Devanāgarī script. The third Part, which forms the bulk of the work, contains the English translation of the Sanskrit treatise and an exposition of its teaching. The translation is as readable as it is reliable; and the exposition, concise and at the same quite lucid. The latter forms the most important part of the book; and even the advanced student of the *śāstras* will find fresh light shed in it upon points which have hitherto remained more or less obscure to him. Of the many instances that can be cited in illustration, it will suffice to mention only two—the splendid explanations of the concepts of *jāti* (pp. 22 ff.) and *abhāva* (pp. 55 ff.). In this portion also are found refuted some of the current misconceptions about Indian thought. It is for instance commonly believed now that practically all the systems are pessimistic, but our author shows how far this belief is from the spirit of Indian philosophy, truly understood. None of the schools built upon a foundation of despair; and some, as signified by the ideal of *jīvan-mukti*, even pointed to the possibility of achieving what may be termed a 'terrestrial paradise'. In one word, the book under review is a masterpiece of its kind; and we hope that the publication of works like it will help to place the study of Indian philosophy on a secure basis in our Universities.

M. HIRIYANNA.

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**Dhvanyāloka by Ānandavardhana**

AND

**Locana by Abhinavagupta**

WITH

**Kaumudī by Uttuṅgodaya**

AND

**Upalocana by Kuppusvāmi Śāstri.**

EDITED BY

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA VIDYĀVĀCASPATI

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and 'the object of *vinai-k-kurippū*.' There is need for this laboured interpretation if the expression *vinai-y-ē-vinai-k-kurippavviru-mutal* cannot give the desired meaning otherwise. But Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar takes it to mean the *mutaṇilai* or *kāraṇa* of *vinai* or *vinai k-kurippū*. This seems to me to be the correct one. Here the word *mutal* stands for the word *tolin-mutal* stated in the sūtra 112. It is taken to mean here *ceya-p-paṭu-poruḷ* since *ceyvatū*, *karuvi* etc., are mentioned in sūtras 65, 73 etc. to be the meaning of the first case, third case, etc.

Teyvaccilaiyār takes the word *vinai* to mean *ceyal* or action and the word *vinai-k-kurippū* to mean *vinai-y-ār kurikkappaṭṭa-poruḷ* or the object denoted by the verb. This interpretation does not seem to me to be satisfactory.

Note 3.—Cēṇāvaraiyar, in his commentary, states that the *ceya-p-paṭu-poruḷ* or object is of three kinds:—*iyarra-p-paṭuvatū* (that which is made), *vēru-paṭukka-p-paṭuvatū* (that which is transformed) and *eyta-p-paṭuvatū* (that which is reached). This is exactly the translation of the following *kārikā* in *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari:—

*Nirvartyaṇ-ca vikāryaṇ-ca*  
*Prāpyaṇ-ca trividhm matam|*  
*Tatrēpsitatamam karma . . . ||* (Vākya. iii, 4.)

Note 4.—I venture to doubt whether the original reading was *tōṇṇumatū* instead of *tōṇṇumatū* in the last line of the sūtra. It is left for scholars to decide.

72. காப்பி னெப்பி னூர்தியி னிழையின்  
 ஒப்பிற் புகழிற் பழியி னென்ற  
 பெறவி னிழவின் காதலின் வெகுளியின்  
 செறவி னுவத்தலிற் கற்பி னென்ற  
 அறுத்தலிற் குறைத்தலிற் ரெகுத்தலிற் பிரித்தலின்  
 நிறுத்தலி னளவி னெண்ணி னென்ற  
 ஆக்கலிற் சார்தலிற் செலவிற் கன்றலின்  
 நோக்கலி னஞ்சலிற் சிதைப்பி னென்ற  
 அன்ன பிறவு மம்முதற் பொருள  
 என்ன கிளவியு மதன்பால வென்மனார்.  
*Kūppi n-oppi n-ūrti-y-i n-ilai-y-in*  
*Oppir pukaliṇ pali-y-i n-enṇā*  
*Peral-i n-ilavir kataliṇ vekuli-y-in*  
*Cerali n-uvattaliṇ karpi n-enṇā*  
*Aruttaliṇ kuraittaliṇ rokuttaliṇ pirittaliṇ*

*Niruttal-i n-aḷavi n-enṇi n-enrā*  
*Ākkaliṟ cārtaliṟ celaviṟ kaṇṇraliṟ*  
*Nōkkali n-añcaliṟ citaiṟppi n-enrā*  
*Anna pīra-v-u m-a-m-mutar poruḷa*  
*Enna kiḷavi-y-u m-atan-pāl-a v-enmanār.*

Ex. *Kāppū.*

1. A-m-malai kākkum...naḷli-y-avaṇ (Pura. 150).  
 (He is Naḷli protecting that mountain.)
2. Eyil ōmpātū (Pura. 40).  
 (Without protecting the fort.)

*Oppū.*

1. Uvavu-mati, mālai-veṇ-kuṭai okkum (Pura. 60).  
 (The full-moon compares itself with the white umbrella with garlands hanging from it.)
2. Oḷ-ḷ-eri puraiyu m-uru-keḷu pacum-put-kiḷli-vaḷa-vaṇ (Pura. 70).  
 (Kiḷli-vaḷavaṇ with anklets made of refined gold of fine colour resembling the well-lit fire.)

*Ūrti.*

Tērai ūrum.  
 (He has a chariot for his vehicle.)

*Ilaiṟppū.*

1. Kiḷavaṇai neruṅki ilaittū (Tol. Poruḷ. 150).  
 (Having approached the lover and said.)
2. Eyilai ilaittāṇ.  
 (He painted the fort.)

*Oppū.*

Kaḷaṇi-p paṭu-puḷ-ḷ-ōppunar (Pura. 29).  
 (Those who scare away the birds in the fields.)

*Pukal.*

1. Periyōrai viyattalum ilam (Pura. 192).  
 (We have not praised the great.)
2. Niṟ paḷicci-c-cērum (Pura. 113).  
 (We shall go after praising you.)

*Pali.*

1. Ciṟiyōrai ikaḷtal ataṇiṇum ilam (Pura. 192).  
 (Much less have we despised the low.)
2. Illārai y-ellārum eḷḷuvar (Kuraḷ, 752).  
 (All will despise the destitute.)

*Peral.*

1. Yānai inattoṭu perraṇar (Pura. 153).  
(They received elephants with the trappings.)
2. Peruvar peṇṭir peruñ-ciṛappu (Kurāḷ, 58).  
(Women will receive great honour.)

*Iḷavu.*

Avan poruḷai iḷakkum.  
(He loses his property.)

*Kātal.*

Taṇṇai-t-tāṇ kātalan-āyiṇ (Kurāḷ, 209).  
(If he loves himself.)

*Vekuḷi.*

Pakaivarai vekuḷum aracaṇ.  
(King who scorns his enemies.)

*Ceraḷ.*

Pēṇārai-t-terutalum (Kalit. 11).  
(Destroying those who do not surrender.)

*Uvattal.*

1. Īṇra poḷutir perituvakkum taṇmakaṇai-c-  
Cāṇrōṇ-eṇa-k kēṭṭa tāy (Kurāḷ, 69).  
(The mother who hears that his son is a great man feels  
highly pleased with the time when she gave birth to  
him.)
2. Nilai-y-illā-p poruḷaiyum naccupa (Kalit. 8).  
(They like to have even transient wealth.)

*Karṇṇi.*

Pallavai karṇṇum payam-ilarē (Kurāḷ, 728).  
(They are of no use though they are highly learned.)

*Aṛuttal.*

1. (Nī) tū aṛuttaliṇ (Maturai-k-kāñci, 188).  
(Since you destroy their might.)
2. Paciyai māṇṇuvār (Kurāḷ, 225).  
(They will destroy hunger.)
3. Iḷaitāka muṇ-maraṇ kolka (Kurāḷ, 879).  
(Destroy the thorny tree at its infancy.)

*Kuṛaittal.*

1. Avan marattiṇ uyarattai-k kuṛaikkum.  
(He shortens the height of the tree.)
2. Allar-paṭ ṭ-āṇṇa t-aḷuta-kaṇ nīr-aṇṇē  
Celvattai-t tēyk-kum paṭai (Kurāḷ, 555).

(Tears coming out of the eyes of the subjects who are not relieved of their distress form the means of reducing [king's] wealth.)

*Tokuttal.*

1. Toḷu-v-iṭai āyan tokumiṇ (Tol. Poruḷ. 58. Nac.).  
(Collect the cows at the cow-stall.)
2. Avaṇ nellai-t tokukkum.  
(He gathers paddy.)

*Pirittal.*

Avaṇ vēliyai-p pirikkum.  
(He divides the hedge.)

*Niṟuttal.*

Nillā v-ulakattu nilaimai tūkki (Perumpāṇ. 465).  
(Having weighed the transitory nature of this world.)

*Aḷattal.*

Avai y-aḷantu ariyiṇum (Pura. 20).  
(Though one understands [their limit] by measuring them.)

*Enṇutal.*

Turaṇtār perumai tuṇai-k-kuriṇ vaiyat  
T-iṇantārai y-eṇṇik-konṭ arṇu (Kuraḷ, 22).  
(Recounting the greatness of those who have renounced the pleasures is similar to the counting of the deceased in this world.)

*Ākkal.*

Uvantārai y-ākkalum (Kuraḷ, 264).  
(Improving the condition of those who are friendly.)

*Cārtal.*

1. A-n-nilai<sup>1</sup> y-aṇuka vēṇṭi (Perumpāṇ. 467).  
(Desiring to approach the highest bliss.)
2. Neṭun-tēr ēri (Pura. 145).  
(Having got up the lofty chariot.)

*Celavu.*

Niṟ paḷicci-c cērum<sup>2</sup> (Pura. 113).  
(We shall go after praising you.)

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1. Note that the expression *a-n-nilai* is the literal translation of the Upaniṣadic expression *tat padam*.

2. *cel + tum = cērum*.

*Kaṇṇal.*

Cūṭiṇai-k-kaṇṇum.

(He detests playing at dice.)

*Nōkkal.*

1. Uyaṅku-paṭar varuttamu m-ulaivu nōkkī

(Pura. 150).

(Having noted the growing misery and indigence.)

2. Iruvarai-k kāṇīrō (Kalit. 9).

(Will you see both ?)

*Añcal.*

Paḷi y-añci (Kuṛaḷ, 44).

(Fearing the slander.)

*Citaiṭṭu.*

Pūñ-kaṇ-makaḷir puṇai-nalañ citaiṅkum

Māya maḱil-naṇ parattaimai (Kalit. 75).

(Harlotry which destroys the virtue of flower-eyed women.)

*Note 1.*—In some of the examples given above the second case-suffix is dropped. If the noun in the objective case precedes the verb which it qualifies, the suffix may be dropped on the strength of the sūtra

*Iṟutiṇu m-iṭaiṇu m-ellā v-uruṇum*

*Neri-paṭu poruḷvayī ṇilavutal varaiyār.*

(Tol. Col. 103.)

according to all commentators except Teyvaccilaiyār. The latter thinks that it is inferred from the sūtra

*Ai-y-uñ kaṇ-ṇ-u m-allā-p poruḷ-vayin*

*Mey-y-uruṇu tokā v-iṟuti yāṇa.* (Tol. Col. 105.)

If the noun follows the verb, even then the second case-suffix may be dropped on the strength of the sūtra Tol. Col. 105 noted above.

*Note. 2.*—In the examples given above some nouns in the objective case govern verbs and others appellative verbs.

*Note. 3.*—Iḷampūraṇar takes this sūtra and the previous one as one sūtra. If so, it gives room for sentence-split.

*Note. 4.*—What does this sūtra deal about ? It deals about the special meanings of the second case-suffix *ai*. The previous sūtra says that its general meaning is *ceya-p-paṭu-poruḷ*. It may be explained thus. In the word *ūrai* in the expression ‘avaṇ-ūrai-k-kākkum, the part *ūr* means village and the case-suffix *ai*

near the verb *kākkum* suggests that *ūr* is the object of being protected. The special meanings of the suffix are determined by the verbs which the noun in the objective case governs. Since a noun may be the object to any transitive verb, it is not possible to exhaust all the transitive verbs in the *sūtra*. Hence the expression '*anna pīravum*' (others similar to them) is used here. One may say that this *sūtra* is unnecessary since the purpose served by it is realised in a general way by the previous *sūtra*. It is true; it seems to me that the special meanings of the second case-suffix mentioned here were those mentioned by his predecessors and out of regard for them he has codified them here. This is suggested by word '*eṇmanār*' at the end of the *sūtra*.

*Note. 5.*—The word *celavu* in the *sūtra* suggests that the root '*cel*' was transitive at the time of Tolkāppiaṇār. Thus the Tamil sentence '*avan ūrai-c-cellum*' (he goes to the village) is exactly similar to the Sanskrit sentence '*saḥ grāmam gacchati*'. But now the root '*cel*' is not so used. Hence we meet with the expression '*avan ūrukku-c-cellum*' instead of '*avan ūrai-c-cellum*'.

*Note. 6.*—The expression '*a-m-mutar-ṇoruḷa*' in the *sūtra* is a *viṇai-y-āl-aṇaiyum-peyar* standing as an adjunct to the noun *kiḷaviyum* and *mutar-ṇoruḷ* means *ceya-p-paṭu-poruḷ*. The word *atu* in *atan-pāla* refers to *iraṇṭām vēṇṇumai* mentioned in the previous *sūtra*. '*In*' used after the words *kāppū*, *oppū* etc. is only *cāriyai*. '*Eṇṇā*' used after the words *paḷiyin*, *karṇin*, *eṇṇin*, *cilaipṇin* is only an *iṭai-c-col* used in the sense of the conjunction 'and'.

73. மூன்ற குவடே

ஒடுவெனப் பெயரிய வேற்றுமைக் கிளவி

வினமுதல் கருவி யினமுதற் றதுவே.

*Mūṇṇṇā kuvatē*

*Oṭu-v-eṇa-p peyariya vēṇṇumai-k kiḷavi*

*Viṇai-mutal karuvi y-aṇai-mutar-ṇratuvē.*

The third case called *oṭu* denotes the agent or instrument of an action.

Ex. 1. Nīroṭu nīrainta...kaṇ (Pura. 164).

(Eyes filled with tears.) (agent.)

2. (Peru-nāvāy) kaṭuṇ-kāl-oṭu karai cēra (Maturaik-kāñci. 78).

(Big ships reaching the shore with the help of strong winds.) (instrument.)

Pal yānai-y-u m-ampoṭu tuḷaṅki (Puṛa. 63).

(Many elephants being shattered with arrows.)

(instrument.)

*Note.*—1. Though Tolkāppiyaṇār has mentioned only *oṭu* in this sūtra as well as in Tol. Eḷut. 114, yet he mentions *āṇ* as a suffix in the sūtras

*Ōmṭatai-k kilavik k-ai-y-u m-āṇ-un*

*Tāṁ-ṭiri v-ilavē tokai-varu kālai.* (Tol. Col. 97.)

*Ku-ai āṇ-eṇa varūn m-iṛuti*

*A-v-oṭu civaṇuñ ceyyulūḷḷē.* (ibid. 108.)

after the second case-suffix *ai*. Besides he himself makes use of *āṇ* in many sūtras composed by himself.

cf. Colliya *muraṭaiyār* collavum paṭumē. (Tol. Poruḷ. 5.)

Pāṅkaruñ cirappiṛ pallār rāṇum. (Tol. Poruḷ. 78.)

*Note 2.*—Though the suffix *oṭu* was used in ancient literature to denote agent and instrument, yet it began to be rarely used to denote them even at the time of Cēṇāvaraiyar. This is seen from his statement ‘*vinai-mutal karuvi-k-kaṇ oṭu-v-eṇ-urupū i-k-kālat-t-aruṅki-y-allatū vārātū*’. In modern times the suffix *oṭu* is used only to denote ‘association’.

*Note. 3.*—Dr. Caldwell remarks that “Dravidian Grammarians have arranged the case-system of their nouns in the Sanskrit order, and in doing so have done violence to the genius of their own grammar... The conjunctive case, though it takes an important position in the Dravidian languages have been omitted in each dialect from the list of cases or added on to the instrumental case simply because Sanskrit knows nothing of it as separate from instrumental. The conjunctive or social stands in greater need of a place of its own in the list of cases in these languages than in Sanskrit, seeing that in these it has several case-signs of its own, whilst in Sanskrit it has none”. (C. D. G. p. 277, 278.) He has made this remark so far as Tamil is concerned on the statement of Nāṇṇūl that the suffixes *āṇ*, and *āl* alone denote agent and instrument and *oṭu* denotes only association. But from this sūtra and the next and usage in ancient Tamil literature, it is evident that both *oṭu* and *āṇ* were used to denote all the three—agent, instrument and association.

*Aivaroṭu cinaii ir-aimpatinmarum porutu kaḷattoliya*  
(Pura. 2). (Agent.)

(So that the hundred may die in battle being treated  
with indignation by the five.)

*Peru-nāvāy kaṭuñ-kāloṭu karai cēra*

(Maturaikkāñci, 78). (Instrument.)

*Niṇ irum-pēr-okkaloṭu tiṇṇi* (Pura. 150).

(Eat with your large retinue.) (Association.)

*Tīyinaṛ cutṭa puṇ* (Kuraḷ, 129).

(The wound caused by fire.) (Instrument.)

*Tūṇku-kaiyān oṇku naṭaiya* (Pura. 22).

(Those having majestic gait with their waving hands.)  
(Association.)

*Note.* 4.—It seems only *oṭu* and *āṇ* were the original suffixes  
of the third case. Later on *ōṭu* and *āl* also joined with them.

74. அதனி னியற லதற்றகு கிளவி

அதன்வினைப் படுத லதனி னுதல்

அதனிற் கோட லதனெடு மயங்கல்

அதனோ டியைந்த வொருவினைக் கிளவி

அதனோ டியைந்த வேறுவினைக் கிளவி

அதனோ டியைந்த வொப்ப லொப்புரை

இன்ன னேது வீங்கென வருஉம்

அன்ன பிறவு மதன்பால வென்மனார்.

*Ataṇi n-iyara l-atarraku kiḷavi*

*Ataṇ-vinai-p paṭula l-atani n-ātal*

*Ataṇir kōṭa l-atanōṭu mayāṅkal*

*Ataṇō ṭ-iyainta v-oru-vinai-k kiḷavi*

*Ataṇō ṭ-iyainta vēruvinai-k kiḷavi*

*Ataṇō ṭiyainta v-opṭa l-opṭurai*

*In-n-ā n-ēlu v-iṅkena varūum*

*Anṇa pīra-v-u m-ataṇ-pāla v-eṇmaṇār.*

They say that the instrumental case denotes the object that stands as the material cause, the object that serves as an appropriate cause, the agent of an action, the object that is responsible for one's present state, the object of exchange, the object that is mixed with another, the object in company with another doing the same action, the object in company with another incapable of doing the same action, the object of unsuitable comparison, and *jñāpaka-hēlu* which may be expressed both by *iṇ* and *āṇ* the ablative case-suffix and instrumental case-suffix respectively etc.



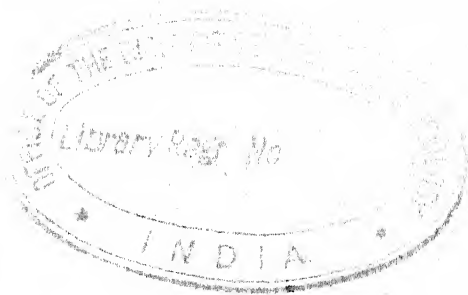




FIG. 1—SCULPTURED STELA FROM TAKUA-PA.

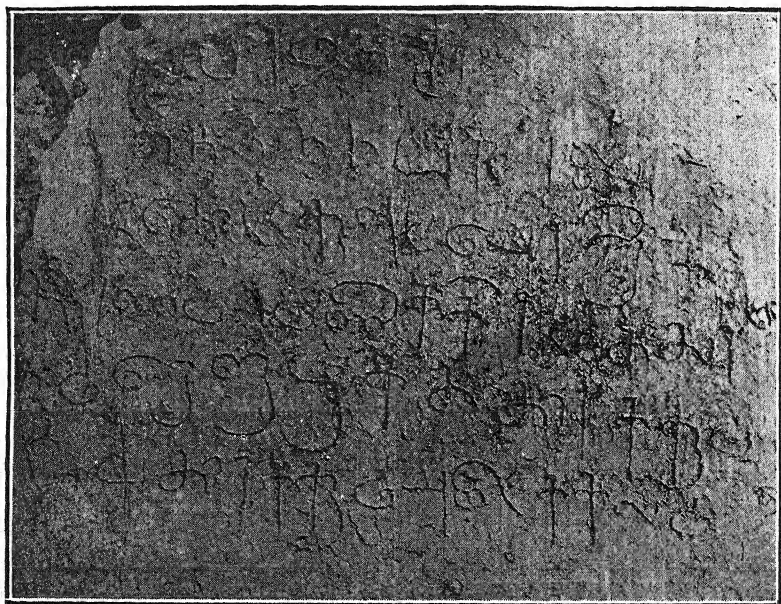


FIG. 2—TAKUA-PA TAMIL INSCRIPTION.

## THE TAKUA-PA (SIAM) TAMIL INSCRIPTION

BY

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*Discovery and First Report.* In 1902, Mr. H. W. Bourke, an engineer of the Royal Siamese Department of Mines, reported to Col. Gerini his discovery in the Takau-pa district (Siam) of some important remains near the upper reaches of the river Takau-pa, remains which marked the site of the old Takau-pa town and which included the inscribed stela that forms the subject of this paper. Mr. Bourke also made a carefully executed squeezing of the inscription and forwarded it to the Colonel. He could not make out the contents of the record, and thought that the language of the inscription might be Sanskrit. But he realised its importance, and saw that it gave evidence of the existence in that neighbourhood of an ancient Indian settlement. "It forms, moreover," he said "a hitherto missing link in the chain of petrographic evidence connecting the lower provinces on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula with those adjoining the Krah Isthmus, and proving that the coast in question was dotted practically all the way with Indian settlements and colonies." Citing the expert opinion of Mr. Warington Smyth on the possibilities of Takau-pa as a harbour, Col. Gerini stated: "There can thus be no doubt that Takua-pa was in the early centuries of the Christian era a well-known harbour and trading centre often resorted to by ships coasting along the Golden Khersonese." All this evidence went to confirm Gerini's identification of Takua-pa with Ptolemy's Takōla and with the Takkōla of the *Milinda Panha*.<sup>1</sup>

*Detailed archaeological description.* In 1909, Commandant L. de Lajonquiere gave a detailed report of his survey of Siamese Antiquities undertaken in the two preceding years. He divided Siamese Ancient Monuments into three groups: Indo-Cambodian, Hindu (non-Cambodian) and Thai (prior to the foundation of Ayuthia). He included the antiquities of Takua-pa in the

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1. J. R. A. S., 1904, pp. 242-7.

second group,<sup>1</sup> and I give a translation of the part of his account that concerns us:

"Still further north (of Province Wellesley), the mouth of the river of Takua-pa, descending from a country essentially rich in mines of tin, appears to have been a very important centre of Hindu colonisation. The mining shafts dug at this epoch are clearly distinguished from modern works by a special technique, of such a kind that one cannot attribute them either to the Chinese who later established themselves in numbers on these coasts, or to the Europeans who in their turn came to establish counting-houses like those of Jungceylang.

"The mine shafts are not the only traces that the adventurers who preceded the Thai have left in these parts. They appear to have constructed in the isle of Thung Tunk (the plain of the monument) at least one edifice in bricks of which unfortunately there remain on the surface of the soil only traces too vague for us to draw any sure inference. . . .

"Farther still, in the interior, upstream from the market of Takua-pa, other sculptures are deposited on the bank of the river, under the first trees of the forest, opposite a hill which dominates the left bank and which they call by the name of Khao Phra Narai, 'the mountain of Viṣṇu.' There is a large stela of schistose limestone on which have been sculptured, in high relief, three personages of natural size (*see* figure 1). The stela is broken; the tree against which the three fragments have been supported has grown, and the bark of the trunk has spread itself into a padding on some parts actually covered by it. The principal personage appears to be again Śiva between two feminine divinities or celestial *danseuses*. The costumes, in numerous folds treated with details, the profusion of jewels, the elegant movements of the body, recall very nearly the oldest sculptures of Dravidian India. By the side, a stela carries an inscription in six lines, in archaic characters, which has not yet been translated. Sculptures and inscriptions have been found on the hillock which dominates the opposite bank, but I have been able to recognise only very vague traces of the foundations of a sanctuary, of which the dimensions are far from corresponding to the proportions of the sculptured stela."

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1. BCAIC 1909, pp. 234-6.

The same writer once more described the site of our inscription in the following terms:<sup>1</sup> "In an ancient bed of the river of Takua-pa, near a Buddhist convent named Vat Na Mu'ang, was discovered a stela of sandstone, bearing an inscribed text. The writing is Indian and of an indisputable antiquity, but the document has not yet been deciphered."

In his *Essai D'Inventaire Archeologique Du Siam*, M. Lajonquiere noticed the site at much greater length, and no apology is needed for reproducing his statements (in translation).<sup>2</sup>

"*Khao Phra Narai*—The mountain of Phra Narai is situated at the confluence of the Khlong Pong and the Khlong Ko Sok (probably Srok?) which descend from the dorsal chain; their union a little more downstream with the Khlong Phra Va forms the river of Takua-pa. (This town, better known at present under the name of Talat Jai, the great market, is at two hours' journey downstream from the first of the two confluences.)

"This is a small hill conical in shape, 40 metres high and covered by forests. On the summit one finds only the debris of bricks and two large flat unwrought stones. These few vestiges appear to be all that remains of a small square sanctuary which measured three metres from side to side in the interior and opened to the East.

"On the opposite side of the Khlong Ko Sok, an ornate stela of three Brahmanical figures which came from this small shrine<sup>3</sup> is deposited on the bank. Local tradition says that it had been brought from there by the Burmans, during their last invasion, and deposited at the spot where it now is, to await its transport to Burma. But when they were about to proceed with this operation, there fell such violent rains that the spoliators were constrained to abandon it. It was since broken by the wild elephants which were for long the masters of this region devastated by wars. When the inhabitants returned, they found it in the present state and supported the debris against a tree. This tree with a trunk now twenty metres high, divided in two parts, has framed these debris in the development of its trunks, and the folds of the bark cover them in part. (BCAIC 1909, fig. 27).<sup>4</sup>

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1. BCAIC 1910, p. 151.

2. BCAIC 1912, pp. 166-9.

3. This modifies the opinion expressed in 1909 that the dimensions of the stela and the temple do not agree.

4. This is our fig. 1.

"It appears to have been cut in a large slab of schistose limestone, on which three figures came out in reliefs exceeding, at certain points, 90 centimetres in thickness.

"The most important, at the centre, represents Śiva standing. The head, (of which the cover has been removed) disappears under a fold of the bark; the feet are broken; they form one piece with a small plinth and tenon lying on the side of the tree. The bust is nude; collars made of gold adorn the neck; above (these) hangs a necklace of pearls increasing (in size) as it descends lower; a girdle of rectangular plaques of gold goes round the chest above the breasts; a thick ribbon woven of many rows of pearls is attached by a wrought buckle on the left shoulder and falls on the right hip; a girdle with a large wrought buckle holds round the edge a long *sarong* with many folds; along the thighs fall the folds of embroidered cloth and cordons from which hang button-like ornaments. The god is represented with four arms; we see only right front and the left front arms; the right posterior arm is only indicated by the lines of its fracture. The fore-arm of the right front arm is raised, the wrist is adorned by three bracelets; the hand, open and raised, is adorned with rings for the little and ring fingers, the thumb appears to hold a cord, which, passing above the right shoulder, comes to attach itself to the thumb of the left front arm. The hand of this arm is supported on the hip; its wrist has three bracelets of which two are of pearls; a large wrought bracelet adorns the biceps.

"The figure which, on the stela common (to all of them), is placed to the right of the god is without doubt that of his wife Pārvatī. Probably the Goddess is represented as seated, but the lower part of the body is missing, or is masked by the ligneous developments of the trunk which form a natural niche round the bust. The head is dressed in the form of a high cylindrical chignon formed of tresses gathered up in front and held in position by golden ornaments; a golden crown with two large ear-laps sustain this edifice of hair. The countenance is round, the eyes lightly turned up, the nose is broken, the mouth with a thick lower lip is well designed; the bust is nude, a large necklace of pearls hangs on the chest between the well marked breasts; a cordon passed over the left shoulder falls above the right hip; the right arm encircled by pearls at the level of the biceps is lowered and covered largely by the bark; the left arm is

raised, the hand supporting the head-dress; we can only see the upper part of the *sarong* and the knot of the belt.

"The figure to the right represents a *danseuse*; resting on the left knee with the left hand on the hip, she stretches towards the god her right arm which is broken; her head, inclined to the right, is dressed as a high conical chignon held in position by a crown of gold; the face is round, with eyes half-closed with the very curved and slightly upturned eyebrows; the nose, the mouth with thick lips, the accentuated chin, are of a pretty design; a necklace hangs on the chest; a cordon passed over the left shoulder hangs between her two well-developed breasts; the bust is nude, the waist supple and elegant; the left arm is adorned at the biceps by a bracelet worked in a rosaceous pattern, and at the wrist by three bangles; the pelvis and the legs are very tightly draped in a long *sarong* which descends in multiple folds; the feet with anklets of metal are nude.

"These three figures of natural size are very superior as sculpture to what we have so far found in Indo-China.

"*Inscription of Takua-pa*—An inscription was found on the Khao Phra Narai at the same time as the stela of which we have just spoken. Transported at first to the Vat Vieng which is near, then to the Vat Na Muang which is in the environs of Talat Jai, it has been replaced, on the demand of the inhabitants of the Canton, by the side of the three statues.

"It is an unwrought slate-coloured slab, polished only by the flow of water. On the surface so obtained has been engraved an inscription of six lines, in cursive characters carelessly traced which seem nevertheless to be very legible. (IV or V century)".

*Studies of the Inscription.* In 1913 Hultzsch published<sup>1</sup> a tentative study of the inscription from the impression sent to Gerini by Bourke and 'a photograph of the back of the impression' supplied by Finot, published by Hultzsch and now republished with this article (fig. 2). Next year, the same scholar gave a much more satisfactory interpretation with a fresh reading.<sup>2</sup> Lastly, T. A. Gopinatha Rao made another attempt to interpret this brief but very interesting and in some ways enigmatic record in the course of a discussion on the *maṇi-grāmaṃ*.<sup>3</sup>

1. JRAS 1913, pp. 337 ff.

2. JRAS 1914, pp. 397 ff.

3. E. I, XVIII, pp. 71-2.

It seems to me that the full import of parts of the inscription has not been brought out in any of these discussions, and that there is some uncertainty still hanging round some of the readings proposed by Hultzs. This is my reason for attempting this fresh study, besides the desire to bring together in one place all the chief archaeological notices of the inscription and the circumstances leading to its discovery.

*The interpretation of the sculptures.* It will be seen that Lajonquiere is inclined to identify the three sculptured figures as Śiva between two feminine divinities, or, on a second view, with Pārvaṭī to his right and a *danseuse* to his left. We are not aware that Śiva is ever thus represented between two feminine forms. Unfortunately, we get no clue from the face of the god, which is invisible and which may be expected to carry a third frontal eye on the forehead, or from any emblems of the god or the attendant females. The only guiding factor is the presence of the inscription which, though it is engraved on a separate slab, seems still to be closely connected with the sculptures and has the same provenance as the sculptured slabs themselves. The inscription clearly bears the name Nāraṇam of a tank the digging of which is recorded in it. This factor, and the name of the hill from which they come, the mountain of Viṣṇu, would lead one naturally to expect that the sculptures represent Viṣṇu and his two consorts—Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī. The exquisite ornamentation of all the figures, and the absence of any Śaiva symbols whatsoever—it must be admitted that there are not any Vaiṣṇava symbols either—may lend support to this suggestion. From the sketch before us, we see that the female figure to the left of the god, Bhūdevī, is clearly seated, though the posture of the figure on the right, Śrīdevī, is rendered doubtful by its lower portion being overspread by the bark of the tree. And it is also a matter for consideration whether these goddesses can be represented as seated in the presence of a standing figure of Viṣṇu.

*The inscription.* I now proceed to give my reading of the inscription noting and explaining my differences from Hultzs's second reading of the record published in 1914 :

1. . . [ra]varman ku[nā\*]
2. . . mān tān naṅg[ū\*]r[u\*]ḍai[yā\*]
3. n totṭa kuḷam pēr śrī [Avani\*]
4. nāraṇam maṇikkirāmattār[k\*]
5. kum senāmukattārkkum
6. . patār-kkum aḍaikkalam.



Speaking generally, the considerations on which Hultzsch fixed the date of this inscription in the eighth or the ninth century A. D.<sup>1</sup> are perfectly valid, as a comparison of the letters *t*, *ṇa* and *ṇa* in this inscription with the same letters in the Pallava Tamil records of the period mentioned will easily show; the sign for the medial *ā* being joined to the preceding consonant, and the use of the short vertical stroke on the top of a letter for marking the *virāma* are also unmistakable signs of the antiquity of our record. To take one by one the points of doubtful reading in it:

*Line 1.*—The first letter may be a grantha *ra* with the upper half mutilated, if we neglect the small stroke to the left of the letter proceeding from its base. The letter before *ku* was at first read by Hultzsch as *t*, and later as *n* with the *virāma*. If it is a *n* with *virāma*, the vertical stroke of the main letter is missing, as may be seen by comparing it with *n* with a *virāma* occurring twice in the next line. The letter may be a *ta* and Gopinatha Rao prefers this reading. The word *madaku*, a sluice, suggests itself, if we put aside the associations in our mind arising out of a constant study of late Pallava and early Cōḷa Tamil records. But this line and the beginning of the next are so fragmentary that one can hardly be sure of one's ground in interpreting their purport. Hultzsch recognises the traces of a *ṇa* after *ku*, whereas Gopinatha Rao reads it as *ya* to bring it into line with the Tamil inscriptions of South India which invariably give the *yāṇḍu*, regnal year, after the king's name. The letter is very indistinct, and I am more inclined to agree with Hultzsch.

*Line 2.*—I read *Naṅ[ū]r[u]ḍai[yā]* for Hultzsch's *Naṅgū-ra[ḍ]ai*. The sign of the medial vowel in *kū* and *ru* is by no means distinct, the less so in the latter case than in the former. Comparing however the *ḍai* of 1. 6 in *aḍaikkalam* with the blurred letters following *naṅgūru* in this line, it is possible to make out a part of *yā* following a not very well formed *ḍai*; and this naturally suggests my reading. Whether the phrase is to be completed by the initial *n* of the next line, or some letters are missing at this point, is not easy to decide. I am inclined to the former alternative.

*Line 3.*—Hultzsch says: "After *śrī* (in this line) there are traces of a Grantha *a* and of a *va*: I feel tempted to supply the

word *avani*." Risky as this statement appears, it is possible that the ink-impression he was using gave him a more satisfactory clue to this suggestion than the present photograph seems to do. I am inclined to accept it as it fits in very well with the historical probabilities of the case, as will presently become clear.

*Line 6.*—The first legible letter in this line is doubtless *ṣa*. I am unable to accept the conjecture of Hultzsch—' *mulu* '. Gopinatha Rao's reading [*ku*] *la* [*t\**] *tārkkum* seems to me even less defensible. In fact, neither of these readings is an improvement on the original reading of Hultzsch [*chāpa*] [*t\**] *tārkkum*.

*The purport of the inscription :* Omitting the uncertain portions, the inscription may be rendered thus : " The tank called Avani-nāraṇam dug by the Lord of Naṅgūr (is placed under) the protection of the members of the Maṇigrāmam, the residents of the military camp and . . . "

Hultzsch observed : " The builder of the tank, whose first name ended in *ravarman* (perhaps Bhāskaravarman ?) evidently was a person of royal descent, and '[Avani] Nārāyaṇa', 'a Viṣṇu on earth,' was a surname of his, after which he called the tank dug by himself ". I have shown above how the lacunæ and the difficulties in first line and the beginning of the second render them very insecure as a basis for any historical deductions. And Gopinatha Rao is possibly right when he observes : "Dr. Hultzsch's remark, that the remnant of the Sanskrit name *ravarman* in the first line of the record might perhaps be that of Bhāskaravarman, is evidently due to his conviction that the Maṇigrāmattār were members of a trading community belonging to the Malabar coast of the time of the Malabar king Bhāskara Ravivarman."

Now, Avani-nārāyaṇa, is well-known as the surname of the Pallava king Nandi-varman III, the period of whose rule may be taken to be 826-850 A. D. The village Kāverippākkam was called Avani-nārāyaṇa-caturvēdimaṅgalam evidently after him,<sup>1</sup> and the anonymous, but possibly contemporary work, *Nandikalambakam* repeatedly applies the name Avani-nārāyaṇa<sup>2</sup> to Nandivarman III, the hero of the poem. This name occurs in the form *avani-nāraṇan*, recalling the name *avani-nāraṇam* of the tank mentioned in our inscription, thrice<sup>3</sup> in the *Kalambakam*

1. 391 of 1905, 394 of 1905 etc.

2. See verse 3 in the opening and verses 18 22, 64, and 66.

3. vv. 18, 22, 66.

while in the remaining instances we have the more regular form *avani-nārāyaṇan*.

Nandivarman, it is interesting to observe, is also described as the master of a navy. He is called : *āṭkulāṅ-gaḍar-paḍai-yavani-nāraṇan*,<sup>1</sup> i.e., Avani-nāraṇa with the crowded naval force. The expression is indeed capable of being interpreted otherwise into : "Avani-nāraṇa with the crowded ocean-like army;" and excellent analogies for this interpretation may be found in the phrases : "*vilvēlik-kaḍarrānai*", 'the ocean-like army surrounded by bows,' of the Vēlvikuḍi grant; and "*vēṛkaḍar-paḍai-vēndar*"<sup>2</sup> i.e., "the kings with ocean-like armies (armed with) javelins," of the *Nandikkalambakam* itself. But there can be no manner of doubt attaching to the meaning of another phrase applied to Nandi III in the *Kalambakam*<sup>3</sup>, viz., *nuraivenḍirai-nārkaḍar-koru-nāyakan*, 'the unrivalled lord of the four seas with white foaming waves.' In the light of this description of the king, the interpretation we have put on the phrase "*āṭkulāṅ-gaḍar-paḍai*" seems to be at least as natural, if not more so, as the alternative interpretation suggested.

The mention in the *Kalambakam* of the navy (*kaḍar paḍai*) of Nandivarman III is quite in keeping with the presence of the *Maṇigrāmam* on the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal in the Malaya peninsula, as attested by our inscription. The navy need not necessarily have been a fighting navy in the modern sense of the term; the expression used may be interpreted as a loose reference to the flourishing state of the mercantile marine of the country.

The *Maṇigrāmam* is well-known as a powerful mercantile corporation mentioned in several inscriptions in South India, and apparently in the enjoyment of continued prosperity for a period of several generations. There were other corporations of a more or less similar nature, like the Añjuvaṇṇam, Vaḷaṇḱiyar, Nānādeśi or Tiṣai-yāyirattu Aiññūṟruvar who are also known to have had a share in the overseas trade of Southern India, and who appear to have maintained bands of armed mercenaries for the protection of their interests.<sup>4</sup> These merchant-guilds enjoyed extra-

1. v. 18.

2. v. 26.

3. *ibid.*

4. See my paper on 'A Tamil Merchant guild in Sumatra' in the *Tidschrift Voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde* Vol. 72 (1932), Pt. ii.

territorial rights and were more or less autonomous self-regulating bodies. It is possible that the *Senāmukham* of our inscription mentioned next to the members of the *Maṇigrāmam* was an armed camp of soldiers maintained for their protection by the colony of South Indian merchants settled there. Though the *Mayamata* and the *Kāṁikāgama* agree in defining *Senāmukha* as a well-guarded place including the king's palace and residences of members of all castes, we shall not be wrong in assuming that in the present context the term is more loosely used to mean the residential quarters of the soldiers employed by the *Maṇigrāmam* of Takua-pa.

The Viṣṇu temple on the top of the hill must have been built for the use of the Tamil settlers in Takua-pa. From the description of the statues by Lajonquiere and their close resemblances with Pallava sculptures in many details, we may infer that the work was done by artisans from South India employed by these Tamil settlers. Neither the presence of Tamil settlers in such numbers as to require a permanent temple for their worship, nor even the presence of Tamil soldiers, can justify the inference that the Tamils were in the enjoyment of any political power in this region. The celebrated Cūḍāmaṇivarma Vihāra was built in Negapatam in the heyday of Cōḷa ascendancy by the kings of Śrī Vijaya (Sumatra) for the benefit of their citizens settled in the South Indian emporium for purposes of trade, and neither the construction of the Vihāra nor the presence of Sumatrans in Negapatam meant any detraction from the sovereignty of the Cōḷa power. Likewise the Tamil settlers in Takua-pa must be taken to have enjoyed their possessions in this region by the sufferance of the local powers.

The condition of the foreign trade of South India in the days of Nandivaram III is casually attested by the inscriptions of his reign. An inscription from Kāñcīpuram<sup>2</sup> dated in his eighteenth year grants a licence to the people of Kudiraiccēri, (possibly the same as modern Kudiraippaḷḷam in the Ponnēri Taluq of the Chingleput district), enabling them to sell in their shops all articles beginning with camphor and ending with sandals :

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1. EI, XVIII, p. 72 quotations by Gopinatha Rao.

2. I owe this reference to Miss C. Minakshi, M.A., research scholar in the University Department of Indian History.

*Kudiraiccēriyār-kkarṇpūram talaiyāga-cceruppu-kkaḍaiyāga ellā vyāpāramum kaḍai ēri vāṇigañjeyya-pperuvadāga-ppañittōm.*

This mention of camphor is particularly interesting as affording further confirmation of what is suggested by the Takua-pa inscription, *viz.*, the growth and persistence of an active commercial contact between the kingdoms of Southern India and those of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. Camphor from Malaya and Sumatra was an important article that entered into the commerce of the Indian ocean and that is mentioned by Arab writers from the ninth century onwards under the name Fansuri, from Fansur the name of a Sumatran kingdom noted by Marco Polo as the home of the best camphor in the world.<sup>1</sup>

It is found thus that the various lines of evidence fit into one another very easily and naturally, and the Takua-pa Tamil inscription just furnishes a peep into an aspect, long since forgotten, of the economic relations of South India with the outside world in the ninth century A. D. The evidence from the contemporary inscriptions of Nandivarman's reign and from the literature of his time also goes to confirm the indications furnished by this isolated Tamil record in a foreign land. Just as the Lobœ Tœwa Tamil fragment from Sumatra dated in Śaka 1010 forms a unique piece of evidence of the maritime pursuits of the Tamils in the age of the Great Cōlas, so also the Takua-pa inscription deserves to be recognised as equally valuable evidence attesting similarly the maritime trade relations of the late Pallava period, about two centuries earlier than the date of the Sumatran record.

A word on the author of the tank in Takua-pa before we close. If my reading is accepted, it will be seen that he calls himself 'Naṅgūruḍaiyān', Lord of Naṅgūr. Hultsch read the phrase as : 'Naṅgūr-adai . . . toṭṭa', translated it into: "which was dug near Naṅgūr", and added : "Naṅgūr seems to have been the Tamil name of the old Hindu settlement, the existence of which has been proved by Gerini". The Indian settlers in the Eastern countries are known often to have carried with them many Sanskritic place-names of legendary fame, but we have not so far come across any other instance of such a definitely Tamil name as Naṅgūr, with the common *ūr* ending in these lands. However that may be, I am tempted to suggest that the Naṅgūruḍaiyān of our inscription was a native of South India, and

1. Yule and Cordier ii, 299 and notes.

was so called because he was born in or held a fief in Nāṅgūr. This place is celebrated in Tirumaṅgai Ālvār's hymns as the cradle of heroes who distinguished themselves, apparently, in the wars of the Pallava monarchs whose sway extended over the Tanjore district and whose feudatories the Nāṅgūr chiefs must have been.<sup>1</sup> It is also known that Naccinārkkiniyar notes that early Cōḷa king Karikāla married a daughter of the Nāṅgūr chiefs (Vēḷir). Nāṅgūr may well be written as Naṅgūr in epigraphs, and there is nothing improbable in our assuming that in an age when people were living up to the active Tamil ideal of crossing the oceans, if need be, in search of wealth, *tirai-kaḍal-ōḍḍiyun-tiraviyam-tēḍu*,—a prominent noble from Nāṅgūr went over to Takua-pa and became the author of some charitable works in that locality. The name he gave to the tank was reminiscent of the political allegiance he owed to Nandivarman III.

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1. *Periya Tirumoli* IV 1, 2; 5, 6; 6, 2; 7, 1.

## VĀCASPATI'S CRITICISM OF SPHOṬA-VĀDA.

BY

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Even apart from the unsavoury and uncharitable criticism of Vācaspati by the Prakāṭhārthakāra, it is abundantly evident from a study of Maṇḍana's *Brahmasiddhi*<sup>1</sup> that whatever is distinctive in Vācaspati's Advaita teaching is inherited by him from Maṇḍana.<sup>2</sup> In the circumstances, one may not unreasonably expect Vācaspati to support Maṇḍana's Sphoṭa-vāda as well, especially since according to the latter the exposition of that doctrine is in conformity with and an aid to the comprehension of Advaita.<sup>3</sup> But strangely enough, Vācaspati restates the doctrine in the words of Maṇḍana and criticises it both in an independent work, the *Tattvabindu* and in the course of the Devatā-dhikaraṇa of the *Bhāmati*.<sup>4</sup> The former is referred to in the latter; the criticism is fuller and a little more trenchant in the former, while perhaps a shade more respect is shown in the latter by the mode of reference to the propounder of the theory as ācāryadeśīyaḥ. The substance of the criticism is about the same in both.

It will be remembered that the advocate of the Sphoṭa-vāda alleges the existence of the word or sentence as a single integral

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1. To be published shortly by the Government of Madras, under the editorship of Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar.

2. Prominent among the points of resemblance are the doctrine of Nescience as located in the Jīva, not Brahman, and the rejection of verbal testimony as of itself a cause of immediate knowledge. Instances of what one would in these days call verbal plagiarism are abundant; but in the days of palm leaves and oral instruction, such repetition should have been regarded more as a compliment than otherwise.

3. See Verse 36 of the *Sphoṭasiddhi* (p. 261, University of Madras edition) and the last three lines of the commentary thereon.

4. *Vedānta-Sūtra*, I, iii, 28.



whole, because meaning cannot intelligibly be comprehended otherwise. Our understanding of the sense, we say, comes from the word (or the sentence). If we treat the word not as a unit but as a composite of the letters (of which one imagines it to be formed) then each letter by itself cannot manifest the sense, while a combination of the letters in cognition is impossible, for each such cognition perishes momentarily and there cannot be a combination of what exists, what has ceased to exist and what has not come into existence. If it be said that the letters may combine, not their cognitions, this is irrelevant ; the letters being eternal and pervasive are always in combination and cannot explain the cognition of different words by different persons at different times ; if the dogma of the eternality of letters be not subscribed to, the position is worse. The impressions or memory images of the letters may be invoked to explain the apprehension of meaning ; but memory-images such as we ordinarily postulate can but recall their own causes ; they cannot cause something new, a single composite memory of the whole word, much less the meaning of the word. It may be thought that the final cognition is of the nature of a single memory to the production of which the other memory-images contribute, that in this memory all the letters constituting a word are repeated together as it were and that from the letters thus cognised in combination there is apprehension of meaning. Apart from the difficulty already indicated that such a capacity is different from that already postulated for memory, that memory itself is a capacity of the self and the postulation of another capacity in respect of a capacity will lead to infinite regress, there is the further trouble that in the final single memory image, all the letters are reflected together and not in sequence, while it is clear that cognition depends on the pronunciation of letters in a particular sequence. If the memory image theory were true, meaning should be apprehended even from letters pronounced without sequence (say by a number of people shouting each one letter simultaneously) or in a reverse sequence ; ' tip ' and ' pit ' should have the same meaning. It seems, therefore, necessary to recognise meaning as something *sui generis*. It is not produced, but revealed by what we call successive elements of a word or sentence. As the student of Western Logic would say, while the verbal expression of judgment which is called the proposition may be said to be compounded of subject, predicate and copula



the judgment itself is a unity which is *revealed* in their elements; the judgment is not *produced* by other units; it is itself the unit of thought. In the same way, meaning which is manifested, sphoṭa as the grammarians and Maṇḍana Miśra call it, is a unit increasingly revealed by particular sounds uttered in certain sequences. The succeeding sounds make more clear what was less clearly expressed by the preceding sounds; the latter provides the substructure, the former the super-structure, while all of them together reveal the one design, which while prompting their utterance is certainly not produced by them. The knowledge thus revealed being perceptual, does certainly admit of degrees of clarity unlike other forms of knowledge. Neither sound nor sequence is futile, for while the sound is the tool of manifestation, the sequence provides the form thereof. The individual cognitions of letters are parts, as it were, of the inspiring whole which is really partless. They correspond to the numerous reflections of the one face, as if possessing diverse colours and configurations. Sometimes meaning-units which are really different appear to be revealed by the same sounds, *e.g.*, in the case of ambiguous words and sentences; this is conditioned by similarity of the place and effort required for the utterance of the requisite sounds. Nor is there any difficulty about what is of the nature of a reflection and so far illusory subserving the comprehension of truth. Our initial cognition of many things is erroneous and yet it is on the basis of these that we make further strides in our knowledge; many a false hypothesis has led to the extension of scientific knowledge; even in the case of an apparently mechanical whole like an arithmetical figure, the lower, partial, defective and so far erroneous figures are means to the apprehension of the higher true figure.

The reader will not fail to note the marked resemblance of sphoṭa thus explained to the Advaitin's Brahman. Brahman is not compounded of the appearances. It is certainly revealed in appearances, partially. Not all appearances are of equal value in this task of manifestation, nor do they all come at the same time for all. If everything that is known or is done is ultimately for Brahman-knowledge, it is yet true that the acting or the knowing has to come in well-marked stages corresponding to the eligibility and perfection of the individual. All appearances are defective and illusory, yet they all in different ways more or less perfect are instrumental to Brahman-realisation. Brahman is not

attained by any act just as meaning is not produced by any combination. Again, as Brahman is neither known in the world nor yet unknown, the sphoṭa is neither revealed nor yet unrevealed ; Brahman is known, as otherwise there would be no desire to know, Brahman is also unknown, hence the desire to know. Sphoṭa is revealed, hence the possibility of making it clearer; sphoṭa is unrevealed, else it would not need to be made clearer.

The position of the sphoṭa-vādin and his opponent may be made clearer by comparison with the Associationist and Gestalt Schools of Psychology. The Associationist is all for the recognition of particular elements out of which wholes are compounded by some mysterious laws of association ; while the Gestalt School recognising the futility of compounding which can result at best in an aggregate, not a unit, insists on the presence of a plan, form or configuration from the first. The Associationist cannot explain how a five-rupee note comes to *mean* five rupees; for he wants to see and cannot see five rupees wrapped up in it.<sup>1</sup> The psychology of parts and elements is a static psychology which ignores and consequently fails to comprehend the dynamic aspect of life. No one reflecting on purposive activity, for instance, would fail to realise the existence of something revealed and yet unrevealed, realised, yet unrealised, an organised whole on which

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1. Cf. the following from Woodworth, *Contemporary Schools of Psychology*; "..... the job of psychology is first to analyse these complex processes into their elements, and then to study how the elements are combined and the laws of their combination. First identify the elements, and then work up to larger and larger compounds. The Gestalt Psychologists called this a brick and mortar psychology, with emphasis on the brick, because the trouble was to find the mortar. The mortar problem had been a serious one for the associationists" (p. 101) . . . "A form quality is a property possessed by a whole which is not possessed by any of the parts making up the whole. A melody, for example, is made up of the notes of the scale, but is not present in these notes taken singly but only when they are arranged in a certain sequence or pattern" (p. 102) . . . "A mere sum, or pure sum, is one in which each item is independent of the others and simply counts for one in making up the sum. In arithmetic we have pure sums, [Maṇḍana may not admit even this] but they are abstract. In the concrete, it is not so easy to be sure that an aggregate really consists of independent items" (p. 105) . . . "The Gestalt Psychologists hold that the total process controls the brain response to the separate items of stimulation" (p. 112).

the parts depend, which is yet increasingly realised through the parts. Our individual acts do not *make* the purpose; they are caused, rather, by the purpose revealed in them.<sup>1</sup> The Gestalt Psychologist shows the need for recognising this whole as a unit in his account even of perception. The perception of motion cannot be explained on the basis of the perception of the facts that move or the various stages occupied in the motion. In a motion picture, we have but a series of static pictures of various parts in various stages, yet we *see* the motion of the parts. Dynamic psychology no less than absolutist metaphysics would thus seem to support sphoṭa-vāda. It remains to see on what grounds Vācaspati rejects it.

“The particular sounds which manifest sphoṭa, are they”, asks Vācaspati, “different from sphoṭa or non-different therefrom?” If non-different, then each sound would manifest the meaning<sup>2</sup> and the remaining sounds would be futile. If different, why the association of these sounds with the manifestation of that? Verily, the cognition of the cow is not coloured by the cognition of the pig! Such a question has little application to Maṇḍana's doctrine. To him indeed sphoṭa is non-different from the sounds, as a whole from its parts; and yet it is different too, since the whole is neither each part nor a mere aggregate of the parts. The existence and functioning of such wholes can be denied only by defective psychology.

But any such theory discredits the reality of the parts, as partial and defective; they are treated as illusory; they are put on a par with the illusory manifold reflections of a single face in different media. Where is the justification for discrediting the reality of that whose cognition is unsublated? We do undoubtedly cognise individual letters. Why should we treat these cognitions as illusory? The obvious reply is that not the exis-

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1. The very first sentence of the *Bhāmātī* premises the purposiveness of all activity and yet it is a pity that Vācaspati shows no true grasp of the psychology or metaphysics of purpose; the lapse is all the more lamentable when he had the benefit of such a shining light as Maṇḍana.

2. Sphoṭa, here rendered as meaning, is really the cause of the ascertainment of meaning (arthā-vasāya-prasvanimittam); but in the last resort this cause is the meaning itself; hence the rendering adopted here, since it has the merit of being more familiar and more suggestive to students of Western Psychology.

tence of these cognitions but their significance is in question, just as in the case of the reflection. The reflection exists without doubt, but it is not real. The cognition of the letter exists without doubt, but it is not real. And sublation in this case consists not in that presentation ceasing to be or giving place to another presentation, but in that presentation *as such* failing to fulfil what is expected of it. If each cognition as an independent part could by combination with other such parts explain the whole, then it would be unsublated; since, however, it fails of its purpose, since it seems to fit in more naturally with a theory which treats it not as producer but as manifest, it is in so far forth sublated. The reflection is sublated not as a reflection, but as the face; the letter-cognition is sublated not as letter-cognition but as an independent productive constituent of meaning. The sublation is by no means apparent on the surface and reveals itself only on analysis. But so is it with all the major issues of Advaita, bondage, difference, finitude. All these impinge on the empirical consciousness with the apparent weight of reality and are sublated only by philosophical analysis. And philosophical analysis, as has been shown brilliantly by Maṇḍana, reveals non-difference to be real, difference being super-imposed thereon because of some extraneous adjunct.<sup>1</sup>

And here we come across a statement, extremely surprising in an Advaitin, that it is non-difference which is imposed because of some adjunct, on the differentials. Instances given are army, forest etc. Such terms are empirical designations for aggregates of units such as elephants, horsemen, infantry, chariots and so on or teak, ebony, bamboo and so on. "Nor with this does the army or forest come to be known as a single whole with the elephant etc., or campaka etc., as parts."<sup>2</sup> There is nothing to prevent the application of the same reasoning even to concepts like tree, to all universals in fact, with the startling conclusion that this absolutist metaphysician is also a rank nominalist. The question is insistent "Why should the Advaitin reverse his normal procedure here alone? Why should he treat difference as real and non-difference as super-imposed, while the very opposite holds good for him as an ultimate metaphysical conclusion?" A likely reply is that the reality of Brahman does not annul the

1. See the *Brahmasiddhi*, Chapter II. Part of the argument is re-stated briefly, almost in Maṇḍana's words, in the *Bhāmātī* on I, i, 4.

2. *Tattvabindu*, p. 11.

empirical reality of phenomena, and that what seems so startling in Vācaspati is but the expression of an intelligible and legitimate desire "to preserve appearances." The different statements are both true ; their apparent contradiction is to be resolved by distinguishing their contents (*viṣaya-vyavasthā*). Such a reply, however, is far from satisfactory ; for, distinction of content is possible as between enquiries on a par,<sup>1</sup> not as between a higher and a lower. The principles that determine final truth cannot be different from, much less opposed to, those which determine truth in a particular field. Much less is the possibility of contradiction when the two enquiries have almost the same sphere. The knowledge of the Word cannot run counter to the knowledge of the Real ; for, is not all speech contained in the *Om*kāra, and has it not been said that *Om*, the imperishable, is all this, the past, the present and the future, as also what transcends all three times ?<sup>2</sup> A distinction of the kind mentioned tends to divorce Science from Philosophy and stultify both. If the Real is the one, imperishable, partless whole manifested in varying degrees in the world of appearances, this truth should be found to apply not in Metaphysics alone, but in the spheres of the other Sciences as well, so far as the limitations of their inquiry will allow. And the Science of the Word is no exception.

Starting with the premise that the unity of the word or sentence is due to an extraneous adjunct, Vācaspati proceeds to define this adjunct as "being the content of a single cognition (*eka-vijñāna-viṣayatā*)" or "being the cause of the cognition of a single thing denoted (*ekā-bhidheya-pratyaya-hetutā*)."<sup>3</sup> A natural objection would be that the external adjunct would not condition unless it be itself cognised, and that the cognition of such an adjunct depends on the cognition of the word as single, reciprocal dependence being thus involved. This consequence, however, Vācaspati denies ; "for, the knowledge of the relation (of sound to sense) is not dependent on the determination of the word ; rather is the cognition of the word dependent on the former."<sup>3</sup> Dependence being thus one-sided, there can be no question of reciprocal dependence. But, we may ask, how is there the knowledge of the relation ? When we say that the relation of sound to sense is known, do we not mean the relation of

1. *E.g.* in the case of Astronomy and Biology.

2. *Māṇḍūkya*, I.

3. *Tattvabindu*, p. 12.

a word to what it signifies? And can this be cognised without the word being cognised *as a word*? Apparently it can be, according to Vācaspati, who says that relation to sense is understood in the case of those letters which enter into a single memory-cognition. But this takes us nowhere, for we are against the old difficulty in another form: What is a single memory-cognition? Is the unity of the memory determined by its momentariness? If so, is this momentary cognition capable of comprehending a plurality of letters within itself? If not by its duration, then, by what other principle is the unity determined? If I recall "Cow horse" in my memory, is my cognition single or dual? So long as it is recalled by me without involving any recognisable double effort, should we not treat it as one? Shall we be justified then in treating what is cognised as one word? It is true that there may be really a multiplicity of efforts though unrecognised. But on what ground are we to infer this unrecognised multiplicity? By what causes again are we to explain the need for the multiplicity? Is there in the last resort any explanation other than the unity of the word? Are we not forced to say albeit against our will that the memory is single because it is of a single word? And with this we are led back to reciprocal dependence. The logical difficulty is fundamental and to meet it we have but alleged psychological facts couched in stilted if cautious double negatives.<sup>1</sup> When *A* pronounces a word,\* we are told, and *B* is seen to react, the looker-on *C* has a single memory comprehending the letters pronounced by *A*, as related to *B*'s reaction. From *B*'s reaction he infers apprehension of meaning by him, which meaning *C* relates to the single memory he has; because of this relation to sense the letters comprehended in the memory are understood to be a word. The psychology here presented is unfortunately too simple to be true. Let us assume for the moment the general validity of this behaviouristic explanation of language-learning. Even then, what is it that *A* pronounces, a word or sentence? If it is a sentence, *i.e.*, a combination of words, then what is associated in *C*'s mind with *B*'s reaction and the inferred cognition of sense is this combination, not a single word. How does *C* learn to discriminate the various words thereof? It may be said that the words are distinguished by their occurrence in different contexts in conjunction with other different words, that what is instrumental is a process of

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1. See the *Bhāmātī*, p. 330 (Anantakṛṣṇa Śāstrin's edition).

addition and subtraction (*āvāṣa* and *udvāṣa*). But for any such process of addition and subtraction words must first be apprehended as such. There is also the difficulty on the other side that if words are apprehended by discrimination from the wholes of which they are parts, the principle of the sentence as a single unit (*Vākya-sphoṭa*) is admitted and this is more than sufficient to content the sphoṭa-vādin. Let us then say that in the simple process mentioned, what *A* mentions is a word, not a sentence. How then can *B* re-act? The very least that *B* must do is to nod or show some other sign of comprehension, and this he can do not in respect of a bare word-sense but only in respect of that sense as related at least to the activity of being. When *B* nods on hearing the word "cow," he does so because he takes the word to mean "a cow exists" or "that is a cow," and this is the apprehension which is inferred by *C*. If, on the contrary, there were no such sense even by implication, *B* would not react in any way and *C* would have nothing to infer or infer from. Nor may it be said that *B*'s passivity is itself the ground of inference; for, the passivity may result from what is not a word or what is not apprehended as a word. *B* may not react to a man saying "Coo" either because he does not take it to be a word or because he does not know it is "Cow" pronounced in the North of England way. The behaviouristic explanation, then, if it is to explain at all, must treat the sentence as a unit; and that is to give away the associationist case. And if it stops short of that unit, the apprehension of the relation of word to sense should necessarily depend on the apprehension of the word as such. The Prābhākara were consistent behaviourists, maintaining as they did that words are significant only as related to what is to be done. Maṇḍana improving on them insisted on the need for words being understood *in relation*, but not necessarily in relation to an act. Vācaspati, while not rejecting behaviourism outright, attempts to work it along with associationism, an exceedingly unfortunate procedure. The lead of Kumārila was less worth following than that of Maṇḍana Miśra.<sup>1</sup>

The psychology that sense is related to the letters entering into a single memory is defective in yet another way. If it be true that Cowness is associated with the three remembered letters

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1. Kumārila's view that the sentence-sense follows by implication from the word-sense is not necessary for Vācaspati's system though adopted by him in the *Tattvabindu* and less explicitly in the *Bhāmātī*.



'C, O, W,' that sense should not be recalled except when all the three letters are recalled. But not infrequently it happens that we have a valid cognition of cowness when the letters are defectively or incorrectly recalled. The printer may print 'Coe,' the speaker may pronounce "Coo", and yet we have a valid apprehension of cow. The process is even more marked where a letter or sound is omitted in writing or speaking.<sup>1</sup> This is explicable because in learning we do not pass from element to element, but apprehend the whole, filling up gaps wherever they occur. It is not the fact of recall that matters here, for that may be explained on the ground of association by similarity or partial identity; what does matter is that the sense recalled is the sense intended, not one that is similar or defective or erroneous.

The sphoṭa-vādin's difficulty about sequence in the single memory cognition is sought to be got over by Vācaspati. In the memory itself, he says, the letters have no sequences, being presented together; but memory follows experience and conforms to it; and the sequence in which the letters are experienced is repeated in memory. This would appear to be sound as far as it goes. The difficulty is that it does not go far enough. Letters, it is said, being eternal and pervasive, have no sequence belonging to them as such. What sequence there is is determined by something else? What is this something other if it is not the meaning or purpose of the speaker, listener or reader? The letters *t*, *i* and *p* are arranged in one way or the other, according to the meaning we purpose to express; in other words, the sequence varies with the word. Externally looked at, the letters in sequence constitute the word; for the psychologist, however, it is the word that determines the sequence. Is the word existent or non-existent prior to the letters apprehended in sequence? Empirically speaking, I may shelve the question by saying that though not present in my mind before I learn the sequence, it is present in the mind of another who instructs me; and thus, the process may be pushed back indefinitely, there being no authority for postulating the origin of language at any particular time. If, however, this empirical indeterminism does not content you and you press for metaphysical definiteness, it must be said that

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1. The fact is not unknown to Advaitins. See for instance the *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*, p. 303, Ben. Edition. For the Gestalt view of learning as filling up gaps, see Woodworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.



the word both is and is not prior to the apprehension of sequence. It is real, otherwise it could not be manifested in the sequence; it is not existent, otherwise there would be no need for manifestation.<sup>1</sup> The solution of the problem is in a line with the solution of the problems of human knowledge and activity in general. Knowledge is of the novel and yet not of the non-existent. Activity realises a purpose which is real yet not actual. This paradox is common to all aspects of human nature, indeed to all appearance; the only solution would seem to lie in taking these to be partial and therefore defective and illusory appearances of the Real that is one and partless. And what applies to the Real applies to the Word, for Omkāra is all speech and "Om is Brahman, Om is all this,"<sup>2</sup> "Omkaara alone is all this."<sup>3</sup>

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1. The paradox is made much of in the *Tattvabindu*, p. 10, where it is said that according to the sphoṭa-vāda, "the unreal helps the unreal."

2. *Taitt. Upa.*, I, 8.

3. *Chāndogya Upa.*, II, 23, 3. For an exposition of Brahman as akṣara in this sense, see the *Brahmasiddhi*, pp. 17-19.

# THE MADURAI CHRONICLES AND THE TAMIL ACADEMIES.

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## VIII

Neither the tales of Agastya nor those of Skanda contain anything which points to the original of the story of the Pandya seating himself on the throne of Indra and thereby annexing a half of that god's throne. This incident must have been taken from the ancient puranas in which we are told of Indra taking Arjuna to his realm<sup>1</sup> and installing him on his throne<sup>2</sup> and of Arjuna thereupon occupying a half of Indra's seat.<sup>3</sup> There can thus be little doubt but that the Sport of the bringing down of rains is indebted for what have come to be its characteristic features to the ancient cycle of legends which have gathered round Arjuna. This conclusion is strengthened by the circumstance that certain other features of the Sports as told in the Madurai Chronicles can be traced also to the same cycle: Arjuna fought with Indra and vanquished him;<sup>4</sup> he asked Indra to bestow on him the contents of his armoury,<sup>5</sup> learned of him the use of all the instruments of war and received from him the *vajra* and the lightnings which were among his favourite weapons.<sup>6</sup> In Indra's gift of weapons to Arjuna the authors of the tales that were gathered into the Madurai Chronicles must have found material enough to provide the Pandyas with resounding victories: they must have turned the gifts of Indra into the triple gift of the javelin, the discus and the club. The legends of Arjuna were an appropriate quarry

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1. *M. B.* 3 (*Vana-*); 42 (*Indralōka-*): 11-42; 43- 1 : 32.

2. *Ib.* 43 : 20.

3. *Ib.* 47 : 2.

4. *Ib.* 1 (*Ādi-*): 229 (*Khāṇḍava-*): 12-, 230 ; 1-22.

5. *Ib.* 236 ; 9.

6. *Ib.* 3 (*Vana-*); 44 (*Indralōka-*) ; 3-4.

from which to draw material for the exaltation of the Pandyas, that romantic hero being among the most eminent ancestors of that dynasty.

But, why should the Cōḷa and the Cēra have accompanied the Pandya on his visit to Indra? The frame-work of the story stood ready to hand in the tales of Agastya and Arjuna,—the denial of rains, the drought, the threat to depose Indra, the ascent to his kingdom, the defeat of that god, the winning of a half of his throne, the gift of a golden garland and the bringing down of the much-needed rains. Where then, was the need for the introduction of the Cōḷa and the Cēra?

The puranas tell of Māndhātā 'the foremost of earthly kings,' that, when of yore the gods celebrated a grand sacrifice in the region of Nāgapura, he defeated Indra,<sup>1</sup> that he erected many sacred piles and performed greatly pious deeds by which he obtained the privilege of sitting at Indra's side<sup>2</sup>, and that when there was a drought of twelve years he caused rain to fall for the growth of crops, disregarding the wielder of thunder.<sup>3</sup> This account of Māndhātā too contains some of the very elements that are found in the tales of Agastya and Arjuna,—the failure of rains, the defeat of Indra, the seating oneself on a par with him, and the bringing down of copious rains despite him. The similarities in the tales must naturally have suggested it to the chronicler of the Sports that he should assimilate the story of Māndhātā as well. He could have done so by making that king too an ancestor of the Pandyas, but the Cōḷas had laid claim to be descended from Māndhātā, and it was a claim which could not be lightly brushed aside.<sup>4</sup> The chronicler had therefore to leave Māndhātā severely alone. But, when he abandoned the idea of bringing him into the geneology of the Pandyas, he was forced to face another difficulty,—that he had to admit that another dynasty of the Tamil country could lay claim to the very achievements on which the Pandyas plumed themselves. It was open to a protagonist of the Cōḷas to contend that achievements to which the Cōḷa line could lay just claim in

1. *MB.* 12 *Śānti*:- 355 *Mōkṣa-dharma*:- 2-3.

2. *Ib.* 3 *Vana*:- 136 *Tīrtha*:- 38; cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*; 7 *Uttara*:- 80.

3. *MB.* 3 *Vana*:- 126 *Tīrtha*:- 42.

4. See the Leiden Grant. Also, Jayam-koṇḍān, *Kalīngattup-Parani*, 176.

virtue of descent from Māndhātā had been unscrupulously pirated for the Pandyas. The only honest course open to the chronicler was to admit the claims of the Cōḷa and to assign to him in the legend a status equal to that of the Pandya. But, the chronicler could not do so without affecting the Pandya's primacy which the Sports were intended to support.

This difficulty was, however, got over by the chronicler by the device of 'confession and avoidance'. He admitted that to an ancestor of the Cōḷas too could be attributed certain achievements similar to those of an ancestor of the Pandyas, but he avoided the effect of that admission by alleging that to the Pandya went one better than to the Cōḷa. Introducing the Cōḷa into the tale, he assigned to him at the start a rank equal to that of the Pandya, but as the story proceeded on its course he pushed the Cōḷa into the back-ground and thrust the Pandya into the forefront. Thus, the very tale which had placed Cōḷa on the same plane as the Pandya was used as a step by which the Pandya could be raised to a higher level.

By way perhaps of consideration for the Cōḷa, the chronicler provided him with a companion in his misfortune by dragging the Cēra into the tale and subjecting him too to a similar fate. The introduction of the Cēra into the story served also the further object of raising the Pandya above both his traditional peers,—the kings of the other two great dynasties of the Tamil country.

We can no longer harbour any doubt about the real character of the Sports relating to the Ocean and the Mountain and the Lord of the Celestials: they stand out clearly as variations on themes which are extremely popular in the old puranic literature,—themes which are more ancient than any tale of the Sports of the Lord of Madurai.

Even thus, we have not arrived at an explanation of how the victory over the sea came to assume the aspect it now bears in the *Tiru-Vālaiyāḍal Purāṇams*, with its insistence on the sea laving the Pandya's feet. The earliest references to 'the laving the margins' are so late as Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's chronicle,<sup>1</sup> the comments of Nacciṇārkkū-Iniyar<sup>2</sup> and the anonymous glossator on the *Pura-Nāṇūru*<sup>3</sup>, and the *Nāḷa-Veṇbā* of

1. ...அடி வடிம்பலம்பிநின்றது.....

2. ...வடிம்பலம்பி நின்ற...

3. ...வடிம்பலம்பி நின்றன்.....

Puhalēndi,<sup>1</sup>— none of which is earlier than the eleventh century A. D. While they do not help us to reconstruct the legend, they make it obvious that the reference had by then come to be crystallised in a phrase, 'standing, the margins being laved'.<sup>2</sup> It must be noticed that only two of the references<sup>3</sup> add words which compel us to assume that what were laved were the feet.

Of another Arjuna, usually called Kārta-vīrya-Arjuna, 'the valorous son of Kṛta-vīrya',<sup>4</sup> it is said that he was 'the lord of the country near the shore of the sea',<sup>5</sup> that he was Anūpa-pati, the lord of the sea coast,<sup>6</sup> and that when he was once 'walking along the shores of the sea' he 'showered hundreds of shafts at it' and forced it to tell him who his equal was in prowess.<sup>7</sup> No reason is suggested for his attacking the sea, and, if any reason could be inferred from the accounts now available, it is wholly inadequate: probably, the full tale is now lost. Considering that this Arjuna was killed by Paraśu-Rāma, that legends tell of the reclamation of land from the sea by Paraśu-Rāma in a portion of India which is adjacent to the Pandya country, (if it did not form part of it in early times), it is not unreasonable to infer that the accounts we now have of the battle are but fragments of a legend pertaining to Kārta-vīrya-Arjuna, and that, perhaps, the legend did tell of the sea lapping his feet submissively. Another legend seems to have it that with his javelin he slew Rāvaṇa's army and washed the javelin in the sea.<sup>8</sup> We have already noted that the mention of something having been laved goes along with an inability to specify what it was that was laved. So long as scholars were unable to determine the details of the story they abstained scrupulously from altering even slightly the phrase into which the idea had got crystallised. That phrase

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1. ஆழி வடிம்பலம்ப நின்றுன்.....

2. வடிம்பலம்ப நின்று, in all four.

3. PPPN and the commentator on the *PNN*.

4. *MB.* 3 (*Vana*): 116 (*Tīrtha-yātrā*).

5. *Ib.*

6. *Ib.* 361.

7. *Ib.* 14 (*Aśvamētha*); 29 (*Anugīta*), 73-4.

8. *ST.*, vi. (1908 M-J) 253-61: this paper is among the most suggestive of the remarkable essays of Pandit M. Raghava-Aiyangar, and I am bound to record that it is a persual of this article many years ago that incited me on to this enquiry, and that I have greatly dared in presuming to reach different conclusions.

can well be applied to a king the borders of whose territories were washed by the waves of the sea. Perhaps, after all, the phrase originated in the epithet applied to Kārta-vīrya-Arjuna,—Anūpa-pati, the lord of the sea coast. Being translated into Tamil in the ambiguous words, 'one who stood, the margins being laved by the sea',—properly applicable to a king whose country was sea-girt,—and then being misinterpreted to mean 'one who stood, the margins of his feet being laved by the sea', the phrase must have become the root of the story of the sea laving the Pandya's feet. A belief that Kārta-vīrya-Arjuna too was an ancestor of the Pandyas,—or even a confusion due to his being also an Arjuna,—might have been responsible for his achievements and titles being transferred to the Pandyas.

Thus, it is clear that the legends of the conquest of Indra, the Mountain and the Sea are the result of a jumbling up of legends relating to Agastya, the two Arjunas, Skanda, and Māndhātā, and, perhaps, Paraśu-Rāma as well. The mingling up of the legends may perhaps be traced in the passage quoted from the *Śiṣaṭṭ-Adihāram*, in which the feet are introduced, and we may take it that the process of the integration of these myths had started by the days of that poem. But it is not till we reach the days of the glossator on the *Pura-Nānūru* and of Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi that the sea is related to have laved the margins of the Pandya's feet; the evolution of the myth must therefore have been completed only by their days.

An allusion to Muruhan (Skanda) 'examining Tamil' is traceable in a hymn on him in the *Pari-Pāḍal*, one of the Sangam collections: Muruhan's 'examination' seems to have had reference to 'Poruḷ',—especially because he was an adept in the Love Clandestine.<sup>1</sup> This passage must be the little seed out of which the great legend of Rudra-janman has sprung.<sup>2</sup>

1. அகநலநியாவணியிழைநல்லா

ரிகநலைக்கொண்டதுனிக்குந்தவநிலரித்

தள்ளாப்பொருளியல்பிற்றண்டமிழாய்வந்திலர்

கொள்ளாரிக்குன்றுபயன்

9: 23-6.

See also the gloss thereon of *Pari-mēl Alahar*: ..... பொருளிலக் கணத்தையுடைய தமிழை ஆராயாத தலைவர் களவொழுக்கத்தைக் கொள்ள மாட்டார்.....இனி அக் களவிற புணர்ச்சியை யுடைமையான் வள்ளி சிறந்த வாறும் அத் தமிழை ஆய்ந்தமையான் முருகன் சிறந்தவாறும் கூறுகின்றார்.

2. PPPN 19; PJ 55.

The legend of Mūrti<sup>1</sup> seems to be based on a historical event which might have happened between the third and the seventh centuries A. D.

The *Śilapp-Adihāram* of Iḷam-Kō-Aḍihaḷ contains a short account of how a lady cited a tree and a kitchen as witnesses,<sup>2</sup> but, being earlier than Jñāna-sambandha, the *Śilapp-Adihāram* does not connect the tale with that saint. When, however, miracles were woven round him the legend of this lady must have been connected with him.

Obviously, the other two legends about Jñāna-sambandha<sup>3</sup> are miracles fashioned out of events which had in them nothing that was miraculous.

The legend narrating the origin of the Elephant Mount<sup>4</sup> near Madurai says that the Lord slew an ogre-elephant and turned it into a mount and had Narasimha installed in it—the Narasimha image being due to the arrow with which the elephant was slain having been called after Narasimha. The legend is obviously compounded of two elements,— an account of a historical event and an explanation of a place-name. As we have an Elephant Mount (Āṇai-malai)<sup>5</sup> about six miles from Madurai, the etymological element in the legend must have arisen out of an attempt to account for the name. The Mount having gone by that name as early at least as 570 A. D. when it was mentioned by Varāhamihira under the name of Kuñjara-dari ('Elephant's Cave'),<sup>6</sup> the author of the legend could by then have fabricated the etymological explanation. The historical event to which an allusion has been worked into the tale is the cutting of a cave into the mount and the installing in it of an image of Narasimha. Three caves are found juxtaposed in the Mount; one is natural and two are artificial. Of the two artificial caves, one is the nucleus of Narasimha's temple. Two inscriptions engraved

1. PPPN 51 : PJ—

2. xxi. (*Vañjiṇa-*), 5-8.

3. PPPN 37-8 : PJ. 62-3.

4. PPPN 26 : PJ 22.

5. That the place had attracted attention as early as perhaps the 3rd century B. C. is obvious from a Brāhmi inscription which is found incised in a cavern in the hill; see Krishna-Sastri, in *PTAIOC.* 1 (1919, Poona); 334, and K. V. Subrahmanya-Aiyar, in *Ib.* 3 (1924, Madras); 276, 280, 282, 294-5.

6. *Bṛhat-Samhitā*, xiv. 16.

in the shrine of this temple say that Māraṇ-Kāri *alias* Madhura-kavi, 'the wise minister of the Pāṇḍya' king Parāntaka *alias* Māraṇ-Śaḍaiyaṇ 'made this stone temple of Viṣṇu' and 'ascended heaven without completing it', and that 'his younger brother Māraṇ-Eyinaṇ.....made the mukha-maṇḍapa and consecrated the shrine' and that 'when 3871 years of Kali had passed', (that is, in 770 A.D.), 'this god was duly set up here'.<sup>1</sup> The Viṣṇu installed in the shrine was obviously a Narasimha: not only is it usual to instal that form of Viṣṇu in mountain caves, but an inscription in the same shrine, dated about 939 A.D., speaks also of the temple being dedicated to that manifestation of Viṣṇu.<sup>2</sup> As the Āṇai-malai hill 'bears a very fair resemblance to an elephant lying down',<sup>3</sup> the sight of a cavity bored in the side of the hill must have conjured up in some fanciful mind the idea of an elephant lying prone with a wound in its flank, and must have incited a romantic imagination to weave a tale of an ogre-elephant struck dead by an arrow which had entered deep in its flank. Such a tale could have risen only after the cave-temple had been excavated in 770 A. D. by Māraṇ-kāri, who passed the natural cave by and deliberately cut a cave out of the rock and installed in it a Narasimha. Both the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇams* are insistent on the Narasimha-arrow piercing the ogre elephant in the side and petrifying it and the figure of Narasimha being left behind in the petrified wound. It is therefore much more appropriate to take it that the chroniclers refer to the artificial cave and to the Narasimha image in it than to the natural cave which seems to have always remained untenanted by the image of any god, much less by that of a Narasimha. So, the legend of the slaying of an ogre-elephant,— at any rate that part of it which tells of the arrow of the Lord having been tipped with Narasimha,— and the tale in the *Kūḍal Purāṇam* about the Narasimha of this shrine could not have originated before Māraṇ-Kāri had the cave-shrine excavated,—that is, before the year 770 A. D.

Māṇikya-vācaka is assignable to the eighth century or the early half of the ninth century A. D.,<sup>4</sup> and the legends associated with him cannot be earlier.

1. *EI.* viii. 317-21. See also Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri, *PK.* 4,60-1.

2. *MEC.* 1905: 63.

3. Francis, W., *Madura (Gazetteer, 1906)*, 254.

4. See my paper in *QJMS.* (1931. Oct.), xxii. 185-200.



The name Varaguṇa is found in the historical records of the Pandyas, but it is still doubtful if they prove that there was only one Varaguṇa or if there were more of that name. One wonders, in view of certain features of the legend of Bhadra and of certain other allusions to Varaguṇa himself, whether there was not yet another Varaguṇa—different from the two Varaguṇas of epigraphists<sup>1</sup>— who could be placed somewhere about the times of Jñāna-sambandha.<sup>2</sup> The later Varaguṇa or Varaguṇas seem to have reigned between 765 and 900 A. D. The Varaguṇa of the chronicle is said to have defeated a Cōḷa and to have rebuilt a gateway of the temple at Tiru-Idai-Marudūr: inscriptions associate the name of a Varaguṇa with a battle at Tirup-Puṇambiyam, a few miles from Tiru-Idai-Marudūr, against the Pallavas and probably the Cōḷas as well, and with Tiru-Viśālūr, a place which is about a mile and a half to the west of Tiru-Idai-Marudūr. These correspondences are close enough to raise the presumption that the Varaguṇa of the chronicle was one of the two later Varaguṇas. The question bristles with difficulties, but, though it is doubtful which of the Varaguṇas is the original of the legend, we may not be wrong if we concluded that the Sports of Varaguṇa and Bhadra could not have been earlier than Jñāna-sambandha and not later than the last of the Varaguṇas: they lie between 600 and 900 A. D.

These are the Sports of which the origins and the growth may roughly be traced. The other legends are so free from genuine historical associations that it is impossible to investigate their origins with the aim of reaching even tentative conclusions.

This examination of the Sports of which the origins could be traced seems to take us to the conclusions that some of the Sports are a conglomerate of legends of great men to whom the Pandyas claimed to be kin,— such as the two Arjunas,— or with whom they claimed connection otherwise,— for instance, as preceptor and disciple, as in the cases of Agastya, Jñāna-sambandha and, perhaps, Māṇikya-vācaka,—and that a few are legends that have grown round the great ones of their own line,—such as Varaguṇa.

The three Sports of the discus, the javelin and the club could be traced back as early as the Sangam age, their traces

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1. I am discussing it in my *Saivism in South India : Mediaeval Period*. Or, perhaps, the earlier belonged to that period.

being visible in the work of Iḷam-Kō-Aḍihaḷ, but the rest are later than the sixth century A.D., and of them a few could not have been earlier than the ninth century A.D. But these Sports had swollen to the number of thirty-one by the days of the *Kallāḍam*, and the canon had become fixed in that poem at sixty-four,— though only theoretically.

A problem thus emerges. How did it happen that the legends which were no more than three in number in the time of Iḷam-Kō-Aḍihaḷ rose to the rather phenomenal number of sixty-four by the tenth or the eleventh century A. D.?

A significant feature of these legends as they finally developed gives us the clue. Among the objects with which they had been fashioned not the least important was that of showing that the Pandyas were under the protecting wings of Siva and that the Lord of Madurai concerned himself greatly with their fortunes. The growth of these legends must therefore have been largely conditioned by the extent to which Saivism came to be accepted in the Pandya country. Jainism seems to have been a highly disturbing factor,— as disturbing indeed as the intrusion of the Kaḷabhras into the Pandya dominions had been in the political sphere. Vaiṣṇavism too seems to have had votaries among the Pandyas, though it is difficult to fix their number or chronological position. Saivism seems therefore to have had to go through a severe struggle for dominion. With Mūr̥ti a turn set in; a devotee of Siva became king over a land which had been for some length of time under the sway of Jainism. From about the days of Mūr̥ti the times seem to have become propitious for the growth of a special class of sacred legends about Siva. The myths about Siva which we find preserved in Sanskrit literature must have been popular in south India for centuries before and after the foundation of the city of Madurai. But when the temple to Siva was founded at Madurai the devotees must have been anxious to have a miraculous account of the appearance of that Siva, and a legend or two, or perhaps even a brief cycle of legends, must have been fashioned for the purpose. The number of such legends does not seem, however, to have appreciably multiplied till the days of Mūr̥ti; atleast, we have no evidence. At about his time were current legends of another class connecting the kings of Madurai with classic figures like Arjuna and Agastya,— legends which even then must have been of considerable antiquity.

in the Tamil country. When the fortunes of Saivism revived at Madurai with the advent of Mūrti there must have been an attempt on the part of the devotees of Siva to utilise the occasion to improve the prospects of Saivism and to win over large masses of people to that faith. The revival of the orthodox cult of Siva must have tended also to give an impetus to the revival of the other orthodox cult of Viṣṇu, for both the cults must have equally profited by the set-back which the heterodox Jainism had received. That tales of miracles are subtle and yet potent vehicles of religious propaganda is among the earliest of discoveries in mass psychology, and the protagonists of Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism at Madurai must, in their struggle against Jainism, have looked on miracle-making as a highly religious duty. An ancient and orthodox belief being that a king is under the special tutelage of the deity of his country or its capital, the makers of miracles are not likely to have forgotten to make the Pandyas the proteges of the Lord Sundara of Madurai. And if the Lord had to work miracles, what could be more natural than that he should work some for his proteges? Thus must have risen some of the miracles which tell of the Lord saving the Pandyas at various crises in their history. Some legends which are told of other persons might also have been adapted suitably: among the products of such adaptation may be the tale of the Lord 'studying' Tamil at Madurai,—a modification, perhaps, of the tale of Agastya learning Tamil.

Some time after Mūrti,— we do not know how much later,— the great saint and hymnist Jñāna-sambandha came to Madurai, checked the aggressiveness of Jainism and converted the Pandya of his times to Saivism. Thenceforward the Pandya kings seem to have been less prone to succumb to the wiles of Jainism, and the orthodox cults of Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism found countenance and support at the royal court. The hero of the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai*, who seems to have been a devout worshipper of Siva, must have been a pillar of strength to the cause of Saivism in those difficult days when the country was being wrested for the two orthodox faiths. The saintliness of Varaguṇa and his surpassing devotion to Siva must have been a beacon-light to the commonalty illuminating by practical example the strength and the virtues that come of devotion to Siva. Still, so determined must Jainism have been to regain lost ground that novel methods must have been anxiously looked for to popularise the orthodox religions of

Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism. The miracles of Siva and Viṣṇu of which the ancient puranas had spoken at considerable length had been current in the south for centuries before, and so had been known too long to be used to arouse interest or to evoke enthusiasm. The three great hymnists of Tamil Saivism,—Jñāṇa-sambandha, Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu and Sundara,—and such of the Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs as were of that period, sang of those ancient deeds of the two gods with all the fervour of deep devotion and genuine inspiration, but the legends of old had lost their grip on the imagination of the people. New miracles were needed to whip up interest in faiths that had almost lost their savour for the masses. Just at the nick of the hour came a remarkable hymnist, Māṇikya-vācaka, whose fervid imagination saw life as an endless series of miracles worked by the Lord Siva for the salvation of His devotees, and in hymns which grip the imagination with claws of steel and stir the soul deeply and strangely he sang of the infinite variety and the surpassing marvel of the miracles which his Lord, Siva, could work and had worked. Some of those miracles can scarcely be identified now and some can never be identified; many of the miracles he mentions are not to be found in the hymns of his three great predecessors. Māṇikya-vācaka pictured perhaps as many miracles as were possible to God. The divine denizen of many a Siva temple of the Tamil country was the theme of his song, but he was greatly fascinated by the Lord Siva as manifest in the temples of Cidambaram, Tirup-Perum-Tuṟai and Madurai, and of those manifestations he sang with a fervour—almost an abandon,—to which few parallels could be found in the whole range of hymnal literature. Like the true believer that he was he drew no distinction between the Lord of one fane and the Lord of another, for, to him each was but a different manifestation of the same everlasting Being. So, the miracles which in one hymn he would attribute to the Lord of one shrine he would unhesitatingly narrate of the Lord of another shrine in another hymn. Yet, so personal was Māṇikya-vācaka's devotion to Sundara, the Lord of Madurai, and so firm was his faith that the destinies of the Pandya country lay in the lap of the Lord Sundara that he conceived of Sundara as the real and undisputed sovereign of that land and he called Him by the name of Pāṇḍya. The conception was by no means new in Hindu thought, but it received special emphasis in the Pandya country by reason of being embedded in psalms so popular as Māṇikya-vācaka's.

Set in every key and striking every noble note, the hymns of Māṇikya-vācaka are organ peals that pierce the deafest of ears and rouse the most torpid of souls. The hymns, with their repetition of the greatness of the Lord Sundara and their insistence on His being the genuine Pāṇḍya, must have served to raise Sundara to a special position among the Lords of the various temples of the Pandya country and must have endowed Him with the status of *primus inter pares*. The miracles with which the Lord Sundara could be said to stand directly associated in Māṇikya-vācaka's hymns are very few, but so full of miracles are Māṇikya-vācaka's hymns that it is not difficult to assume that many of the miracles could possibly be associated with Madurai : at any rate, the lavish mention that he makes of miracles must have encouraged devotees to start attributing some of them to the Lord of Madurai and to endow with flesh and blood the incidents to which he alludes all too briefly in his hymns and also to fabricate new miracles for the edification of those who were in sore need of such mythological aids to the faith which they professed.

We have just seen that a significant stage in the evolution of the Sports was reached when Siva was treated as a Pandya. This step is of even greater significance than is visible at first sight. If Siva was to be an ancestor of the Pandya line, it was but proper that He must be the earliest in the line. But He could not be the very first; for, then, the origin of the appellation Pandya would remain unexplained. Family names being usually derived from the name of an eponymous hero, the need for an eponymous ancestor named Pandya precluded Siva taking rank as the first of the ancestors. If, however, He was to be treated as a descendant of the eponymous hero, it became necessary to explain why He had to be born as son of man. These difficulties were got over by making Siva, not a scion of the Pandya line, but a son-in-law of an early Pandya king. But the Sanskrit puranas had it that another great man, Arjuna, had also entered the Pandya family as a son-in-law. The Chroniclers of the sacred legends must have felt it awkward that the greatness of the Pandya line should depend on two strangers. They decided on eliminating one of them, and the choice lay between Siva and Arjuna. It is not surprising that Arjuna was cast overboard, for the need of the hour was a chronicle in glorification of Siva and not a mere genealogical account. Thus must

it have happened that Arjuna does not figure at all in the sacred chronicles of Madurai.

The son of Siva by the Pandya princess was given the name of Ugra, and, being equated in some measure to the deity Skanda, who, in Sanskrit mythology, is considered the son of Siva, was made the principal figure in a number of Sports.

At about this time, the attention of those who were busy adding to the canon of the miracles must have been attracted by the verses in the *Pari-Pāḍal* delineating Skanda in the character of a proficient in the art of the Love Clandestine. Skanda in a character not known to Sanskrit mythology was too valuable an asset to Tamil mythology to be easily relinquished. The miracle-makers must have cast about for means of introducing Skanda in that role in the legends of Madurai. An ancient treatise on the art of Love, laying stress on the Clandestine side of it, and known to be the handiwork of an *Irāiyanār* had been discovered some decades earlier when a priest of the temple of Sundara was tidying up the sanctum; a commentary on it was written by a great scholar Nak-Kīraṇ, and, perhaps, it had met with the approval of another eminent scholar, Rudra-janman,—a Vaiśya by birth. The word *Irāiyanār* is capable of being considered an appellation of the Lord Siva, and the name Rudra-janman may with great appropriateness be applied to Skanda. The miracle-makers could not have come across a more appropriate concatenation of circumstances: all the requisities of a new Sport lay ready to hand. The author of the treatise could have been Siva: its discovery must have been due to divine grace: the commentary could have been approved by Skanda. So, the treatise on Love was attributed to the Lord Siva, and Rudra-janman was made an incarnation of Skanda, and the rest of the tale was woven as it suited the fancy of the author of the legend. Rudra-janman would have been equated to Ugra but for the fact of his caste having been well-known. Rudra-janman the Vaiśya could not be identified with Ugra the Kṣatriya. Hence, he was made a personality distinct from Ugra, and yet, he was called an incarnation of Skanda. The author of this particular legend was perhaps *Nilahaṇḍanār*, the author of the interpolation in the Special Preface to Nak-Kīraṇ's gloss, or perhaps a romancer of a slightly earlier generation.

But, Nak-Kīraṇ, the author of the commentary on the treatise of Love, bore a name famous in Tamil literature. So, he, in

turn, was made the nucleus of another group of legends. The character of the legends was shaped by the fact that Nak-Kīraṇs of different periods had established firm reputations for themselves in Tamil literature. Almost at the beginning of the period of feverish propaganda against Jainism,— when the seventh century was drawing to a close, or the eighth century was running its early course,— came a Nak-Kīraṇ, one of the giants of Tamil literature,— a grammarian of great acumen, a poet of genuine inspiration and a devotee the depth of whose devotion to Siva was remarkable even in an age when saints were stalking the land. His hymns on Siva are greatly revered and have been included in the Holy Canon of Tamil Saivism. He was fortunate in his patron, the Pandya king Neḍu-Māraṇ, who, besides being a great conqueror and a passionate devotee of Siva, was a scholar of rare attainments in Tamil literature. Centuries earlier, there had been poets of the name of Nak-Kīraṇ, some of whom must have basked in the patronage of Pandya kings. When, therefore, the rage for miracles set in, the great name of Nak-Kīraṇ was naturally chosen as a core round which to collect some legends. The miracle-maker, blind in his quest for miracles, must have thought that the earlier Nak-Kīraṇs were all but one poet and that he was identical with the later poet, and must have got busy over the figure he had evoked by an ignorant or an uncritical integration of distinct personalities. Having had reason to believe that Nak-Kīraṇ had had contemporaries of great repute, he must have made them too play active roles in the one-act plays he was staging under the appellation of Sports. He was probably emboldened to do so by the popularity of legends based partly on the practice of princes having scholars in attendance on them and partly on the custom of princes and peoples convoking assemblies of the learned to expound or decide problems of difficulty, holding out perhaps the incentive of a prize at the close of the proceedings. The allusions to such assemblies found in the hymns of Jñāṇa-sambandha and Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu,— including the legend of Darumi—must have afforded some foothold on which to raise elaborate legends of Academies. Such must be the origin of the tales of the Academies. How far other notions of a 'Śaṅgam' affected the evolution of the legend will be considered in due course.

Those legends that must have grown up before Māṇikyavācaka's days round the Lord Sundara and those legends that must



have arisen as a consequence of his emphasis on the miraculous, must, within a few decades of him, have come to number about thirty. His description of the Lord Sundara as the Pandya must have also contributed in no small measure to the growth of the notion that once upon a time the Lord had sat on the Pandya throne as King Sundara. The transition from the conception of the Lord Sundara as King Sundara to the belief that King Sundara was an ancestor of the Pandyas could not be violent. Thus, the miracles must have come to be as many as thirty by the time of the *Kallāḍam*, and the Lord Sundara must have become a Pandya and the ancestor of a long line of Pandyas, and therefore anxious to work miracles for them.

When the tales of the miracles attained this shape they advanced a step in their evolution. They were no longer tales of local miracles worked out painfully from place-names or re-cast out of heterogeneous fragments of ancient mythology: they had become Sports of the Lord of Madurai who took an abiding interest not only in the line of the Pandyas who were descended from Him but also in the Pandya's subjects and worked miracles for the well-being of them all.

A further stage in the evolution was reached when the poet of the *Kallāḍam* embodied over thirty of the Sports in his poem. The tales of the Sports no longer remained scattered and unrelated: they got grouped together as illustrating the ceaseless activity of the Lord in the realm of the miraculous. The *Kallāḍam* must indeed have suggested the compilation of a work placing on record all the marvellous miracles which the Lord had worked for the Pandya and for the people of Madurai. But that work had to await the completion of the full tale of sixty-four Sports.

The craze for miracles, roused by Māṇikya-vācaka and fed by the *Kallāḍam*, grew more intense from day to day and the miracles multiplied. A few passages in the hymns of Jīāna-sambandha contain suggestions which seem to have served as nuclei for the Sports of which he figures as the hero. They must have gained currency between the date of the *Kallāḍam* and that of Nambi-Āṇḍār Nambi. Māṇikya-vācaka himself became the centre of a group of legends,—a victim to the movement to which he had given so strong an impetus. Certain tales which had been current before his days were moulded into



Sports played for him.<sup>1</sup> The adaptation seems to have been effected in the period intervening between the *Kallāḍam* and the *Sāra-Samuccaya*.

Thus, in about a century, the floating mass of legends must have reached the number of sixty-four,— the figure at which, in deference perhaps to some mystic notion, the aggregate of the Sports had been fixed in the *Kallāḍam*. When the number of the miracles had thus reached the pre-appointed number of sixty-four, a chronicler must have taken on himself the pious task of narrating in Sanskrit, the sacred language, the tales of the sixty-four miraculous deeds of the Lord. The *Sāra-Samuccaya* must have been the result. The rendering of this work into the Tamil *Tiru-Vilāiyāḍal Purāṇam* by Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi must have followed in due course for the edification of those who knew only Tamil.

The *Kallāḍam* having been placed about the beginning of the tenth century A. D., and it being difficult to place Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's chronicle earlier than the middle of the twelfth century A. D., the *Sāra-Samuccaya* may be taken to have been written in the latter part of the tenth or in the eleventh century, A. D.

To conclude that the *Sāra-Samuccaya* was written in the tenth or the eleventh century A. D. amounts practically to saying that all the miracles of the Lord Sundara as we find them narrated by Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi had become current in the Pandya country by then.

How does it happen that while a cycle of Sports gathered round the Siva of Madurai, no similar cycle of legends grew round the Viṣṇu of the city? Both the Siva and the Viṣṇu of the place were known by the name of Sundara, and, in all probability, temples to the two deities had been raised together at the time of the foundation of the city. Tales must have been fabricated even then to account for the two deities manifesting themselves in the capital of the Pandya country. Such of the Pandyas as were devotees of Viṣṇu would have taken it that they themselves and their city were under the protection of Sundara the Viṣṇu, just as those Pandyas who were attached to Siva would have deemed themselves to be under the protection of Sundara the Siva.

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1. See my article on Māṇikya-vācaka in *QJMS*, xxii, (1931 Oct.) 185-200.

Indeed, it would have been more in consonance with the special character of Viṣṇu to have treated Him, in preference to Siva, as the Pandya *par excellence* holding sway over the Pandya country. The Viṣṇu of Madurai had thus as good a chance of becoming the centre of a cycle of legends as the Siva of that city. But Siva outstripped Him and became the hero of sixty-four Sports. One explanation might be that the Pandyas of the period when the tales of the Sports grew up were devotees of Siva. But a truer explanation would seem to lie in the circumstance that when the two orthodox faiths were reviving and were making a bid for popularity in the Pandya country, there came a devotee of Siva who sang hymns of great beauty laying special stress on the ability of the Lord Siva to work endless and marvellous miracles and emphasising the greatness of Siva as manifest at Madurai. The devotees of Viṣṇu did not produce a Māṇikya-vācaka in that crucial period. Siva as Sundara became the nucleus of a grand cycle of miracles, while Viṣṇu as Sundara had to remain content with the few tales that had already been woven about Him.

Of the value of these Sports to the historian little more need be said than that it cannot but bear a strict proportion to the *quantum* of actual fact which the myth-makers had chosen to introduce, or to retain, in fashioning the tales. Considering the methods adopted by the myth-makers, it is difficult to believe that the *quantum* of fact in the legends is anything but negligible. A few legends enshrine valuable nuggets of history, but the setting in which they appear makes us seriously discount their value.

Even among scholars there is a disposition to attach some value to the chronological scheme framed by the author of the *Hālāśya Māhātmya* and adopted by Param-jyōti,—doubtless because of the air of verisimilitude which it imparts to the Chronicles. The examination, however, to which we have submitted the growth of the works embodying the chronological scheme must have served to dispel all illusions about the value of the chronology. Tales which had been spun haphazard were gathered together into the *Kallāḍam* and the *Sāra-Samuccaya*,—works innocent of all pretensions to be historical. Out of stray hints in the *Sāra-Samuccaya* an elaborate chronological scheme was worked out in the *Hālāśya Māhātmya*, and, in the process, the few names in the *Sāra-Samuccaya* which are likely to be historical were eliminated: new names were coined and places were found for them. Even so, there were large gaps for which no names of

kings were available. More names were invented and the gaps were filled with them. Again, the tales did not cover all the yugas of mythology, and the legends were only sixty-four. So, the miracles were spread out over the yugas and fictitious kings were invented to cover the large spaces of time for which no kings were known.

Works produced on such methods could hardly be useful for purposes of history. Three illustrations should be enough to show how absurd the results are. Karikāla-Cōla becomes earlier than the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Not even the most hare-brained of those dabbling in south Indian history has taken Karikāla so far back. Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ, the friend of Kabilāṇ, who in turn is the friend of Nak-Kīraṇ, appears separated from Nak-Kīraṇ by a period covered by the reigns of no fewer than fourteen kings. Mūrti, one of the few figures in Perum-Paṇṇap. Puli-yūr Nambi's chronicle whose historicity would seem to find confirmation from other sources, is omitted altogether, in spite of Mūrti being the king in whose reign seems to have started the revival of Saivism in the Pandya country. The *Hālāsya Māhātmya* assumes that throughout the space of time which it brought within its scope the kings of the Pandya line ruled in unbroken succession, uninterrupted by the intrusion of any other power or any other dynasty. Mūrti was a Vaiśya by all accounts and therefore not a Pandya by descent. The *Māhātmya* could not incorporate the miracle of Mūrti's call to the Pandya throne without doing violence to the principle it had adopted that the kings of Madurai shall be invariably of the Pandya lineage. The Chronicle had therefore to reject the fairly historical Mūrti and invent another king and another tale to keep the number of miracles at sixty-four.

The author of the *Māhātmya* did not intend to write or to preserve history. If the tales contain some history, it is because such was the material that lay ready to his hand and not because he was eager for history. The chronological sequence which one associates with historical works was necessary to give unity to his work and he was too great a literary artist to deny himself the advantages of the historical method for fear that centuries later the matter-of-fact historian, devoid of all feeling for the romantic, would seriously scan his chronicle for traces of sober history. It was of precisely the same value to him as the device of the narrating of tales from day to day was to the author of the *Arabian Nights* or of the *Decameron*.

Through the many centuries in which the tales grew from about three to over three score and from mere legends into Sacred Sports they kept growing less and less useful to the historian.

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#### POSTSCRIPT

My view of the date of Param-jyōti, which was based solely on internal evidence, is confirmed, on other evidence, by MMU. Dr. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar, who states that in some old manuscripts of Param-jyōti's chronicle, two of the stanzas of the Special Preface are ascribed to (Palapaṭṭadai) Śokkanāda-Piḷḷai, and he infers that those stanzas must have been composed at the time of the publication of the chronicle of Param-jyōti. He adds that Śokkanāda-Piḷḷai lived about 200 years back (see the MMU's edition of *Srī Padmagiri-nādar Tenral Vidu Tūdu*, 1932, J-J.) It follows that in his opinion Param-jyōti too must be placed about 1700 A. D.

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#### NOTE

In concluding this paper I am bound to state that I have made heavy drafts on the wealth of material brought together by MMU. Dr. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar in his monumental edition of Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's chronicle. Were I publishing this paper separately and were it only worthier of his acceptance, I would be dedicating it to him in humble token of my gratitude.

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## SOME MORE NYĀYAS.

BY

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### 5. मध्याह्नमार्तण्डमण्डलन्याय.

The simile of the mid-day sun. It is one of the doctrines of the Kashmir Śaiva Philosophy that the Supreme Self which is in all of us, is hidden by its own lustre, by its own power, by its own स्वातन्त्र्यशक्ति. To illustrate this idea, the simile of the mid-day sun is used. The figure of the mid-day sun is obscured by its own lustre, whereas early in the morning and in the evening the sun's figure is clearly visible. Sometimes, instead of the sun, the analogy of a bright ruby, the figure of which is drowned in its own lustre is used. Says Maheśvarānanda in his *Mahārthamañjarī* p. 28 (Kashmir edition).

माणिक्यप्रवेक इव निचोलितो निजमयूखरेखया ।

प्रतिभाति लौकिकानामत्यन्तस्फुटोऽपि अस्फुट आत्मा ॥

Commenting on this, the author himself says :—

आत्मरूपो हि परमेश्वरः प्रकाशोत्कर्षत्वात् अशेषभुवनव्यापनक्षमत्वाच्च विश्वविकल्पकल्पनामयीमार्चिः प्ररोहपरंपरामुपर्युपरि उन्मीलयन् “तत्सृष्ट्वा । तदेव अनुप्राविशत्” इति उपनिषत्प्रक्रियया तथैव च निचोलितः कञ्चुकितप्रायो नित्यमास्ते ।... प्राकट्योद्रेककक्ष्यारूढतया विभ्रष्टव्योऽपि असौ मध्याह्न-मार्तण्डमण्डलन्यायेन तत्तद्वाग्निपरंपरास्फुरणप्राचुर्येण रश्मिवत् गुणसाधर्म्यात् अप्राकट्यावस्थामधितिष्ठति । यथा त्रासादिरहित्यात् अत्यन्तस्वच्छो माणिक्यो-पलखण्डः स्फुरदुरुमरीचिमञ्जरीपर्यन्ततथैव माणिक्यवदुत्कृष्टमिति नाध्यवसितुं शक्यते तद्वत् आत्मनोऽपि स्वशक्तिरेहीतत्वादवास्फुटत्वाशङ्का ।

In this passage, the author makes use of both the similes.

### 6. भ्रमरक्रीडन्याय.

The analogy of the भ्रमरक्रीड or of the भ्रमर and the क्रीड. It is used to illustrate the idea that by constantly thinking about a

thing, one becomes assimilated to it or identified with it. Hence it is found in passages which teach devotion to God or the Supreme Being as a means of attaining communion with Him. Śrīmadbhāgavata, XI. 10. 23 runs as follows:—

कीटः पेशस्कृतं ध्यायन् कुड्यां तेन प्रवेशितः ।

याति तत्सात्मतां राजन् पूर्वरूपमसंत्यजन् ॥

On this, the commentary भावार्थदीपिका says :—

कुड्यां प्रवेशितः निरुद्धः । भयेन ध्यायन् । तत्सात्मतां तत्सारूप्यम् । साम्यतामिति पाठे पार्षदताम् । पूर्वरूपमसंत्यजन्नित्यस्यायमभिप्रायः—यदा तेनैव देहेनान्यसारूप्यं दृश्यते तदा किं वक्तव्यं देहान्तरेण सारूप्यं घटत इति ।

The idea seems to be that the insect called पेशस्कृत् imprisons in its hole another insect referred to here as कीट. The latter, through fear, keeps on thinking of the former to such an extent that it assumes the form and shape of its capturer. Again Bhāgavata, VII. 1. 30 reads :—

कीटः पेशस्कृताखुडः कुड्यायां तमनुस्मरन् ।

संरम्भभययोगेन विन्दते तत्स्वरूपताम् ॥

And VII. 10. 41. reads as follows:—

एनः पूर्वकृतं यत्तद्राजानः कृष्णवैरिणः ।

जहुस्तेऽपि तदात्मानः कीटा पेशस्कृतो यथा ॥

On this, the भावार्थदीपिका says :—

कीटः पेशस्कृतो ध्यानेन यथा तदात्मा भवतीति ।

The simile occurs in the Kashmir Śaiva literature also. Says the Śivasūtravimarśinī, p. 20, note 92.

आत्मनो भवैवं रूपं भावयेद्यस्तु पूरुषः ।

तस्य मन्त्राः प्रसिद्ध्यन्ति नित्यमुक्तस्य सुन्दरि ॥

अमरकीटन्यायेन तन्मय एव परिशिष्यत इति ।

7. शिखण्ड्यण्डरसन्याय.

The simile of the juice of the pea-hen's egg. It is used to illustrate the idea that all the variety found in a developed state is found potentially in the undeveloped state also. There is potentially present in the pea-hen's egg all the wonderful variety of colour, etc. which is found in the fully developed pea-cock.

In the same way, according to Kashmir Śaivism, all the wonderful variety of the fully developed Universe is potentially present in the Lord before its emanation. Says the Mahārthamañjarī, p. 71—

विश्वस्य उन्मेषलक्षणायामवस्थायां यावान् प्रसरः षडध्वोल्लास-  
प्रयासतत्त्वो भवति तथा विश्वस्य निमेषे कललावस्थायां तावान् उन्मेषदशा-  
समस्वभावो भवति । यथा शिखण्ड्यण्डे सर्वशिल्पवयवानुप्रविष्टवर्हपरिवर्हादिः  
पूर्णरेखादिवैचित्र्यशिल्पकल्पनाकौशलमपि एतत्सूक्ष्मेक्षिकावधार्यमङ्गीक्रियते ।  
एवमत्रापि ।

In the same work, while saying that the three forms of speech, वैखरी, मध्यमा, पश्यन्ती are potentially present in the form called सूक्ष्मा, the author remarks:—

सूक्ष्मा तु शिखण्ड्यण्डरसन्यायात् उक्तवाक्त्रयशबलीकृतस्वभावा  
प्रत्यग्दृशः परमेश्वरस्योद्योगलक्षणावृत्तिराख्यायते । p. 105.

The various elements, being only potentially present in the egg, are in a state of union and not differentiated. It is to bring out this aspect that the simile is used in the शिवसूत्रविमर्शिनी p. 32.

यद्यवश्यं बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरं वा तत्तत् सर्वमहमिदमिति सदाशिववन्महा-  
समापत्त्या स्वाङ्गकल्पमस्य स्फुरति । न भेदेन । शरीरं च देहधीप्राणशून्यरूपं  
नीलादिवद् दृश्यं न तु पशुवद् द्रष्टृतया भाति । एवं देहे बाह्ये सर्वत्रास्य  
मयूराण्डरसवदविभक्तैव प्रतिपत्तिर्भवति ।

#### 8. आदर्शवलोकनन्याय.

The simile of looking into a mirror. In this act, the one who looks is the same as the one looked at; the 'I' becomes 'You'. This idea is used to explain ज्ञान and क्रिया in the Mahārthamañjarī, p. 42.

ज्ञानं हि नामाहंभावभासनात्मा सर्वप्राणिनां स्वयंवेदनसिद्धस्वभावः ।  
क्रिया च करचरणानुबन्धिनी सर्वसाक्षात्कारयोग्या परिस्फुरति । तत्र  
जानामि करोमि इत्यादिवत् जानामि इत्यादावपि आदर्शवलोकनादिन्यायात्  
अस्मच्छन्दार्थ एव युष्मदार्थतया अवभासते इति अहंतैव सर्वत्र आत्मतत्त्वम् ॥

#### 9. दशमस्त्वमसीतिन्याय.

This maxim arises, perhaps, from the habit one has of forgetting to count oneself when one ascertains the number of people



in a company, until the mistake is pointed out by somebody with some such remark as: दशमस्त्वमसि—'And you are the tenth'. In Kashmir Śaiva literature, it is used to illustrate how we all tend to forget our own आत्मा. Says the भास्करी on the प्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी introductory verse:—

भासमानस्याप्यात्मनो विस्मृतिर्ज्ञायत एव अन्यथा दशमस्त्वमसीतिन्यायेन तत्त्वमसीत्युपदेशायोगात् ।

#### 10. अग्निकणन्याय.

The maxim of the spark of fire. This is used to explain the idea that the microcosm is, in essence and substance, the same as the macrocosm, just as a spark of fire is the same as a huge flame of it.

भवद्विरपि ब्रह्मणो जीवाकारत्वमेवोच्यते । अग्निकणन्यायेन ततो जीवप्रादुर्भावकथनात् ।

भास्करी on ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी

Introductory verse.

#### 11. नहिप्रथितमप्रथितमिति न्याय.

The maxim that a thing which has once been manifested or has come into existence remains so, does not cease to be so. While setting forth the view that men of all castes and all stations of life are entitled to the study of the प्रत्यभिज्ञा system of Śaiva Philosophy and that there is no 'अधिकारिनियम' अभिनवगुप्ताचार्य says :—

यस्य यस्य हि स्वरूपप्रथनं तस्य तस्य महाफलं प्रथनस्यैव परमार्थफलत्वात् तस्य च प्रतिबन्धकसंमतैरप्रतिबन्धनीयत्वात्, नहिप्रथितमप्रथितमिति न्यायात् । ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी I. p. 14.

The author here means that the ultimate fruit can be enjoyed by anybody to whom the आत्मा has been revealed in its true form or स्वरूप. This revelation is the ultimate aim of life and it cannot be prevented by what is ordinarily considered an obstacle. Explaining the maxim, the Bhāskari says:—

अत्र पूर्वोचार्योक्तं न्यायं हेतुत्वेनाह—न हीति । अन्यथा अग्निरपि कदाचिदनग्निरिति भवेत् । स्फुरणमात्रस्यैव परमार्थतः स्वरूपत्वादिति हेत्वभिप्रायः ।

#### 12. तदसिद्धं यदसिद्धेन साध्यते.



The maxim that a thing is not proved if it depends upon another thing which is itself not established. It occurs in a passage of Jayaratha's commentary on Tantrāloka Vol. VII, where someone tries to show the difference between दीप and ज्ञान in the matter of illuminating objects. The point is that a lamp reveals itself while it illuminates objects, whereas ज्ञान cannot do this. Explaining this point, जयरथ says:—

तेनार्थप्रकाशनावसरे दीपस्य स्वयमपि प्रकाशो न तु ज्ञानस्येति ।  
अतश्च तदासिद्धं यदासिद्धेन साध्यते इति न्यायेन स्वयमप्रकाशमानं ज्ञानं  
कथं परं प्रकाशयेदित्याशयः ।

### 13. उन्मीलितचित्रन्याय.

The maxim of the picture which has been manifested, created. A picture exists at first in the imagination of the artist, but when it is manifested, it is उन्मीलित. Maheśvarānanda uses the simile while describing the emanation of सदाशिव and ईश्वर. He says :—

अहन्ते दन्तालक्षणयोर्ज्ञानक्रिययोराद्योद्रेकात् उन्मीलितचित्रन्यायेन  
व्यक्ताव्यक्तविश्वमातृतास्वभावं सदाशिवाख्यं तत्त्वम् । एतद्विपर्ययेण  
क्रियाशक्त्युज्ज्वल्ये व्यक्ताकारविश्वानुसंधातृरूपं ईश्वरतत्त्वमिति ।

(Mahārthamañjarī, p. 44.)

The interesting point here is that उन्मीलित corresponds to व्यक्ताव्यक्त and not to अव्यक्त. Perhaps a picture is said to be उन्मीलित when it has gone beyond the stage of imagination and has begun to take concrete shape, but before it is completely manifested.

### 14. तरङ्गानुतरङ्गन्याय.

The maxim of waves and sub-waves. Maheśvarānanda while describing अहंकार, बुद्धि and मनस् states first of all that the चैतन्य can be looked upon as an ocean. In this ocean, the three faculties mentioned are the three big waves, while the senses of perception are the sub-waves. He says :—

अहंकारादीनि आत्मनोऽन्तःकरणानि न केवलं बहिरवलोकितान्  
विषयान् अनुभावयन्ति, किं तर्हि स्वयमाक्रान्तया प्रमातृचिच्छक्त्या अन्तर्वर्तिनम-  
खिलमपि वेद्यवर्गं विषयाभावयोग्यतानुप्रवेशार्थं प्रकाशस्वभावतापादनात्मकपावनी-  
करणयुक्त्या अनुगृह्णन्ति इति कल्लोलायमानानि । एतानि हृदयमहाबुद्ध्याः  
महातरङ्गा इव ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणि तु तरङ्गानुतरङ्गन्यायमनुवर्तन्ते इति ॥

# THE VṚTTIS.

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## *Synopsis.*

[I. Introduction. II. The Mythological stories of the origin of the four Vṛttis. III. What is Vṛtti? Its relation to Drama; the meaning and nature of the concept; separate examination of the meaning, nature and origin of the four Vṛttis one by one. IV. The Vṛtṭyaṅgas; the Vṛttis in relation to Rasa and types of Drama; the Vṛttis and the Pravṛttis; the Vṛttis and the nature or type of hero. V. The number of Vṛttis; the views of Udbhaṭa, Śakaligarbha and the refutation of these by Lollaṭa and Abhinava; the views of the Daśarūpaka, Bhoja Śāradātanaya and Haripāladeva; Śiṅgabhūpāla's refutation of Bhoja's view. VI. The history of the concept of Vṛtti in Kāvya or Poetics as compared with that in Nāṭya or Dramaturgy.]

Bharata treats of the Vṛttis in Chapter XXII<sup>1</sup>, called the Vṛttivikalpādhyāya. In this chapter, he gives a mythological story of the origin of the four Vṛttis, a description of the four Vṛttis and their Aṅgas and finally the Rasaprayoga of these four. Earlier, in the Daśarūpakādhyāya, he indicates the real nature of the Vṛttis. As in other places, like his concept Lakṣaṇa, Bharata gives us no clear-cut definition here. Things are always hazy, leaving in us an impression that even before the time of the Śāstra, the names of the four Vṛttis, Kaiśikī, Ārabhaṭī, Sāttvatī, and Bhārati had become established as *rūḍhis* and that the writer of the text had been driven to the refuge of grammar in his endeavours to define and distinguish the four Vṛttis and indicate their real relation to Nāṭya. While inquiring into many

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1. References are generally to the Kāśī edn. of the N. S. The K. M. edn. treats of the Vṛttis in Chap. XX. The K. M. edn. is also occasionally referred to, wherever its readings are better than those in the Kāśī edn.

things we long to lay hands on the lost literature upon which Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra is based. Naturally later writers, even those like Śiṅgabhūpāla, who directly draw upon Bharata, aid us little. Though one would naturally think that Abhinavagupta also is no exception in this respect, one really gets clear insight by an examination of the exposition in the Abhinavabhāratī.

*The origin of the Vṛttis—the different stories.*

Chapter XXII of the Nāṭya Śāstra gives the story of the origin of the four Vṛttis from the fight between Mahāviṣṇu and the two demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha.<sup>1</sup> Having swept away all the worlds in water, Viṣṇu was lying on Śeṣa when the two demons, in the pride of their strength approached him uttering bravadoes. They boasted, taunted and began to fight with Viṣṇu. Brahmā was all the time hearing their taunting and he submitted to Viṣṇu that the wordy warfare, the Bhāratī Vṛtti, must be ended and that the two demons must be killed. Viṣṇu told Brahmā that he wanted to tolerate some wordy fight for the sake of creating the Bhāratī Vṛtti for the Kāvya (*i.e.*) text of the drama.

तयोनैकप्रकाराणि श्रुत्वा वाक्यानि गर्जतोः ।  
 किञ्चिदाकम्पितमना द्रुहिणो वाक्यमब्रवीत् ॥  
 किमिदं भारती वृत्तिः वाग्भिरेव प्रवर्तते ।  
 उत्तरोत्तरसंवृद्धा नन्विमौ निधनं नय ॥  
 पितामहवचः श्रुत्वा प्रोवाच मधूसूदनः ।  
 बाढं कार्यं [व्य]क्रियाहेतोः<sup>2</sup> भारतीयं विनिर्मिता ॥  
 भाषतो वाक्यभूयिष्ठा भारतीयं भविष्यति । XXII. 6—9.

This purpose of creating the Bhāratī Vṛtti for speech comprising of the text of the drama having been finished Viṣṇu rose and fought the two demons with beautiful movements of his

1. XXII. Śls. 2—20.

2. The K. M. edn. also reads here only कार्य for काव्य which is the correct reading. It is further supported by the following line appearing later—

‘मया काव्यक्रियाहेतोः प्रक्षिता द्रुहिणाज्ञया ।’ XXII. 23, Kāśī edn. Śiṅgabhūpāla also, who closely follows Bharata’s text, has here

‘इदं काव्यक्रियाहेतोः भारती निर्मिता भुवम् ।’ I, 250.

limbs. Out of this *action* of fight, out of the gestures of his limbs rose the two *Vṛttis*, *Sāttvatī* and *Ārabhaṭī*.

बलितैश्शार्ङ्गधनुषस्तीव्रैर्दासकरैरथ ।

सत्त्वाधिकैरसंभ्रान्तैस्सात्त्वती तत्र निर्मिता ॥

संरम्भवेगबहुलैः नानाचारीसमुत्थितैः ।

नियुद्धकरणैश्चित्रैः निर्मितारमटी ततः ॥ Śls. 12 and 14.

In the midst of fighting, while Viṣṇu was passing from the *Sāttvatī* to the *Ārabhaṭī* (*i. e.*) from forceful action to more forceful and terrible action, he got excited and his long locks of hair got loose, which he had to tie up. When he tied his hair, his movements were very graceful and out of these graceful movements the *Kaiśikī Vṛtti* arose.

विचित्रैरङ्गहारैस्तु देवो लीलासमुद्भवैः ।

बबन्ध यच्छिखापाशं कैशिकी तत्र निर्मिता ॥ XXII. 13.

Thus according to Bharata the *Kaiśikī* arose when Viṣṇu tied up his own locks. But Śiṅgabhūpāla, who bases his text on Bharata makes a change. He says that during the fight, Viṣṇu caught the two demons by their hair with graceful movements and that this catching of the demons by their hair produced the *Kaiśikī*.

विचित्रैरङ्गहारैश्च हेलया स तदा हरिः ।

यत् तौ बबन्ध केशेषु जाता सा कैशिकी ततः ॥ R. A. S. I. 254—5.

For *Bhāratī* alone, Bharata takes pains to give another origin, explanation and derivation. Immediately after the end of the wordy warfare, the *Bhāratī*, Viṣṇu rose and approached the demons to kill them. When this Viṣṇu at the time of *Pralaya*, with all the worlds in his womb, placed his footsteps and walked, Mother Earth felt his weight, *Bhāra* <sup>1</sup> From this *Bhāra* is *Bhāratī* derived. See Śl. 11<sup>2</sup>

1. Śiṅgabhūpāla records this derivation also. Vide R. A. S. I. 252—3.

2. Out of *Brahmā* who was a spectator of this fight between Viṣṇu and Madhu-Kaiṭabha, king Haripāladeva, as we shall see in a further section of this paper, creates in his *Nāṭya* work *Saṅgīta Sudhā-kara* (MS. Mad. MSS. Library), a fifth *Vṛtti* called *Brāhmī* for a new *Ras* a called *Brahma-Rasa* invented by him.

After giving this origin of the Vṛttis from the fight between Viṣṇu and Madhu-Kaiṭabha, Bharata gives another account of a Vedic origin of the four Vṛttis.

ऋग्वेदाद्भारती वृत्तिः यजुर्वेदात् सात्वती ।

कैशिकी सामवेदाच्च शेषा चाथर्वणात्तथा ॥ XXII. 24.

Śiṅgabhūpāla gives this Vedic derivation of the four Vṛttis also but gives it as a separate view held by some others.

ऋग्वेदाच्च यजुर्वेदात् सामवेदादथर्वणः ।

भारत्याद्याः क्रमाज्जाता इत्यन्ये तु प्रचक्षते ॥ 260.

The account of the origin of the four Vṛttis from the four Vedas is not a separate story given by some others as against the story of their origin from Viṣṇu's fight with Madhu-Kaiṭabha. If only Śiṅgabhūpāla had seen Bharata's text more carefully, he would have realised that the 'Vedic origin' forms a supplementary part of the story of the origin from the fight. For, Bharata says that Brahmā was witnessing the fight and that at the end of the fight he said that the four Vṛttis which arose from it should be deposited in the four Vedas, to be used for drama after the world was created again. At the time of Pralaya, there was the eternal Veda out of which again the world was to be re-created after every Pralaya; and Brahmā deposited the Vṛttis also in the four Vedas, to use them for drama. When the world was again created and drama was first created from the four Vedas, the Vṛttis deposited in them were also brought out for the sake of the drama.

ततो देवेषु (वेदेषु)<sup>1</sup> निक्षिप्तो(त्ता) द्रुहिणेन महात्मना ।

पुनर्नाट्यप्रयोगे च नानाभावरसान्विता ॥

वृत्तिसंज्ञा कृता ह्येषा नानाभावरसाश्रया । XXII. 20—21.

It is immediately after this statement that the verse giving the 'Vedic origin' occurs.

The 'Vaiṣṇava story' of the Vṛttis rising from the fight of Viṣṇu with Madhu-Kaiṭabha is perpetuated in many later works. The Viṣṇudharmottara has it. Śāradātanaya in his Bhāva-prakāśa, in Chap. I, records this story but curiously enough he

1. See K. M. edn. XX. 20, p. 222,

says, that in this fight there arose only three Vṛttis. The fourth, the Bhārati, he says, is considered by some, as having been invented or introduced by Bharata himself.

मधुकैटभासुराभ्यां नियुद्धमार्गेण युध्यतो विष्णोः ।

वृत्तित्रयं प्रसूतं भरतप्रोक्ता च भारतीत्यपरे ॥ Bhā. Pra. p. 12

Slightly changing this derivation of the Bhārati, Śiṅgabhū-pāla also says that Bhārati is so called because it is the Vṛtti of the Bharatas, actors.

प्रयुक्तत्वेन भरतैः भारतीति निगद्यते । R. A. S. I. 261.

There is another totally different story of the origin of the Vṛttis which Śāradātanaya records here and elsewhere. This tradition explains that the four Vṛttis, together with the four main Rasas to which they are related, sprang from the four faces of Brahmā when he was witnessing Śiva and Pārvati performing dance.

अपरे तु नाट्यदर्शनसमये कमलोद्भवस्य वदनेभ्यः ।

शृङ्गारादिचतुष्टयसहिता वृत्तिः समाचख्युः ॥ p. 12.

The story is more elaborately given in the third chapter:

तदेतत् प्रेक्षमाणस्य मुखेभ्यो ब्रह्मणः क्रमात् ।

वृत्तिभिस्सह चत्वारः शृङ्गाराद्या विनिस्सृताः ॥

कैशिकीवृत्तितो जज्ञे शृङ्गारः पूर्वतो मुखात् ।

यदाभिनीतं भरतैः सम्यक् त्रिपुरमर्दनम् ॥

सात्त्वतीवृत्तितो जज्ञे वीरो दक्षिणतो मुखात् ।

अभूदारभटीवृत्ते रौद्रः पश्चिमवक्त्रतः ॥

यदाभिनीतं कल्पान्तकर्म शम्भोर्नटैस्तदा ।

भारतीवृत्तितो जज्ञे बीभत्सश्चोत्तराननात् ॥ pp. 56—57.

Wherefrom did Śāradātanaya get this account of the origin of the Vṛttis? The very first chapter of the Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra speaks of the Vṛttis and here we hear of some connection between the Vṛttis and Śiva. We are told that at first there were only three Vṛttis, the Bhārati, the Sāttvati and the Ārabhaṭi and that Brahmā was laterly asked to add to his drama the Kaiśiki Vṛtti also. Brahmā said that up till then they had only men to

act, that the Kaiśikī was all delicacy and grace which could be rendered only by beautiful women and that he had seen and enjoyed that Kaiśikī in Nīlakaṇṭha's dance.

मृदङ्गहारसंपन्ना रसभावक्रियात्मिका ।

दृष्टा मया भगवतो नीलकण्ठस्य नृत्यतः ॥

कैशिकी श्लक्ष्णनेपथ्या शृङ्गाररससंभवा ।

अशक्या पुरुषैस्साधु प्रयोक्तुं स्त्रीजनादृते ॥

Then it is that the Apsaras class of beautiful women were created by Brahmā for depicting the Kaiśikī. From this we learn that Kaiśikī is pre-eminently the Vṛtti of females. Hence, according to a remark in the Abhinavabhāratī (p. 22) some previous commentator, Udbhaṭa, Lollaṭa or Śaṅkuka, took the text to mean that the dance of Śiva seen by Brahmā refers also to the dance of Pārvatī who dances with Śiva and that, therefore, Brahmā saw the presentation of the Kaiśikī by Pārvatī. This, says Abhinava, is wrong since it is possible for men also to do graceful action. Abhinava here quotes from chap. XXII of the N. S. the verse on the Kaiśikī and shows how Viṣṇu, who is not a female, produced the Kaiśikī by binding the locks. To this point, we shall laterly return while explaining what Kaiśikī is. To return to the story, one expects Bharata, when he comes to the Vṛtti-vikalpādhyāya, to mention again this story of Brahmā having seen the Kaiśikī in Śiva's dance, which is preserved in an elaborated form in Śāradātanaya. Śāradātanaya tells us that this 'Śaiva' origin of the Vṛttis is according to Vyāsa.

व्यासप्रोक्तेन मार्गेण कथयामि यथार्थतः । III. p. 55.

We do not know whether there was any work on Nāṭya current as the production of Vyāsa which gave this different account. Anyway, the Vṛtti-chapter in Bharata, *viz.*, the twenty-second, has no connection with the Vṛtti-story in Chapter I. We have first two main stories of the origin of the Vṛttis, the 'Vaiṣṇava' and the 'Śaiva', both of them being preserved by Śāradātanaya. Of the four Vṛttis, the Bhāratī has four explanations. It is Bhāratī or speech; it is derived from Bhāra or weight; it is so called because it was introduced by sage Bharata; and it is the Vṛtti of the Bharatas, the actors. The Kaiśikī, according to the first chapter of Bharata came later. The



stories are by themselves beautiful and they have symbolic ideas, working out the suggestions from which, we will, in a further section, reconstruct the nature of each Vṛtti.

*What is Vṛtti?*

Bharata says in the Daśarūpakādhyāya that Vṛttis are the 'Mothers of Kāvya'. He also calls them laterly as "Mothers of Nāṭya".

सर्वेषामेव काव्यानां वृत्तयो मातृकाः स्मृताः । XX. 4.

एवमेते बुधैर्ज्ञेया वृत्तयो नाट्यमातरः । XXII. 64.

Nāṭya is the imitation of action and each action has its characteristic mood or atmosphere or disposition, with respect to the man in action as well as to the Sahṛdaya who sees the Nāṭya. This mood or atmosphere or disposition is Vṛtti. So it is that Bharata says that dramatic action or drama is born of Vṛtti. Vṛtti is, so to say, the bed of drama. Different types of drama present different kinds of actions, actions as characterised by differing atmosphere. So Bharata says that Vṛtti is also that factor which differentiates one type of drama from another.

आभ्यो (वृत्तिभ्यः) विनिस्सृतं ह्येतत् दशरूपं प्रयोगतः । XX. 4.

The ten kinds of drama are derived from the differences due to these four Vṛttis. The word 'प्रयोगतः' in the above quotation occurs even in the first verse of the chapter and Abhinava has some discussion over its import.

कथयिष्याम्यहं विप्राः दशरूपविकल्पनम् ।

नामतः कर्मतश्चैव तथा चैव प्रयोगतः ॥

Bharata means that the ten kinds of Rūpakas are different by name, by Karma and by Prayoga. What are Karma and Prayoga? Karma is the plot or Itivṛtta, the hero and the heroine, their nature, etc., which differ with each drama. Prayoga may mean the other features of each type of drama not covered by the word Karma. As for instance, the Bhāṇa has its own Prayoga. It is carried on with one actor with the devise of the convention called Ākāśa-Bhāṣita. This is the meaning which naturally suggests itself to us on reading Bharata. From the text of Bharata which again uses the word Prayoga in the verse which



says that all the ten types of dramas are based on the Vṛttis which are the Nāṭya-Mātrkās,

आभ्यो विनिस्तृतं ह्येतत् दशरूपं प्रयोगतः ।

we must take Prayoga as the factor which differentiates the ten dramas on the basis of the differences in the Vṛttis in each. Though, as we shall see presently, the Vṛtti-concept can divide the ten dramas only into two big classes, it is possible to show that with each type of drama the Vṛtti differs. From the Abhinava-bhāratī we see that such an interpretation of the word Prayoga was given by some commentator. Abhinava does not accept it. He includes the factor of differentiation called 'Vṛtti' in 'Karma' itself, which he takes to mean comprehensively Lakṣaṇa. This is intelligible, for the Itivṛtta is inseparably fused with Rasa, and Rasa with Vṛtti. So all the characteristics making the Lakṣaṇa of a type, including the Vṛtti are comprehended under the head Karma.

वृत्तिविभागस्तु लक्षण एव अनुप्रविष्ट इति ।

Abhi. Bhā Mad. Ms. Vol. II, p. 440.

Abhinava's interpretation of the word Prayoga is ingenious. He says—

‘प्रकृष्ट उचितः योगः परस्परसंबन्धः, यथा प्रकरणनाटकलक्षणयोगात् नाटिकेति ।’ *Ibid.*

Thus Abhinava means by Prayoga suitable adaptation, something like Ūha, as in the case of the Nāṭikā which, though characterised by some individuality, is derived mainly from the Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa.<sup>1</sup> According to this interpretation of Abhinava Rūpakas first get differentiated by their Karma (*i. e.*) Lakṣaṇa consisting of the nature of the plot, type and number of major and minor characters, Rasa, Vṛtti, etc. and then again get multiplied in a different manner into infinite varieties like Nāṭikā, Saṭṭaka, Toṭaka, etc. This further multiplication is by Prayoga, by mixing up certain features derived from two or more major types and such other ways of adaptation. The words तथा चैव

1. For the nature of the Nāṭikā, vide Śls. 60—64. Chap. XX N. S.

in the second line of the first verse 'नामतः कर्मतश्चैव तथा चैव प्रयोगतः' is very ingeniously interpreted by Abhinava that those words indicate that the classification of dramas through Prayoga stands on a footing different from that through Karma. Prayoga is a comprehensive and fecund principle denoting the infinite possibility of creations of eternally varying types of dramas, deriving their features from, but improving upon or changing, slightly or more, features of existing types. In such a manner are derived the Nāṭikā and other types like Toṭaka, Saṭṭaka, etc., which Kohala added to the Daśarūpa of Bharata.

‘तेनैव प्रयोगप्रकारेण अन्योऽपि परस्परसंबन्धवैचित्र्यकृतो भेद उत्प्रेक्ष्य इत्यर्थः ।’ Abir. Bhā. Ibid.

Abhinava adds that by such an interpretation he has sanctioned ‘प्रामाण्य of Bharata’ to later types like Toṭaka, etc., which Kohala has enumerated.

‘उक्तव्याख्याने तु कोहलादिलक्षिततोटकसङ्क्रासकादिसङ्ग्रहः ।’

*Ibid.* p. 441.

Coming back to the distinction of the Rūpakas through the Vṛttis,—Bharata gives here an analogy from the Samāna Tantra (*i. e.*) Music.

जातिभिः श्रुतिभिश्चैव स्वरा ग्रामत्वमागताः ।

यथा तथा वृत्तिभेदैः काव्यबन्धा भवन्ति हि ॥

ग्रामौ पूर्णस्वरौ द्वौ तु यथा वै षड्जमध्यमौ ।

सर्ववृत्तिविनिष्पन्नौ काव्यबन्धौ तथा त्विमौ ॥

ज्ञेयं प्रकरणं चैव तथा नाटकमेव च । XX. 5—7.

Abhinava thus comments on these verses:

इह त्वेन दृष्टान्तेनैतदुक्तं भवति—स्वरसमुदायरूपत्वाविशेषेऽपि स्वराणां पर्यायतः प्राथम्य-प्राधान्य-अल्पत्व-भूयस्त्व-पूर्णत्व-अपूर्णत्व-आरोहावरोह-अन्यत्व-मध्यत्वादि-प्रविभागभेदैः यथा अन्यः षड्जग्रामाद्य (मोऽन्यो) मध्यमग्रामः, तथैव वृत्तीनां स्वरस्थानीयानां प्राथम्यप्राधान्यादीनां दशकेन रूपकं रूपकान्तरात् भिद्यते । यथा चतुश्रुतिः पञ्चमः त्रिश्रुतिश्च भवन् ग्रामान्यत्वं करोति तथा सैव वृत्तिः श्रुतिस्थानीयैरङ्गैः क्वचित्संपूर्णा क्वचिदूनेत्येवमपि रूपकविभाग इत्येतत् ‘जातिभिः श्रुतिभिः’ इति द्वयेन दर्शितम् ।’ *Ibid.* p. 443.

The analogy gives us three kinds of classification of dramas. The scheme of Daśarūpaka first falls into two classes called पूर्णवृत्तिरूपकs and अपूर्णवृत्तिरूपकs. Even as the Śaḍja and Madhyama Grāmas are characterised by the presence of all Svaras, and are thus पूर्णस्वरग्रामs, so also the first two types called Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa are पूर्णवृत्तिरूपकs because, in them, all the four Vṛttis are present. These two types represent the perfection among the Daśarūpakas. They are big and they envisage large action, comprising of intricate themes with a wealth of varied incidents. Such varied action of differing nature means the presence of all the four Vṛttis. As different from these two the remaining eight are minor dramas, the scope of the whose action is restricted. They are अपूर्णवृत्तिरूपकs. The second classification is on the principle of प्राधान्य. The main Rasa in most available specimens of Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa is Śṛṅgāra, though, as Aṅga-Rasas coming up like Vyabhicārins, we have almost all the other Rasas. Thus though at various places we have all the Vṛttis in the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa, by reason of which they are called पूर्णवृत्तिरूपकs they are, on the whole, characterised by the predominance of one Rasa and one Vṛtti only. Whatever Sañcāri-Rasas and the corresponding Sañcāri-Vṛttis may appear in the course of the drama, there is only one Rasa and its Vṛtti that stand out as the main Sthāyin—Rasa and Vṛtti. Says Bharata at the end of the Vṛttyadhyāya—

न ह्येकरसजं काव्यं किञ्चिदस्ति प्रयोगतः ।

भावो वापि रसो वापि प्रवृत्तिर्वृत्तिरेव वा ॥

सर्वेषां समवेतानां रूपं यस्य भवेद्द्रुह ।

स मन्तव्यो रसस्थायी शेषास्सञ्चारिणो मताः ॥ XXII. 67—68

Thus besides being पूर्णवृत्तिरूपकs, the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa, on the basis of the Nyāya 'प्राधान्येन व्यपदेशा भवन्ति', can be called कैशिकीवृत्तिरूपकs. The other eight, besides being अपूर्णवृत्तिरूपकs, are also अकैशिकीवृत्तिरूपकs.

माणस्समवकारश्च वीथी चेहामृगस्तथा ।

उत्सृष्टिकाङ्को व्यायोगो डिमः प्रहसनं तथा ॥

कैशिकीवृत्तिहीनानि रूपाण्येतानि कारयेत् । XX. 7—8.

VI—46

It is not said here that these dramas do not have the Kaiśikī. Bharata says that Kaiśikī is the Vṛtti of Hāsyā also besides Śṛṅgāra. Kaiśikī cannot thus be absent in the Bhāṇa or the Prahāsana. The Samavakāra also has it but what exactly is meant by Bharata is that Kaiśikī is not their main and characterising Vṛtti. Says Abhinava—

‘तकैशिकीविहीनत्वेऽपि यथा शृङ्गारयोगः समवकारे तथा तल्लक्षणं(णे)  
वर्णयिष्यामः ।’

If both the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa agree in respect of being पूर्णवृत्तिरूपक and कैशिकीवृत्तिरूपक, wherein do they differ? Here comes the third principle of classification based on the Vṛttyaṅgas. It is to point out this third classification, says Abhinava, that Bharata said that the Grāmas differ through the Svaras and Śrutis. The Vṛttyaṅgas are similar to Śrutis, Vṛttis being similar to Svaras. Not only the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa between themselves, but each Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa from other Nāṭakas and Prakaraṇas, are bound to vary in plot Rasa, and the Vyabhicāri-Rasas or Aṅga-Rasas. Therefore there is bound to be a वृत्तियोगवैचित्र्य, variety even in the Kaiśikī which commonly characterises the two. In one the Kaiśikī may be Pūrṇa with all its Aṅgas (i.e.) might be amply represented by its many varieties, while in another, a few Aṅgas may be absent and in still another, certain other Aṅgas may be present. Even in respect of Lakṣaṇa, according to the definition in Bharata, the Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa are related<sup>1</sup> in some respects. Their distinction is due to the comparative predominance of certain features. It is not that the features of one type are not available in another. The Rūpakas get their respective names owing to the predominance in them of those features. Slight features of the Nāṭaka may be found in the Prakaraṇa; features of these two are found in the Nāṭikā; the feature that prominently characterises the Prahāsana gets into the Nāṭaka through the Vidūṣaka and through the Vidūṣaka, the Śākāra and other characters into a Prakaraṇa like the Mṛcchakaṭika. Thus, as in Lakṣaṇa, so also in Vṛtti, there will be overlapping and overflow, संभव.

1. यन्नाटके मयोक्तं वस्तु शरीरं रसाश्रयोपेतम् ।

तत्प्रकरणेऽपि योज्यं केवलमुत्पाद्यवस्तु स्यात् ॥ XXII, 51, N. S.

Another point to be noted in the classification of dramas on the principle of Vṛtti-Vaicitrya is this. It is a rule that the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa only can be पूर्णवृत्तिरूपकः or कैशिकीवृत्तिरूपकः. So also it is a rule that none of the other eight can be either. The conclusion must not therefore be drawn that all Nāṭakas and Prakaraṇas must have all the four Vṛttis. We have specimens of Nāṭakas which are Apūrṇa-Vṛtti-Rūpakas. The Mudrārākṣasa and the lost Kṛtyārāvaṇa are two Nāṭakas devoid of Kaiśikī. Says Abhinava—

“तेन वृत्तीनां विनियोगसमुच्चयविकल्पैः, समुच्चयैर्वृत्त्यङ्गानां च, बहवो रूपकभेदा भवन्ति । \* \* \* तत्र ‘नाटकप्रकरणे एव सर्ववृत्तिपूर्णं’ इति नियमः, न तु विपर्ययः । मुद्राराक्षसस्य कैशिकीहीनस्य कृत्यारावणस्य च दर्शनात् ।” Abhi. Bhā. Vol. II, p. 444.

Having explained how Bharata relates Vṛtti and drama, we shall return to a consideration of the meaning of the concept of Vṛtti. Abhinava is the only writer who has explained that concept well. It is for us to carry his views further. For Abhinava left the Vṛttis explained rather incompletely. He ridiculed those who held to five Vṛttis or two only and on the other side, contended against those also who held the Vṛttis only in Nāṭya, or even in Nāṭya and Kāvya only. Just as the Sandhis and Sandhyaṅgas, which are so many points in the unfoldment of a plot or action have been applied from Drama to Mahākāvya in general, just as the theory of Rasa, the greatest and best theory answering to the facts of both poetry as well as its relish by the cultured Sahṛdaya, has been introduced from the realm of Nāṭya into poetry in general, so also, with as much propriety, rationale and significance, has the idea of Vṛtti been brought into Kāvya in general from the field of drama. Vṛtti is from the root Vṛt—Vart. It means the state of mind or disposition. It is the atmosphere of the thing. Bhoja gives a good definition of Vṛtti.

या विकाशेऽयं विक्षेपे सङ्कोचे विस्तरे तथा ।

चेतसो वर्तयित्री स्यात् सा वृत्तिः \* \* ॥ S. K. Ā. II. 34.

Nāṭya is त्रैलोक्यानुकरण and so is Kāvya and other arts also. With the varying situations, man gets into varying moods. Each situation gives a different physical pose and a different mental disposition. The shifting colour, the very atmosphere of an emotional state is Vṛtti. From world this Vṛtti is applied to the study of

drama. Each kind of plot, each Rasa, each Nāyaka and Nāyikā and each action of theirs has its characteristic Vṛtti. The very mode of action or the very colour of the Rasa or the very atmosphere of a state is Vṛtti. So it is that Ānanda calls Vṛtti so compréhensively as Vyavahāra.<sup>1</sup> Dhanañjaya describes it as 'तद्व्यापारात्मिका वृत्तिः' (i.e.) according to Dhanika, 'प्रवृत्तिरूपः नेतृव्यापारस्वभावो वृत्तिः'. It is the character of the action or doings of the actor. Tilaka calls it as the Vyāpāra related to Rasa. 'वृत्तिः वर्तनम्, रसविषयो व्यापारः'.<sup>2</sup> It is thus not correct to say that a certain Vṛtti is to be added to a hero, to his action or to his Rasa. For Vṛtti is the very essence of the actor, his action and his Rasa. So it is that Alaka says of it—

वृत्तयो भारतीप्रभृतयः अवस्थाविशेषाः ।<sup>3</sup>

And Dhanika says—

'वृत्त्यात्मकत्वाच्च रसानाम् ।'<sup>4</sup>

So, Vṛtti is the name of the disposition or character of any verbal or physical or mental activity of man placed in any state of action. Kallinātha succinctly puts its general definition, of course, basing himself on Abhinava.

'वृत्तिर्नाम बाह्यमनःकायजा चेष्टा पुरुषार्थोपयोगिनीति सामान्य-  
लक्षणम् ।'<sup>5</sup>

Abhinavagupta describes Vṛtti thus—

"तस्माद्व्यापारः पुमर्थसाधको वृत्तिः, स च सर्वत्र [वा] वर्ण्यते इत्यतो  
वृत्तः(त्तिः) काव्यस्य मातृका इति न किञ्चित् व्यापारशून्यं वर्णनीयमस्ति ।"

Abhi. Bhā. Mad. Ms. Vol. II, p. 480.

"एतच्चासत् । आस्तां काव्यार्थः, सर्वो हि संसारः वृत्तिचतुष्केन व्याप्त  
इत्युक्तं प्रथम एवाध्यायेऽस्माभिः ।" *Ibid.* p. 441.

He says in his commentary on the Vṛtti-chapter:

"यद्यपि कायबाह्यमनसां चेष्टा एव सह वैचित्र्येण वृत्तयः, ताश्च समग्र-  
जीवलोकव्यापिन्यः, अनिदं प्रथमताप्रवृत्ताः प्रवाहेण वहन्ति \* \* \* ।"

*Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 1.

1. Dhva. Ā. III. 33.

2. K. A. S. S. Vyākhyā.

3. Alaka's commentary on Ratnākara's Haravijaya, p. 29, K. M. edn.

4. D. R. A. III.

5. S. R. Vyākhyā—Kalānidhi, VII.

“सर्वैव क्रिया वृत्तिचतुष्कव्याप्ता ।” *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 3.

Rāmacandra, in his Nāṭyadarpaṇa, says, of course drawing upon Abhinava, that if Bharata speaks of the Vṛttis with reference to Nāṭya, it is only to indicate. Vṛtti pertains as much to un-acted poetry. There is no action as is not produced from or on the background of some Vṛtti. The Vṛtti as the characteristic mood of a situation, action or Rasa permeates the poet or dramatist and out of that mood appropriate creation proceeds.

“नाट्य इति प्रस्तावापेक्षम्, तैर्न अनभिनेयेऽपि काव्ये वृत्तयो भवन्त्येव ।  
न हि व्यापारशून्यं किञ्चिद्वर्णनीयमस्ति ।” N. D. p. 152.

So it is that Bharata called the Vṛttis as the ‘Mothers of Nāṭya’ or ‘Mothers of Kāvya’.

“नाट्यस्य अभिनेयकाव्यस्य मातर इव मातरः । आभ्यो हि वर्णनीयत्वेन  
हृदये व्यवस्थिताभ्यः काव्यमुत्पद्यते । N. D. p. 152.

If Vṛtti is such it naturally follows that it is varied and infinite. Surely it is so. Bharata recognises this fact. But, as in poetry, even while accepting the individuality of the style of each poet, an objective determination of a few styles is possible, and similarly as in the manner of dress etc., which Bharata calls Pravṛtti and which is infinitely various with its difference in each man, there is a possibility to classify broadly the provincial manners of dress etc., so also, in respect of Vṛtti, for the sake of concrete Vyavahāra in the study of Nāṭya, it is possible to examine all actions and arrive at four large modes of actions. Bharata thus explains himself for giving the Vṛttis as four only in number, in chapter XIV. While describing the related concept of Pravṛtti, Rājaśekhara sums up Bharata<sup>1</sup> and says—

“चतुष्टयी गतिः प्रवृत्तीनां च, देशानां पुनरानन्त्यम्, तत्कथमिव  
कात्स्न्येन परिग्रह इत्याचार्याः । अनन्तानपि देशान् चतुर्धैव आकल्प्य  
कल्पयन्ति ।” K. M.

The four Vṛttis given by Bharata are the Bhāratī, Sāttvatī, Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī. Are these four enough to explain all possible dramatic situations? It seems that they are quite sufficient. Wherever action tends to speech as the prominent

1. N. S. XIV, p. 165, Kāśī edn.



mode of expression (for speech also as verbal action is one kind of action, the Vācika-Abhinaya) of emotion we call that phase of emotional expression or acting as the Bhāratī Vṛtti. Besides this speech, the only other thing seen in drama is action. It is of two kinds: of the limbs (*i.e.*) gross or very clearly perceptible physical action called the Āṅgika-Abhinaya and of the mind (*i.e.*) subtle or very minute emotional action called the Sāttvikābhinaya which is shown on the face.<sup>1</sup> The latter is acting par-excellence. So situations of such actions are separately appreciated as the finer aspects of acting and are called the Sāttvati-Vṛtti. The remaining part of action is physical or Āṅgika action. Now, this very clearly perceptible action of the limbs varies mainly in two ways, to speak broadly. In forceful situations of anger, fight etc., action is vigorous, wild and terrible. Such action or Āṅgika-Abhinaya is called the Ārabhaṭī Vṛtti. As a contrast to such situations there appear situations of the essence of grace and delicacy, exchange of sweet words of love, gaiety, song and dance. Here the actions are graceful and delicate and are called the Kaiśikī-Vṛtti. These four Vṛttis thus comprehend the whole field of drama as well as the world. To adopt the words of Abhinava quoted above, Bhāratī is वाक्चेष्टा or वाचिकाभिनय or the पाठ्य, Sāttvati is मनश्चेष्टा or सात्त्विकाभिनय; the realm of कायचेष्टा is of two kinds, delicate and wild; it is either कैशिकी or आरभटी.

Though we have simply and almost correctly explained the meaning of these four Vṛttis, we encounter many a problem in the actual study of these Vṛttis as defined by Bharata and by the later writers following Bharata. We have got to understand how the concept of Vṛtti or the separate concepts of Kaiśikī etc. grew, what the names Kaisikī etc. mean, whether the classification of Vṛttis into these four is scientific, and whether these four are really sufficient to explain all possible dramatic situations or whether there is a necessity to create more Vṛttis and classify Vṛtti in a different manner. The problems mentioned last are tackled by Udbhaṭa who revolutionises the concept, the number and names of his Vṛttis being different. Other writers also have to say something as regards those problems to which we shall come last. Now to a consideration

1. कण्ठेनालम्बयेद्गीतं हस्तेनार्थं प्रदर्शयेत् ।

चक्षुर्भ्यां दर्शयेत् भावं पादाम्ब्यां तालमाचरेत् ॥



of each of the four Vṛttis one by one beginning from Bhāratī.

In the story of Viṣṇu's fight with Madhu-Kaiṭabha, the latter began to taunt Viṣṇu and for a time there was a verbal or wordy warfare. Brahmā called this the Bhāratī-Vṛtti and Viṣṇu also said that he indulged in speech for creating the Bhāratī Vṛtti for Kāvya and Nāṭya. This is quite sensible for Bhāratī means speech. Says Bharata—

भाषतो वाक्यभूयिष्ठा भारतीयं भविष्यति । XXII. 9.

किमिदं भारतीवृत्तिः वाग्भिरेव प्रवर्तते । XXII. 7.

The characteristic called speech constitutes the differentia of the Bhāratī Vṛtti. This has not been misunderstood by any later writer in the main. All speech or Pāṭhya in a drama is Bhāratī. So Bhāratī is called Śabda-Vṛtti and the other three are distinguished from it as Artha-Vṛttis. Says Śiṅgabhūpāla—

आसां च मध्ये वृत्तीनां शब्दवृत्तिस्तु भारती ।

तिस्रोऽर्थवृत्तयश्शेषाः तच्चतस्रो हि वृत्तयः ॥ R. A. S. I. 286.

Abhinava himself has briefly stated 'पाठ्यप्रधाना भारती'<sup>1</sup> and 'भारती वाग्बृत्तिः'<sup>2</sup>. Bhāratī being speech, its real and essential nature is not represented at all in the 'Śaiva' story of the origin of the four Vṛttis recorded by Śāradātanaya. As speech it is not related especially to anyone Rasa. Bharata no doubt says that Bhāratī is the Vṛtti of Karuṇa and Adbhuta.

भारती चापि विज्ञेया करुणाद्भुतसंश्रया । XXII. 66.p.

No doubt there is in Karuṇa a large amount of weeping, वाग्विलाप and similarly one grows eloquent when he is struck with wonder. But we cannot understand how such or so much amount of speech that characterises either Karuṇa or Adbhuta is not found in other Rasas also. Further even in Karuṇa one does not weep at all if the grief is too much. He has to act grief then more by Sāttvikābhinaya than by Vācikābhinaya. Even the weeping or the Bhāratī in the form of weeping is affected by the circumstances. For Prakṛti and Prakṛti-Aucitya are the essence of poetry and drama and a hero of superior mould—Uttama Prakṛti, will weep little. Even so in Adbhuta. One is

1. Abhi. Bhā. Mad. MS. Vol. III, p. 5,

2. Gaek. edn. Vol. I, p. 20.

struck dumb with wonder and there is no Bhāratī at all. From the point of view of Prakṛti-Aucitya, the greater men do not wonder; wonder is the common sentiment of women and fools according to Bharata and Abhinava. Thus there is little sense in relating Bhāratī to any Rasa. There is no meaning in giving it as the Vṛtti of either Karuṇa or Adbhuta as Bharata does. So Śāradātanaya is incorrect when he says—

भारतीवृत्तितो जज्ञे बीभत्सश्चोत्तराननात् ।<sup>1</sup> p. 57.

but is very correct when he says earlier that the Bhāratī cannot be related to any Rasa but is present everywhere.

वृत्तिस्सर्वत्र भारती । p.12.

Nowhere can we find any writer who has totally forgotten that Bhāratī is speech, that Bhāratī is the Śabda-Vṛtti as contrasted with the other three which are Artha-Vṛttis. But Bharata himself unnecessarily introduces a second derivation of the word Bhāratī which goes directly contrary to the very notion of Bhāratī as accepted by him. Bharata, for a while, forgets himself and forgets that a little-while ago, he has given Bhāratī as Śabda-Vṛtti and in his etymological enthusiasm and mythological enthusiasm says that after finishing the wordy warfare, Bhāratī, Viṣṇu rose and walked to fight the demons thus creating in the heavy footsteps he laid, the Bhāratī-Vṛtti.

योधयामास तौ दैत्यौ युद्धमार्गविशारदौ ॥

भूमिसंस्थानसंयोगैः पदन्यासैस्तदा हरेः ।

अतिमारोऽभवद्भूमेः भारती तत्र निर्मिता ॥

This means that Bhāratī also is an Artha Vṛtti and shows us how, by venturing this contradictory and purely speculative etymology, Bharata himself is not very sure of the meanings of the names of such technical terms like Bhāratī, Kaiśikī etc. We shall presently see that the Kaiśikī is derived from Keśa or

1. Śāradātanaya is doubly wrong here. Firstly he is wrong in relating Bhāratī to Rasa and secondly in relating it to the Bibhatsa among the Rasas. This has no warrant in Bharata who gives for Bhāratī Karuṇa and Adbhuta. Śāradātanaya had to give here Bibhatsa because Karuṇa and Adbhuta are not in the list of four Prakṛti-Rasas and the other three Prakṛti-Rasas are already distributed to the other three Vṛttis. Most of the later writers have made another mistake as *re.* Bharatī, while attempting to avoid this mistake of relating it to Rasa. They have considered it as the Vṛtti of the Prologue only.

hair ! These are, as Abhinava remarks, explanations based on mere verbal similarity. He says—

‘भार इत्यक्षरवर्णसाम्यादपि निर्वचनं दर्शयन्—’<sup>1</sup> Vol. III, p. 3.

Yāska suggests such an etymology to one who wants to derive a word somehow and explain it.

‘न त्वेव न निर्ब्रूयात् अप्यक्षरवर्णसामान्यान्निर्ब्रूयात् । N. II. 1.

These are surely delirious grammar filling up some gap created by a loss of tradition. This leads us on to an enquiry of the real nature and origin of the Bhārati Vṛtti. As noted at the beginning, Śāradātanaya separates the Bhārati from the other three which alone, according to some, were produced in Viṣṇu’s fight with the two demons. Bhārati, he says, is so called because it is भरतप्रोक्त—invented or introduced by Bharata, the Sage-author of Nāṭya. Or he may mean, as Śiṅgabdhūpāla means in an explicit statement that Bhārati is the Vṛtti of the Bharatas, the actors.

प्रयुक्तत्वेन भरतैः भारतीति निगद्यते । R. A. S. I. 261.

Bharata himself says elsewhere—

“स्वनामधेयैर्भरतैः पयुक्ता सा भारती नाम भवेत्तु वृत्तिः”

These two significant explanations suggest a train of ideas. From Rājaśekhara<sup>2</sup> we know that Bharata is the author of drama, Daśarūpa while Nandikeśvara is the author of Rasa. Probably Nandikeśvara, in whose name there are many works on dance, was also the author of dance, because he is one of the attendants of Śiva who with his consort Pārvaṭī, is the first exponent of dance. Dance existed at first and Drama came afterwards. Therefore the three Vṛttis, Kaiśiki, Ārabhaṭī and Sāttvaṭī existed already with reference to Dance, even like the three kinds of Abhinaya, Sāttvika, Āṅgika and Āhārya. With the introduction of speech Dance was perfected into Drama (*i.e.*) with speech came the fourth Abhinaya called Vācīkābhinaya and the fourth Vṛtti called the Bhārati.

This question can be further inquired into with reference to the history of the development of Drama. Drama means two

1. Cf. Śāradātanaya, Bha. Pra. II. p. 50,

अप्यक्षराणां सामान्यात् निरुध्यन्ते च केचन ।

एवं निरुक्तकारैस्तु स्वशास्त्रे निर्णयः कृतः ॥

2. K. M. I. 1, p. 1.

main things, speech and action. Naturally these two had separate history in the beginning. Speech or Bhāratī was available at first as recitals of heroic legends, of epics etc. Action was separately developing in dance and pantomime shows, which were dumb. The former is represented by that stage in the history of the development of drama which we can call, on the basis of the evidence in the Mahābhāṣya as the Grānthika stage. The latter refers to that stage which can be similarly called the Śaubhika stage. Those who merely danced or exhibited action were probably called by the name 'Naṭas' while those who had the Bhāratī or the speech or recital were called by the name 'Bharatas'. Perhaps the Bharatas or the ancient reciters were the Vedic race of Bharatas.<sup>1</sup> When the two gradually joined together, the perfect drama was reached and Bharata and Naṭa became synonymous, meaning actor. The former signified not only speech but action also and the latter not action only but speech also.

How did speech or recital slowly develop into drama? There are some evidences, shedding light on this point, in the scheme of Daśarūpa itself. The Daśarūpa attains its climax of perfection in the first two dramas, the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa. The former is characterised by a heroic theme and the latter by a presentation of ordinary men of society. These two main threads or tendencies developed from two distinct dramatic germs, the former from the recital of the doings of the heroes, the epics and the latter from a dramatic germ which persists in the Daśarūpaka in the type called Vithī. The Prahasana also, to begin with, had great resemblances with the Vithī, with its comic sense more pronounced. Bharata mentions two types of Vithī, one with one actor or character and the other with two, the former perhaps being the earlier. For it is this historical fact that is meant by Bharata's dictum that in a Vithī the actors shall be one or two.<sup>2</sup> The Vithī comprehends all kinds of character, men of noble mind,

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1. Similarly the minstrels were perhaps people from Magadha, they being called Māgadhas. Another similar instance is the name of the puppets Pāñcālīkas, which perhaps, as Dr. Keith suggests (p. 53 Skr. Dr.), were made in the Pāñcāla country. *Vide also* Dr. Keith, Skr. Dr. p. 30.

2. *Vide* Bharata XX, 116—135.

low men and those who are midway between the two. It is said to have all the Rasas and to develop through thirteen kinds of itself called its Aṅgas. An examination of these thirteen so-called Aṅgas, as also of the remaining description of the Vithi shows that the Vithi is either a recital or narration by one man of a number of humorous witticisms or a dialogue between two full of word-play, prattling of nonsense, ingenious invention of meanings to apparently nonsensical words, exchange of witty remarks, beating another by one's witty words and so on. That the comic thread forms the essence of the Vithi is shown by the actual occurrence of the word हास्य often in the definitions of these thirteen kinds of Vithi.<sup>1</sup> It is not far from the Vithi with two actors to the Prahasana. From the Prahasana we pass to the Prakaraṇa by slow stages. Both the Prahasana and Prakaraṇa have more than one variety, making provision for low characters as well as noble ones.<sup>2</sup> Bharata himself has a line in the description of the Prahasana which lights up its early history and its connection with the Vithi. He says at the end of the description of the Prahasana—

उद्वात्यकादिभिरिदं वीथ्यङ्गैर्मिश्रितं भवेन्मिश्रम् ।

Thus the 'Miśra' variety of the Prahasana helps our inquiry a good deal. Thus one line of ideas in the Daśarūpa scheme revolves round men of the society and the comic.<sup>3</sup> The other line is the heroic. We hear in the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata that the first dramas that were staged were a Samavakāra, the Asura Vijaya<sup>4</sup> or Amṛta Mathana<sup>5</sup> and a Dima called Tripuradāha.<sup>6</sup> These smaller types celebrating the deeds of the Gods, along with epic poetry, slowly developed into the Nāṭaka. Thus the two perfected types of the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa were achieved. But during the course of their perfection, there was a

1. Perhaps Vithi was so called because it was shown on the highways as a simple form of entertainment.

2. *Vide* Bharata, XX. 48—59 and 105—110.

3. That some of the earliest specimens of drama were comic and satiric is known from the last chapter of the N. S. XXXVI. 31—36. The Bharatas indulged too much in making fun of the higher castes, as a result of which they lost their dignity. The legend curses them to become Śūdras for ridiculing the Brahmins too much.

4. N. S. I, 59.

5. „ IV, 2.

6. „ „ 10.

mutual exchange of features for the sake of attaining variety of interest. Thus the Nāṭaka gave some of its features of nobility and dignity to the Prakaraṇa and saved it from being merely a play with courtezans etc. The Prakaraṇa gave the Nāṭaka the comic relief which it needed. When these two became perfect, specimens of these arose more and more. Though Prahāsana by itself could survive, the Vīthī could not. The features which characterised the two had entered into the greater idea of Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa to perfect them. So it is that we find Bharata saying that two of the varieties of the Bhāratī-Vṛtti are the Vīthī and the Prahāsana.

भेदास्तस्यास्तु विज्ञेयाश्चत्वारोऽङ्गत्वमागताः ।

प्ररोचनामुखं चैव वीथी प्रहसनं तथा ॥ XXII. 26.

And by these two, he certainly refers only to the two types of dramas called Vīthī and Prahāsana described in the Daśarūpakādhyāya, for, while describing one by one the above-given four Aṅgas of the Bhāratī, he says that he need not define once again the Vīthī and the Prahāsana which have been already described in the Daśarūpādhyāya.

लक्षणं पूर्वमुक्तं तु वीथ्याः प्रहसनस्य च । XXII. 36.

The writing of Vīthī is possible even today as a separate kind of entertainment, which will look like the performance of a modern Vikaṭa-Kavi or the comic genius or that of a ventriloquist and narrator of jokes and comic short stories. In such a

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1. Few later writers ever knew an instance of Vīthī and did not know the example they were traditionally citing, as for instance the Vakuḷa Vīthī which Śāradātanaya and Viśvanatha cite. Act I of the Mālatī-Mādhava is called Vakuḷa Vīthī, because of the scene of action there which is the path running by the side of a Vakuḷa tree in the temple of Kāma. Certain dramas have such names for each of their acts. This Vakuḷa Vīthī (Act I of M. M.) has nothing to do with the type of drama called Vīthī. But so much is the later writers' ignorance of any old specimen of the dramatic type called Vīthī that Jagaddhara, Commentator on the M. M. takes Act I of M. M. as a specimen of the Vīthī and quotes at the end of his commentary on Act I the definition of the Vīthī type. This is all the more wonderful for Jagaddhara is learned in Bharata Śāstra and has also himself written a Nāṭya treatise called Saṅgīta Sarvasva which he quotes in his commentary on Bhoja's Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharṇa and which Rucipati, Rāghava Bhaṭṭa and others also quote.

case the Vīthī will completely be speech or the Bhāratī-Vṛtti, even as the type called Bhāṇa is. Even in Prahāsana, which type abounds in exchange of comic speech, there is much of the Bhāratī. Besides this significance, another historical significance in Bharata mentioning the Vīthī and the Prahāsana as two types of the Bhāratī is the fact that those two in some imperfect form were the earliest types of dramatic performances with speech as their distinguishing mark.

When we come to later works we find that the Bhāratī is said to be the Vṛtti of the Prastāvanā and not of the drama proper. The Inducement, the mentioning of the names of the poet and his drama, the extolling of the merits of the actors—these forming part of the Prastāvanā are merely giving information for inducement and as such are attended by little action, whereby they can be called the Bhāratī-Vṛtti. But one must understand that Bhāratī as speech cannot be restricted to the Prastāvanā only but, as Śāradātanaya says, is present everywhere. Śiṅgabhūpāla says that Bhāratī is not defined along with others and as being an Aṅga of the Prastāvanā shall be described along with it.

‘प्रस्तावनोपयोगित्वात् साङ्गं तत्रैव लक्ष्यते ।’ R. A. S. I. 261.

Dhanika says that in drama proper the Vṛttis are only three and that the Bhāratī pertains only to the Prologue.

‘तिस्र एवैता अर्थवृत्तयः । भारती तु शब्दवृत्तिः आमुखसंग[खाङ्ग]त्वात् तत्रैव वाच्या ।’

Dhanāñjaya says while describing the Prastāvanā.

ऋतुं कश्चिदुपादाय भारतीं वृत्तिमाश्रयेत् । R. III.4

But this restriction of the Bhāratī to the Prologue is meaningless. It is due to a misunderstanding of Bharata who says that the Prarocanā and the Āmukha forming the Prologue are two kinds of Bhāratī. This can be granted being intelligible as we have shown above. An explanation of that idea found in all later writers that Bhāratī is only the Vṛtti of the Prologue can be had by an enquiry in another direction. The dictum becomes intelligible when we take it as referring to that stage of the history of drama represented by mere action or dumb puppet show not attended by either explanatory speech or song. The presentation of a perfectly well-known story without words was, in all likelihood, present. There, as regards the play itself the



Vṛttis are only three. The Bhāratī cannot appear within the play proper but it can be present in the prayer, inducement and introductory speech announcing the name of the play etc., by the Sūtradhāra. But in a fully developed drama there is no place devoid of Bhāratī; neither the Prologue nor the play itself can exist without it.

We gave above an explanation of the other two Aṅgas of Bhāratī also, viz., the Vithī and the Prahasana. Another explanation seems possible. Though Bharata, while mentioning as Bhāratyaṅgas the प्रोचना, आमुखम्, वाथी and प्रहसनम्, does not mention the latter two as also forming part of the Prologue, later writers have taken Vithī at least as part of the Prastāvanā. Śiṅgabhūpāla says that Prologue is of two kinds, Prastāvanā and Sthāpanā, that the former has only a few of the thirteen Vithyaṅgas while the latter has a larger number of them and that the Aṅgas of Vithī pertaining to the type of drama of that name pertain also to the Prologue. See Śls. 157-160 and also Śl. 162. Chap. III. R. A. S.

It is not known why of the two Vithī and Prahasana, the former alone is taken as forming part of the Prologue. Examining Bharata's texts themselves on Pūrvaraṅga and Prastāvanā we find that two of the thirteen Aṅgas of Vithī are taken in the Prologue as Aṅgas of the Āmukha which is itself the second Aṅga of Bhāratī. Those two are Udghātvaka and Avagalita.<sup>1</sup> In chapter five we find Bharata mentioning that the first Aṅga of the Prologue after the Raṅga-dvāra is Trigata<sup>2</sup> (i.e.) the appearance of three persons on the stage, the Sūtradhāra, the Vidūṣaka and the Pāripāśvaka, and the talk amongst them. Next comes the Prarocanā and then the Āmukha which, among its five Aṅgas, has two that are Vithyaṅgas. Now this Trigata which begins the Bhāratī-Vṛtti is also a Vithyaṅga and it is given so by Bharata in his description of the Vithī and its Aṅgas.<sup>3</sup> Now how did these aspects of Vithī get into the Prologue of a drama? It seems that when drama became perfect in the types Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa, the features of all the other minor varieties which were their predecessors disappeared into those two. Thus in the very body of the play, Nāṭaka or Prakaraṇa the

1. Vide N. S. KKII. 30 and 31.

2. Vide N. S. V. Sl. 29.

3. Vide N. S. KK. 119 and 132.



Prahasana got in through the Vidūṣaka and through such other ways. So also did aspects of Vithī get into the play itself. Adhibala, the seventh Vithyaṅga is found also as the eighth Aṅga of the Garbha-Sandhi.<sup>1</sup> Leaving this fact apart, which must be considered in a separate paper dealing with the way in which one drama may have the features of all the ten types, we must here point out how Vithyaṅgas became part of the Prologue. I think that not only did Vithī or aspects of it get into the Prologue but also Prahasana or aspects of it. We know from chapter four of Bharata that originally the Pūrvaraṅga and the Prastāvanā were very simple, Śuddha and this Śiva did not relish much. He passed the Karaṇas of his dance through Taṇḍu to Bharata and his troupe of actors so that the Prologue might be highly beautified or made a चित्रपूर्वरङ्ग.<sup>2</sup> Similarly perhaps a Prologue which plainly and in a matter-of-fact prosaic manner briefly announced or introduced the drama it was felt to be rather wanting in strikingness or beauty—Vaicitrya—to make for which deficiency the comic was introduced.<sup>3</sup> The Vithī and Prahasana are comic and some of their comic elements were grafted on to produce Vaicitrya on the side of the Bhāratī-Vṛtti in the Pūrvaraṅga. The Vidūṣaka mentioned in the Prastāvanā stands as the representative of the Prahasana while the three Vithyaṅgas, Trigata, Udghātyaka and Avagalita represent the Vithī in the Prastāvanā. Probably the very minor variety of Vithī, as also the old Prahasana related to the Vithī were first gone through before the drama began, thus giving in effect three dramas. The Vidūṣaka and the three Vithyaṅgas, in that case, will be the remnants of two preliminary plays which slowly dwindled and dropped away.

Now to a consideration of Bharata's definition of the Bhāratī-Vṛtti which is thus given :

या वाक्प्रधाना पुरुषप्रयोज्या स्त्रीवर्जिता संस्कृतवाक्ययुक्ता ।

स्वनामधेयैर्भरतैः प्रयुक्ता सा भारती नाम भवेत्तु वृत्तिः ॥ XXII. 25.

1. *Vide* D. R. I. 40, p. 23.

2. *Vide* N. S. IV, Sls 13-18.

3. The music of the Prologue, the dances etc. of the Citra-pūrva-raṅga are all intended to infect the spectator's mind and create in him the proper receptive aesthetic mood, the absence of which, as pointed out by Abhinava, is a bar to Rasa-Realisation. See p. 282 Gaek. edn.

It is first emphasised that the Bhāratī is speech. It is called 'the mood which has mostly speech' (*i.e.*) वाक्प्रधान, because one cannot avoid even while speaking the physical accompaniments and because the naming rests on the principle of प्राधान्य or prominence. Why does Bharata then call it पुरुषप्रयोज्या ? Is not the speech of women also Bhāratī ? Why should he consistently follow this up and say further that Bhāratī is स्त्रीवर्जिता and संस्कृतवाक्ययुक्ता ? Is not Prākṛt also speech and hence Bhāratī ? Two explanations are possible. Naturally women talk little and show their emotions mostly by the Sāttvikābhinaya (*i.e.*) by the Sāttvatī-Vṛtti. They therefore have less of the Bhāratī in which man freely indulges. Thus on seeing the Nāyikā, the Nāyaka bursts into a series of verses on her beauty. So it is perhaps that Bharata says that Bhāratī is pre-eminently the Vṛtti of men and of Sanskrit speech. Another explanation is this: We know from chapter one of the Nāṭya-Śāstra that Kaiśikī was only of a later origin which means that historically we had at first only male actors. They recited or spoke in Sanskrit. The definition of Bhāratī in Bharata refers to that stage. In later times, in a perfect drama, there is Bhāratī everywhere and there is as little meaning in restricting it to males and Sanskrit as in restricting it to the Prologue. Bhāratī is and must be taken as that Vṛtti of speech—Bhāratī also meaning speech—wherever it may be. It is in accordance with this that in the story of the Vedic origin of the Vṛttis, Bharata derives the Bhāratī from the Ṛg-Veda for that Veda, as is said in chapter one is the Veda which produced पाठ्य (*i.e.*) the Vācika.<sup>1</sup>

(To be Continued.)

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1. The bit 'स्वनामधेयैर्मरतैः प्रयुक्ता' in the above definition of the Bhāratī in Bharata's text shows that Bharata also suggests the derivation of Bhāratī from the word 'Bharata' meaning actors, the historical significance of which was explained above, while considering this same derivation as recorded by Śāradātanaya and Śiṅgabhūpāla.

# HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL AND THEIR RELATION TO THE GRAMMATICAL LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

BY

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A somewhat similar classification is also found in Ṛg-veda Prātiśākhya and Śukla Yajur-veda Prātiśākhya:—

*Nāmākhyātam upasargō nipātāścatvāri ākhuḥ padajātāni  
śabdāḥ (R.V.P. 12.5.)*

*Nāmākhyātōpasarganipālāḥ (S.Y.V.P. 8.44.)*

It would become apparent from what follows in this section that Tolkāppiyaṇār had perhaps this classification of Nirukta and Prātiśākhyas for his model and introduced slight variations. While the first two of the four classes, viz., *nāma*=*peyar*-c-col, *ākhyāta*=*viṇai*-c-col are kept intact, the third and the fourth classes were grouped into one, viz., *iṭai*-c-col and a new fourth class, *uri*-c-col, was introduced for the sake of consistency with the Sanskritic model.

3.21. *Peyar*: 3.211. *Definition*: Tolkāppiyaṇār has not clearly defined what *peyar* is. But from the list of *peyar* given by him in *Peyar-iyal*, the 5th section of the second Chapter of Tolkāppiyam, it seems to me that *peyar* is a word denoting a person or an object. This agrees with the definition of *nāma* given in Ṛg-vēda Prātiśākhya as '*sattvābhidhāyakam nāma*' (R.V.P. 12.8) where *sattva* evidently means *dravya* or object. cf. *sattva* . . . *śabdāḥ astyēva dravyapadārthakāḥ*: (M.B. i. 341.2). Hence Tolkāppiyaṇār does not seem to include abstract nouns under *peyar*. His statement that *peyar* does not denote time except when it is a verbal noun,<sup>1</sup> that it takes a finite

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1. *Peyar-nilai-k kiḻavi kālan iṭṭṟā*  
*Toliṇilai y-oṭṭu m-onṇalan kaṭai-y-z.* (Tol. Col. 70.)

verb after it and<sup>1</sup> that the case suffixes are added after it<sup>2</sup> simply explains *peyar*; it does not define it as interpreted by commentators.

Nannūlar and later grammarians have, like the above-mentioned commentators, adopted this as its definition<sup>3</sup> and hence have included numerals<sup>4</sup> and abstract nouns also under *peyar*,<sup>5</sup> though they sometimes use the word *nāmam* itself in place of *peyar*.<sup>6</sup> In Tamil, *peyar* denotes nouns, pronouns and numerals.<sup>7</sup>

1. *Poruṇmai cuṭṭal viyaṅkoḷa varutal*  
*Viṇai-nilai y-uraittal viṇā-v-iṅ kēṇṇal*  
*Paṇṇu-koḷa varutal peyar-koḷa varuṭalen*  
*R-aṇṇi y-aṇaittum peyar-p-paya ṇilai-y-ē.* (ibid. 66.)
2. *Kūṛiya murai-y-i ṇ-urupu-nilai tiriyā*  
*T-iṇu-peyar-k k-āku m-iyarṇaiya v-eṇṇa.* (ibid. 69.)
3. *Iṇṇu-kūṛi kārāṇa marapō ṭ-āḱkan*  
*Toṭarntu tolil-ala kālān tōṇṇā*  
*Vēṇṇumai-k-k-iṇṇā-āy-t tinai-pā l-iṭat-t-onṇū*  
*Ēṇṇavum potu-v-u m-āvaṇa peyar-ē.* (Na. 275.)
4. *Viṇā-c-cuṭ ṭ-utāṇum vēru m-āmporuḷ*  
*Āti y-urutu-c cuṭṭānai y-āytam*  
*Onṇ-ṇ-ēṇ ṇ-inṇāṇa v-onṇṇā peyar-ē.* (ibid. 279.)  
*Munṇa r-a-v-v-oṭṭu varuvai ya-v-v-um*  
*Cuṭṭiru va-v-v-uṇ kaḷ-ḷ-iṇu mōḷiyum*  
*Onṇa l-eṇṇu m-uḷḷa v-illa*  
*Palla cilla v-uḷa-v-ila pala-cila*  
*Iṇṇavum palaviṇ peyar-ā kum-m-ē.* (ibid. 280.)
5. *Viṇaiyiṇ peyar-ē paṭarkkai viṇaiyāl*  
*Aṇaiyum peyar-ē y-āṇṭu m-āḱum.* (ibid. 286.)  
*Pal-vakai-p paṇṇum pakar-peya r-āḱi*  
*Oru-kunam pala-kunān taluvi-p payar-viṇai*  
*Oruvā ceyyutṭu uriyaṇa uriccol.* (ibid. 442.)
6. *Paṭarkkai viṇai-murru nāmaṇ kuṇṇippu*  
*Peṇṇappāṇu tinai-pā l-aṇaittu m-ēṇai*  
*Itattavar ṇorumai paṇṇmai-p pālē.* (ibid. 265) and (I. V. 167.)
7. It is clear from the expression 'eṇṇu-k-kuṇṇi-p-peyar' in  
*Palla pala-cila v-eṇṇum peyarum*  
*Uḷḷa v-illa v-eṇṇum peyarum*  
*Viṇai-p-peyar-k kḷaviyum paṇṇu-koḷa peyarum*  
*Iṇaitteṇa-k kḷakku m-eṇṇu-k-kuṇṇi-p peyarum*  
*Oppiṇṇaiya peyar-nilai-y-uḷappāṇa*  
*A-p-pā l-onṇatu m-avarṇō r-aṇṇa.* (Tol. Col. 168.)

that the words *onṇū*, *iranṇū* etc., are nouns according to Tolkāppiyāṇār only when they respectively mean one object, two objects, etc.

3.212: *Classification*: 3.2121. *Peyar* is classified under three heads:—(1) *Uyartinaï* or high caste (2) *aṣṟinaï* or casteless and (3) *viravu-t-tinaï* or caste common to both. Tolkāppiyaṇār defines *uyartinaï* as words denoting human beings, and *aṣṟinaï* as words denoting objects other than human beings<sup>1</sup>. He includes words denoting gods under *uyartinaï*.<sup>2</sup> The author of the *Nēminātam* includes *narakar* also under *uyartinaï*.<sup>3</sup> He is followed by *Naṇṇūlār*.<sup>4</sup> The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* repeats what is said by Tolkāppiyaṇār<sup>5</sup>.

3.2122. *Uyartinaï* is divided into three *pāls*, viz., *āṇpāl*, *peṇpāl* and *palarpāl*. *Āṇpāl* is that which denotes a male, *peṇpāl*, a female and *palarpāl*, more than one male or female. Similarly *aṣṟinaï* is divided into two *pāls*, viz., *oṇṇanpāl* and *palavinpāl*. *Oṇṇanpāl* is that which denotes one animal other than a human being, or a lifeless object and *palavinpāl* is that which denotes more than one of them. Hence it is evident that gender and number are not taken as separate entities in Tamil language, and that the *pāl* or the gender and number in Tamil nouns are determined more from their meaning than from their ending, though it is generally stated that the ending *ṇ*<sup>6</sup> denotes

1. *Uyartinaï y-eṇmaṇṇār makkaṭ cuttē*  
*Aṣṟinaï yṇmaṇṇār r-avarala pīravē*  
*Ā-y-irutiṇaiyi ṇ-icaikkumaṇa collē.* (Tol. Col. 1.)
2. *Peṇmai cuttiya v-uyartinaï maruṇkiṇ*  
*Āṇmai tirinta peyar-nilai-k kilaviyum*  
*Teyvaṇ cuttiya peyar-nilai-k kilaviyum*  
*I-v-v-eṇa v-aṟiyum-an tan-tamak kilavē*  
*Uyartinaï maruṇkiṇ pāl-pirin t-icaikkum.* (ibid. 4.)
3. *Ēṟṟa tiṇai-y-iraṇṭum pāl-aintu m-ēl-valuvum*  
*Vēṟṟumai y eṭṭu-n tokai-y-ūru-māṟṟariya*  
*Mūṇṟiṭamuh kūlaṇkaṇ mūṇṟu m-iraṇṭi-tatiār*  
*Rōṇṟa v-uraipṭaiṇ col.* (N. N. Col. 2.)
4. *Makkaṭ tēvar naraka r-uyartinaï*  
*Māṟṟuyi r-uḷḷavu m-illaḷu m-aṣṟinaï.* (Na. 261.)
5. *Uyartinaï y-eṇmaṇṇār makkaṭ cuttē*  
*Aṣṟinaï y-eṇmaṇṇār r-avarala pīravē.* (I. V. 162.)  
*Teyvamum pēṭum-ā m-a-v-v-iru pakutiyum*  
*I-v-v-eṇa v-aṟiyum-an tan-tamak k-ilavē*  
*Uyartinaï marriṇkiṇ pāl-pirin t-icaikkum.* (I. V. 165.)
6. *Naṣkē ṇorṟē y-āṭṭu v-aṟi-cōl,* (Tol. Col. 5.)

masculine singular,<sup>1</sup> *l*, feminine singular, *r*, *mār*<sup>2</sup> epicene plural, *ti*<sup>3</sup> neuter<sup>4</sup> singular and *a*<sup>5</sup> neuter plural. Though the word *peṇ-makaṇ* ends in *n*, it is feminine singular; though *makkaḷ* ends in *l*, it is epicene plural; though *āl* ends in *l*, it is common gender singular, and so on.

3.213. Declension: 3.2131. General points in Declension:

3.21311. Case: There are, in Tamil, 8 cases. The cases from the accusative to the locative were, it seems to me, named after their suffixes by the Tamil grammarians who lived before Tolkāppiyaṇār, as *ai-vērrumai*,<sup>6</sup> *oṭu-vērrumai*, *ku-vērrumai*, *in-vērrumai*, *atu-vērrumai*, and *kaṇ-vērrumai*;<sup>7</sup> but the vocative was called *viḷi-vērrumai* from the sense which it conveyed, and the nominative, *peyar-vērrumai*. Tolkāppiyaṇār, though he adopted the name *viḷi-vērrumai* and *peyar-vērrumai* for the vocative, and the nominative cases respectively, began to name the cases from the accusative to the locative as *iraṇṭām vērrumai*, *mūṇṇām vērrumai*, *nāṇkām vērrumai*, *aintām vērrumai*, *ārām vērrumai*, and *ēlām vērrumai*. This he did, perhaps on the model of Sanskrit grammarians like Pāṇini and his predecessors who called them *dvitīyā*, *tṛtīyā*, *caturthī*, *pañcamī*, *ṣaṣṭhī* and

1. *Laṣṣkū ṇ-orṇē makaṭū v-aṇi-col.* (ibid. 6.)

2. *Raṣṣkū ṇ-orṇum pakara v-iṇutiṇum*  
*Mārai-k kiḷavi yunuḷaṇṇaṇ mūṇṇum*  
*Nēra-t iṇṇum palar-aṇi collē.* (ibid. 7.)

3. *Oṇṇaṇi kiḷavi ta-ra-ṇa v-ūṇṇa*  
*Kuṇṇiya lukara-t t-iṇṇuṇi y-ūḷum.* (ibid. 8.)

4. It is to be understood that the words *masculine singular*, *feminine singular* and *neuter singular*, *gender*, do not at all correspond to *āṇṇāl* and *oṇṇaṇṇāl*, since the classification of *pāl* and that of *gender* are entirely on different bases; but for want of better terms they are used here to denote them.

5. *A ā va-eṇa varū m-iṇṇuṇi*  
*A-p-pāṇ mūṇṇē pala-v-aṇi collē.* (Tol. Col. 9.)

6. The Tamil word *vērrumai* seems to be the translation of the Sanskrit word *vibhakti*.

7. *Iraṇṭā kuvaiṇē*  
*Ai-y-eṇa-p peyariya vērrumai-k kiḷavi.....* (Tol. Col. 71.)  
*Mūṇṇā kuvaiṇē*  
*Oṭu-eṇa-p peyariya vērrumai-k kiḷavi.* (ibid. 73.)  
*Nāṇkū kuvaiṇē*  
*Ku eṇa-p peyariya vērrumai-k kiḷari.....* (ibid. 75.)  
*Aintā kuvaiṇē*

*saptamī*<sup>1</sup> respectively. The name *viḷi-vērrumai* corresponds in sense to *sambuddhi*, the name given by the early Sanskrit grammarians to the vocative singular. Tolkāppiyaṇār did not change the names of *peyar-vērrumai* and *viḷi-vērrumai* perhaps because they were not represented by suffixes. On the other hand, Naṇṇūlār began to call *viḷi-vērrumai*, *eṭṭām-vērrumai*,<sup>2</sup> and in modern times *peyar-vērrumai* also is called *mutal-vērrumai*.

3.21312. *Number*: Tolkāppiyaṇār and all the later grammarians have mentioned only two numbers, singular and plural. The plural suffixes may be used, according to them, to denote honorific singular.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Caldwell seems to think that *nām* is a species of dual<sup>4</sup> and denotes the speaker and the person spoken to. But it is found used with reference to not only the speaker and the person spoken to, but also a third person or persons standing near them. Hence there does not seem to be adequate justification for treating *nām* as a species of dual.

3.21313. *Points of difference in Declension between Tamil and Sanskrit*: There are four important points to be noted in the

*In-na-p peyariya vērrumai-kiḷavi*.....(ibid. 77.)

*Ārā kuvatē*

*Aṭu-v-eṇa-p peyariya vērrumai-k kiḷavi*.....(ibid. 79.)

*Ēlā kuvatē*

*Kaṇ-ṇ-eṇa-p peyariya vērrumai-k kiḷavi*....(ibid. 81.)

1. *Karmaṇi dvitīyā* (P. A. 2, 3, 2-)

*Karṭṭi-karaṇa-jḍṣ rṭṭīyā* (ibid. 18.)

*Caturthi sampradānē* (ibid. 13.)

*Apūdānē pañcamī* (ibid. 28.)

*Ṣaṣṭhī śeṣē*. (ibid. 50.)

*Saptamyadhikaraṇē ca*. (ibid. 36.)

2. *Eṭṭa ṇ-urupē y-eytu-peya rīrriṇ*

*Tiripu Kuṇṇal mikuta i-iyalpayal*

*Tiripu m-ām poruḷ paṭarkkai y-ḍrai-t*

*Taṇmuka m-āka-t tāṇ-alai-p patuvō*. (Na. 303.)

3. *Iyarpeyar muṇṇa r-ārai k kiḷavi*

*Palar-k-k-uri y-eḷuttin zīnai-yotū varumē*. (Tol. Col. 270.)

*Oruvaṇ-orutti-y-on rāṇ-cirappōḷḷu pallōr-palavai-k*

*Karutū-murāiyir kalappaṇa-vērrumai kāṇ-mutaḷ-cu*

*Maruvum-ar-ārarkaḷ ārkaḷ-kal mār-mutaḷ-vērrumaiyin*

*Uruvam-viḷi-vēr rumai-y-ōlittēnku mura-p-perumē*. (V. V. 2.)

4. C. D. G. pp. 222, 223 :—Two plurals of the pronoun of the first person, one of which includes the party addressed as well as the party of speaker, and which may therefore be considered as a *species of dual* etc.



declension of nouns and pronouns in Tamil where it differs from Sanskrit.

(1) One suffix in Tamil denotes both gender and number, (except the suffix *kaḷ* added to *uyartiṇai* nouns in medieval and modern periods which denotes number alone) and another, case; while in Sanskrit, one pratyaya denotes gender and another both number and case.

(2) Tamil has no dual number, while Sanskrit has.

(3) The suffixes of the second, third and seventh cases are added, in Tamil, to the *nominative case form and not to the base as in Sanskrit*.

(4) *Cāriyai* or flexional increments are added in Tamil between the noun and the case suffixes. They are not ordinarily recognisable in Sanskrit except 'n' which is inserted between the stems ending in a vowel and the genitive plural suffix and the instrumental singular suffix, through analogy with the corresponding cases of stems ending in *n*. (e.g. *Rāmā-ṇ-ām*, *Harī-ṇ-ām*, *Hariṇā* through analogy with *ātman-ām*, *guṇin-ām* and *guṇinā*).

On the other hand, in the graded declensions in Sanskrit, stems exhibit different grades of vowel-variation. Such vowel-variations are not generally found in Tamil except to some extent in the declension of pronouns. (e. g. *nām*, *nammai*; *tān*, *taṇṇai*, etc.)

3.2132. *Case-suffixes*: 3.21321. Case-suffixes from the first to the seventh are the following:

Ancient period.	Medieval Period. <sup>1</sup>	Modern Period.
1st Case No suffix	No suffix	No suffix
2nd case <i>ai</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ai</i>
3rd case <i>oṭu</i> ( <i>ān</i> also) <sup>2</sup>	<i>oṭu</i> , <i>ōṭu</i> , <i>āl</i> , <i>ān</i>	<i>oṭu</i> , <i>ōṭu</i> , <i>āl</i> , <i>ān</i>
4th case <i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>
5th case <i>iṇ</i>	<i>iṇ</i> , <i>il</i>	<i>iṇ</i> , <i>il</i>
		<i>inum</i> (Beschi)

1. In the medieval period, since what is stated by the author of *Vīracōḷiyam* is entirely different from that of others, I have not mentioned it here but in 3.21324.

2. *Tolkāppiyāṇār* has mentioned 'ān' in

*Kuāi āṇ-eṇa varūu m-iṇṇi*

*A-v-v-oṭu civaṇṇu ceyyu i-ullā.* (Tol. Col. 108.)

though he has not stated that it denotes third case.



6th case *atu* (if the following word is *aṣṟiṇai*) *atu, ātu*, (if the following noun is singular) *atu, ātu*

*ku* (if the following word is *uyartiṇai*) *a* (if the following noun is plural)

7th case *kaṇ* *iḷ, kaṇ, kāl, kaṭai, kaṇ, kāl, kaṭai, etc. etc.*

3.21322. *Vocative case*: There is generally no special suffix to denote vocative case. If the person addressed is very near the speaker, the nominative case form itself is used if the word ends in a vowel or *āṇ*. If the person addressed is at a great distance from the speaker the quantity of the last vowel of the word is increased. (e.g. *naṁṭṭi*, *makkāḷ*, etc. Tol. Col. 152.) This is quite similar to the practice recorded in Pāṇini's statement '*dūrāddhūtē ca*' (P. A. 8.2.24.). If the person addressed is neither very near to, nor at a distance from, the speaker, the following changes take place:—

(1) If the noun ends in *i*, *i* is lengthened to *ī*. e.g. *naṁṭṭī*.

(2) If it ends in *ai*, *ai* is changed to *āy*; e.g. *naṅkāy*, *aṇṇāy*; but in words of relationship like *aṇṇai*, *ai* is also changed to *ā*. e.g. *aṇṇā*.

(3) If it ends in *ō* or *u*, *ē* is added at the end. e.g. *kō-v-ē*, *tiru-v-ē*, etc.

(4) If it ends in *ṇ* like *cōḷaṇ*, *ṇ* is dropped if the person spoken to is near the speaker (*cōḷa*), and *a* is also lengthened if he is a little away from him (*cōḷā*); if it is a verbal noun like *vanlāṇ* or noun derived from a word denoting quality like *kariyāṇ*, *ṇ* is changed to *y*; if *ṇ* is preceded by *ā*, like *cēramāṇ*, there is no change; if it denotes relationship as *makaṇ*, *ē* is added at the end.

(5) If it ends in *r* preceded by *a* or *ā*, *a* or *ā* is changed to *ī*. (e.g. *kūttar*—*kūttīr*, *pārppār*—*pārppīr*; cf. *cennā-p-pulavīr* (oh. poets of refined speech) (P.N. 140, 2); if it is a verbal noun

1. *Kaṇ-kāl kaṭai-iṭai talai-vāy iṭai-vayin*  
*Muṇ-cār valam iṭam mēl-kīḷ puṭai-mutal*  
*Piṇ-pāṭṭi aḷai-tēm uḷai-vali uḷi-uḷi*  
*Uḷ-akam puṇam-il iṭa-p-poru ḷ-urupē* (Na. 302.)

or one derived from a word denoting quality, *a* or *ā* is changed to *ī* and *ē* is added at the end. (e.g. *vanlār-vantīrē*; *kariyār - kariyīrē*.)

(6) If it ends in *l* or *ḷ*, the preceding vowel is generally lengthened. E. g. *kuricil - kuricīl*; *makkaḷ - makkāl*. This is similar to Pāṇini's statement '*vākyasya tēḥ pluta udāttaḥ*' (P. A. 8.2.82.) If it ends in *ḷ* and is a verbal noun or a noun derived from a word denoting quality and if it is preceded by *ā*, *ḷ* is changed to *y* (e.g., *ninṛāl-ninṛāy*; *kariyāl - kariyāy*). If it ends in *ḷ* and denotes relationship, *ē* is added at the end (e. g. *makaḷ - makaḷē*).

(7) If nouns denoting *as.rinai* have to be used in the vocative case, *ē* is invariably added at the end. (e.g. *pulī-y-ē*, etc.)

The nouns ending in other letters have the same form in the vocative, as in the nominative case.

As regards the formation of the vocative case there is practically very little difference in all the three periods—ancient, medieval and modern.

3.21323. *Special points regarding certain case suffixes mentioned above:*—In an attempt to give an historical exposition of grammatical theories in Tamil, the following points regarding certain cases deserve special notice.

3.213231. *7th-case suffix:*—As regards the 7th case-suffix in the ancient period, Tolkāppiyāṇār gives two sūtras (Tol. Col. 81 and 82), the latter of which is the following:—

*Kaṇ-kāl puṛam-aka m-ul-ḷ-ulai kīl-mēl*

*Piṇ-cā r-ayal-ḷuṭai tēvakai y-eṇṇā*

*Muṇ-ṇ-iṭai kaṭai-talai valam-iṭa m-eṇṇā*

*Anṇa piṇavu m-ataṇ-ḷāla v-eṇṇaṇār.* (Tol. Col. 82).

This stanza is interpreted by Iḷampūraṇar and Naccīṇārkiṇiyar to denote the *suffixes* which may come in the place of *kaṇ*, the 7th case-suffix; but Cēṇāvaraiyar interprets it to denote the *different meanings* of *kaṇ*, the seventh case-suffix. Naṇṇūlar and all the later grammarians agree with Iḷampūraṇar. But the arguments set forth against it by Cēṇāvaraiyar under the same sūtra appear to be convincing and my discussion in detail on the same is found in pages 94 to 96 of my Collatikāra-k-kuṛippū

1. The above points are mentioned in *vīḷimarapu* of Tolkāppiyam, and sūtras 304 to 314 of Naṇṇūl.

which is being published in parts in Sen-tamil of the Madura Tamil Sangam One or two of the most important points may be mentioned here. If the latter sūtra makes mention of suffixes, the suffix *kaṇ* which finds a place in the sūtra

*Elā kuvatē*

*Kaṇ-ṇ-ēṇa-p peyariya vērrumai-kkilavi*

*Vinai-cey y-iṭatti nilattiṭṭi kālattiṭṭi*

*Aṇai-vakai-k kurippir rōṇṇu m-atuvē.*

(Tol. Col. 81.)

need not be repeated here; *tēvakai* which is found in this sūtra is taken by all the commentators not as a case-suffix but as the meaning of the case-suffix *kaṇ*; if *akam* be taken as a suffix, the *cāriyai attu* that is found in the expression 'ūrakattiruntāṇ' (he was in the village) would be quite out of place, since the *cāriyai* can come only between a noun and a case suffix and not between a noun followed by a case-suffix and a verb.

3.213232. 6th Case-suffixes:—As regards the sixth case-suffixes, it deserves to be noted that Tolkāppiyaṇār says that it is *ku* if it is followed by an *uyartiṇai* noun<sup>1</sup> and *atu* in other places; and Nannūlār does not make any mention of *ku* and proceeds to make a new point by observing that 'atū' and 'ātū' are used if the following noun is singular, and 'a' is used if it is plural. It seems strange here that the same element 'atu' affixed to nouns or pronouns denotes the gender of the noun which they qualify according to Tolkāppiyaṇār and its number according to Nannūlār. It seems to me that the latter has stated so since numerous expressions like 'niṇṇa kaṇṇiyum (even thy garlands) (P. N. 45.3.), *avara kāppuṭaiya kayam* (their protected wells) (P.N. 15.9.), *ematu ucciyārē* (T. 21.1 to 7)' were found used before his time. I venture to suggest the following reason for such a usage:—We see that, in expressions like 'kai eṇatū' (hand is mine) and 'kaikaḷ eṇa' (hands are mine), the suffixes *atu* and *a* denote respectively singular and plural. Here *tū* and *a* are regular since they are the verbal terminations denoting *onraṇṇāl* and *palaviṇṇāl*; but when expressions like 'eṇatū kai' (my hand) and 'eṇatū kaikaḷ' (my hands) where *atu* at the end of *eṇatū* is not a verbal termination, but the sixth case-suffix,

1. Here I have followed the commentary of Iḷampūraṇar on the sūtra.

*Atu-v-eṇ vērrumai y-uyartiṇai-t tokai-vayin*

*Atu-v-e ṇ-urupu-kēṭa-k kukaram varumē.* (Tol. Col. 94.)

were used, it may have been wrongly understood that *atū* in both *eṇatū kai* and *kai eṇatū* was the same sixth case-suffix. This may have led to the feeling that *atū* in '*eṇatū kaikaḷ*' should be treated as a mistake and changed to '*eṇa kaikaḷ*' on the analogy of '*kaikaḷ eṇa*'. Or expressions like *pōkā tama* (K. 376) may have led to it. Here *tama* which, in its origin is a plural appellative verb formed by adding *a* to *tam* is found used as a *participial noun* and means *one's own objects*. Thus expressions like '*tama poruḷkaḷ*' in the sense of *objects which are one's own* may have come into vogue. In such instances *a* of *tama* may have been mistaken for the sixth case-suffix added to words accompanied by plural *nouns*.

The following examples clearly support Tolkāppiyaṇār's view that the noun or pronoun having the suffix '*atū*' may be accompanied by a neuter noun irrespective of its being singular or plural.

*Niṇatiru tiru-v-aṭi* (Your two feet). (Cilap. 24, p. 518,  
2nd edn.)

*Iṇṇaiṇatū aṭiyiṇai* (God's two feet). (T. 127.5.)

*Uṇatū aṭiyār maṇattāyō* (Are you of the minds of your devotees). (P.T. 150.7.)

*N.B.*—Here *aṭi* and *maṇam* are neuter plurals.

3.213233. *Fifth case-suffix 'il'*:—Tolkāppiyaṇār recognises '*iṇ*' as the fifth case-suffix, whereas '*il*' has taken its place in Viracōḷiyam and is found used along with '*iṇ*' in Naṇṇūl and other later works. No attempt appears to have so far been made to discover the process by which Tolkāppiyaṇār's '*iṇ*' may have been metamorphosed into '*il*' at the hands of the author of Viracōḷiyam.

For this I would suggest the following solution: Consider the following equations: -

$$kōl + naṇmai = kōṇaṇmai$$

$$kōṇ + naṇmai = kōṇaṇmai.$$

If we reverse the process, it is easy to see that there are two possible legitimate ways of splitting *kōṇaṇmai*. This may have proved to be a fruitful source of confusion between the final *ṇ* and final *l*. Perhaps in similar cases of sandhi like *aracaṇiṇallaṇ* (*aracaṇiṇ + nallaṇ* or *aracaṇil + nallaṇ*), a bias may have been developed in favour of the latter alternative *aracaṇil + nallaṇ*. Thus '*il*' may have come to usurp the place of '*iṇ*' as the suffix of fifth case.

3.213234. *Third case-suffix 'āl'*:—Tolkāppiyānār's 'āṇ' used as an instrumental suffix<sup>1</sup> perhaps underwent the same vicissitude as *in*, the fifth case-suffix, and came to be replaced by *āl* (the third case-suffix) in *Viracōliyam*. It is found used along with *āṇ* in *Naṇṇūl* and other later works.

3.21324. The author of *Viracōliyam* adopts a different plan for explaining case forms. As has already been said, he adopted Pāṇini's definition of *padam* and combines both the element that denotes the number and the element that denotes the case as one denoting case and number, since only one *pratyaya* denotes both number and case in Sanskrit. Besides, he says that 'cu' is the *pratyaya* for the first case singular and it is always dropped. This is evidently done in close imitation of Pāṇini's Grammar.<sup>2</sup> According to him the case-suffixes are the following:—

Singular:	Honorific Singular & Plural:
1st case <i>cu</i> (dropped afterwards)	<i>ar, ār, arkaḷ, ārkaḷ, kaḷ, mār &amp; (cu in the neuter).</i>
2nd case <i>ai</i> preceded by <i>cu</i> .	<i>ai</i> preceded by <i>ar, ār, etc.</i>
3rd case <i>oṭu, oḷu, āl</i> preceded by <i>cu</i> .	<i>oṭu, oḷu, āl</i> preceded by <i>ar, ār, etc.</i>
4th case <i>ku, poruṭṭu</i> preceded by <i>cu</i> .	<i>ku, poruṭṭu</i> preceded by <i>ar, ār, etc.</i>
5th case <i>ninru</i> preceded by <i>kaṇ, il, etc.</i> preceded by <i>cu</i> .	<i>ninru</i> preceded by <i>kaṇ, il, etc.</i> preceded by <i>ar, ār, etc.</i>
6th case <i>uṭaiyāṇ (āṇpāl)</i> <i>uṭaiyāl (peṇpāl)</i> <i>uṭaiyatū (onraṇpāl)</i> ( <i>ku</i> preceded by <i>cu</i> when the 6th case becomes a <i>kāraka</i> .)	<i>uṭaiyār, uṭaiyārkaḷ (palarpāl)</i> <i>uṭaiyiṇa (palavinpāl)</i> ( <i>ku</i> preceded by <i>ar, ār, etc.</i> when the 6th case becomes a <i>kāraka</i> .)
7th case <i>kē, ulai, il, kaṇ</i> and other words denoting place preceded by <i>cu</i> .	<i>kē, ulai, etc.</i> preceded by <i>ar, ār, etc.</i>

3.213241. The points to be noted here are.—(1) The mention of 'ar' as the pluralising particle of nouns, while 'r'.

1. *Ku-ai āṇ-eyā varūu m-iruti*  
*A-v-v-oṭū civaṇuñ ceyyu t-ullē.* (ibid. 108.)

2. The author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* follows him in this point. Cf. *orupeyarcolleṇa cuppēri nīnkum.* (P. V, 37. Comm.)

alone is said to be so by Tolkāppiyāṇār. It is shown in my article on *cuṭṭeluttu*<sup>1</sup> that *a* of *ar* is only a demonstrative root and has nothing to do with the plural number.

(2) The mention of the forms *arkaḷ* and *ārkaḷ*; these are evidently cases of double plurals not sanctioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār. The latter says that '*kaḷ*' may be affixed only to neuter nouns to denote plural number as *māṭukaḷ* (bulls), but that too was not absolutely necessary. According to him and even the later grammarians, we may say *māṭū vantaṇa* (bulls came). Hence it is very likely that *kaḷ* which was originally added only to denote *palaviṇṇpāl*, may have been used through analogy to denote *palarṇpāl*, (e.g. *nōṇṇi-kaḷ* (M.M. 3.75); *vacukkaḷ* (T. 42.5) and then it may have been added to plural forms both in *palarṇpāl* and *palaviṇṇpāl*. Then it seems to me that it was further extended through analogy to verbs also.

Examples of these double plurals and the use of *kaḷ* after *uyartiṇai* nouns are found in very few instances in Cilappatikāram (e.g. *peṇṭirkāl* Cilap. 469.4) and in plenty in works of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava literature and certain other works belonging to the period from 6th to 9th century A.D. and in the inscriptions of the later period.

*Pattarkaḷ payilavaitṭār* (the temple purohits made them learn) (T. 27.2.)

*Ivai pāṭum tavamuṭaiyārkaḷ* (they have the fortune of singing these) (P.T. 96.10.)

*Enṇakai vacukkaḷoṭṭū* (with eight kinds of Vasus).  
(T. 42.5.)

*Sēṇāpatikaḷ*. (S. I. I. iii, iv, 133.)

It is worthy of note that such a use of *kaḷ* is not at all found in the earlier works of the Sangam period like *Puraṇānūrū*, *Paṭirrupattū*, etc.

In this connection I may say that, so far as Tamil is concerned, I do not agree with M. J. Vinson who thinks that the general plural sign in Dravidian is *gaḷ* or *kaḷ* and *r* another form of plural is of relatively modern origin<sup>2</sup>. The reasons set forth below support my view on this point:—(1) According to Tolkāppiyāṇār there may have been a period when '*r*' was used and '*kaḷ*' was not.

1. J. O. R. Vol. i, p. 4.

2. J. A. Dixeme Serie Tome 17, Le Pluriel Primitif en-M.

(2) In words like *aracarkaḷ* (kings), *kaḷ* does not displace, *r* but is added only after it.

(3) 'R' is found in the *verbal forms* as a plural element in Tamil, Telugu and Canarese from the ancient times, and *kaḷ* is not found as such in Canarese and Telugu even now. (e.g. Tel. *cēsiri*: Kan. *geydir*.)

(4) 'R' may have been a plural element common to both the Dravidian and Indo-European languages since 'r' is found in Sanskrit *lēbhīrē*.

It may be useful to observe in this connection that the practice of supporting the view that Tamil is a language of the suffix agglutinating type, by illustrations involving the suffix *kaḷ* (*paḷanai*, *paḷankaḷai*) may easily be called into question, in view of the fact, that, according to Tolkāppiaṇār, there may have been a period in the history of Tamil when forms like *paḷanai* were used both in *onraṇpāl* and *paḷaviṇpāl* and forms like *aracarai* were used to denote *paḷarṇpāl*.

3.213242. Forms having *ōṭu* as the third case-suffix are rare in the works of Sangam period, but in later works they occur more frequently than the forms with *oṭu*.

*Malar magalōḍu* (with Lakṣmī). (I. A. Vol. 22, p. 70-M. M. P.)

*Kol-kaliṇṇōḍum* (even with war-bulls). Do.

*Muṇi tāṇ umaiyōṭu muyan̄ki* (Śiva having been in the company of Pārvatī). (T. 110. 5.)

*An̄ru āyarkula-k-koṭiyōṭu* (on that day with (Kṛṣṇa) the banner of the families of shepherds). (P. T. 37.1.)

3.2113243. The sixth case-suffixes mentioned by the author of *Viracōḷiyam* are *uṭaiyāṇ*, etc., and his commentator gives *ivaṇ korraṇuṭaiyāṇ*, *ivaḷ korraṇuṭaiyāḷ* etc. as examples for the same. But *korraṇuṭaiyāṇ*, *korraṇuṭaiyāḷ*, etc. are only appellative verbs, and hence they cannot be words of the sixth case. He might have given *uṭaiya* as a sixth case-suffix for which he had many examples from the literature and inscriptions which were in existence in his time. The following are some of them:

*Ceytavanuṭaiya—tēvikku* (T. 106.3.)

*Muṇ-cirai-c-cavaiyāruṭaiya* (T. A. S. i. H. O. P. 5.)

*Paviliya caranattāruṭaiya* (Ibid. p. 8.)

3.21325. It will be interesting to note here that the practice of attributing case values to certain words became widely



prevalent in the medieval and modern periods though it was not entirely unknown in early Sangam works. For instance, *kāl*, *tīcai* *koṇṭū* etc., were occasionally used in the place of the seventh case-suffix in early Sangam works, *poruṭṭū* in the place of the fourth and *koṇṭū* in the place of the third (e.g.)

*Ūrkkāl nīvanta* (Ka. T. i. 334, 1.)

*Tenricai yāay kuṭi-y-inṛāyin* (P. N. 132.)

*Ilittar poruṭṭū* (K. 784.)

*Oru-kanai koṇṭū mū-v-aiyal uṭarri* (P. N. 55.)

There are numerous such instances in the works of later period and in colloquial speech, (e.g.)

*uṭaṇ* as third case-suffix—*avanuṭaṇ*, *ivaṇ vantaṇ* (Colloq.)

*pārkkilum* as 5th case-suffix—*avanaiippārkkilum*, *ivaṇ nallaṇ*  
(Colloq.)

*kāṭṭilum* Do. *avana-k-kāṭṭilum ivaṇ nallaṇ*  
(Colloq.)

*iṭam* as the 7th case-suffix—*ūriṭam irunāṇ* (Colloq.)

*iṭai* Do. *iruṇ kāṇiṭai* (Kampar. A. 232. 28.)

### 3.21326. INFLUENCE OF VĪRACŌḸIYAM ON NAṆṆŪL

The author of Naṇṇūl follows the author of Vīracōḷiyam in stating *kaḷ* as the pluralising particle of *uyartiṇai* nouns also, *ōṭu* and *āl* as suffixes of the 3rd case and *il* as a suffix of the seventh. But it is refreshing to see that Naṇṇūlār wisely refrained from introducing before all case-suffixes in the singular and after neuter plural the imaginary 'cu' which the author of Vīracōḷiyam, owing to his Sanskritic obsession, did not hesitate to adopt.

3.2133. CLASSIFICATION: Though Tamil grammarians include pronouns in a comprehensive class called *peyar-c-col* which comprises nouns also, it seems to me proper to treat here noun declension separately from pronominal declension having regard to the fact that vowel-gradation which is a prominent feature of the latter type of declension is not found in the former.

3.21331. DECLENSION OF NOUNS: The declension of nouns in Tamil is much easier than that in Sanskrit. It is so fundamentally different as to form one of the points to show that Tamil and Sanskrit belong to entirely different families of languages. It may be divided into two classes: (1) declension of a *uyartiṇai* nouns and (2) that of *aṣṛiṇai* nouns. *Uyartiṇai* nouns may be classified under two heads:—(a) those that denote their *tiṇai* by their endings like *aracaṇ*, *vanikaṇ*, *kariyaṇ*, *kariyaḷ*, etc., (b) those that do not denote their *tiṇai* by their endings like *āṭū*, *maḱaṭū*, *tantaḷ*, *aṇṇai*, *naṅkai*, *makkal*, *māntar*, etc.



## Ancient Period

(1) a. <i>Āṇpāl:</i>	<i>Peṇpāl:</i>	<i>Palarpāl:</i>
1st case <i>kariyaṇ</i>	<i>kariyaḷ</i>	<i>kariyar</i>
2nd case <i>kariyaṇai</i>	<i>kariyaḷai</i>	<i>kariyarai</i>
3rd case <i>kariyaṇoṭu</i>	<i>kariyaḷoṭu</i>	<i>kariyaroṭu</i>
<i>kariyaṇāṇ</i>	<i>kariyaḷāṇ</i>	<i>kariyarāṇ</i>
4th case <i>kariyaṇkū</i>	<i>kariyaḷukku</i>	<i>kariyarkku</i>
5th case <i>kariyaṇiṇ</i>	<i>kariyaḷiṇ</i>	<i>kariyariṇ</i>
6th case <i>kariyaratū</i>	<i>kariyaḷatū</i>	<i>kariyaratū</i>
<i>kariyaṇku</i>	<i>kariyaḷukku</i>	<i>kariyarkku</i>
7th case <i>kariyaṇkaṇ</i>	<i>kariyaḷkaṇ</i>	<i>kariyarkaṇ</i>
8th case <i>kariyāy</i>	<i>kariyay</i>	<i>kariyīr</i>
		<i>kariyīrē.</i>

But *makaṇ* has for its plural *makār.* (e.g. *makārōṭu*-Pattu 431.253)

(1) b. (i)	<i>Āṇpāl:</i>	<i>Palarpāl:</i>
1st case	<i>tantai</i>	<i>tantaiyar</i>
2nd case	<i>tantaiyai</i>	<i>tantaiyarai</i>
3rd case	<i>tantaiyoṭu</i>	<i>tantaiyaroṭu</i>
	<i>tantaiyāṇ</i>	<i>tantaiyarāṇ</i>

Etc.

Etc.

(ii)	<i>Peṇpāl:</i>	<i>Palarpāl:</i>
1st case	<i>annai</i>	<i>annaiyar</i>
2nd case	<i>annaiyai</i>	<i>annaiyarai</i>
3rd case	<i>annaiyoṭu</i>	<i>annaiyaroṭu</i>
	<i>annaiyāṇ</i>	<i>annaiyaṇ</i>

Etc.

Etc.

But *makaḷ* has for its plural *makaḷir* in the ancient period (e. g. *tiṇai kuru makaḷir*—Pattu. 435.342) and *makaḷirkaḷ* also in the later periods (e. g. *iṭai-y-ira maḷirkaḷ* Kampar. B. 49.14).

There are certain nouns which are always plural in number. E. g. *māntar*, *makkaḷ*. The words *āṭūu* and *makaṭūu*, it appears to me, were used only in the singular number in the ancient period.

<i>Onṇaṇpāl:</i>	<i>Palaviṇpāl:</i>
1st case <i>ā</i>	<i>ā ākkaḷ</i>
2nd case <i>āvinai</i>	<i>āvinai, ākkaḷai</i>
3rd case <i>āviṇoṭu, āvināṇ</i>	<i>āviṇoṭu, ākkaḷoṭu</i>
	<i>āvinan, ākkaḷāṇ</i>
4th case <i>āvirkū</i>	<i>āvirkū, ākkaḷukku</i>
5th case <i>āvinin</i>	<i>āvinin, ākkaḷiṇ</i>

6th case *āvinati*7th case *āvinṇaṇ*8th case *āvē**āvinati*, *ākkalati**āvinṇaṇ*, *ākkalṇṇaṇ**āvē*, *ākkalē*.

It deserves to be noted here that the *cāriyai* or flexional increment is added between the base of the noun and the case-suffix more commonly in the case of *aśṛiṇai* nouns than in that of *uyartiṇai* nouns. There is a peculiarity in Tamil that all finite forms of verbs like *uṇṭēn uṇṭēm*, *uṇṭir*, *uṇṭān*, *uṇṭār*, *uṇṭārkaḷ*, etc., take case-suffixes after them like the forms *uṇṭavan*, *uṇṭavaḷ*, etc., when they are used as participial nouns. Such a usage is not found in Sanskrit except that the third person, singular, present parasmaipada of verbs is used as a substantive denoting the corresponding root and declined as such. e. g. *sakṭuḥ sacatēḥ* (M. B. i, 4.12.) which means that the word *sakṭuḥ* is derived from the root *sac*.

The following may serve as examples for using the finite verbs as participial nouns.

*Vempukinrēnai* (me who am feeling sorry). (T. V. 6.78.)

*Nāyēnai-p-poruṭṭaṭuttu* (having treated with grace me who am like a dog). (T. 31.3.)

*Umakkē āḷāyṭṭirikinrōmukku* (to us who are wandering as servants to you alone). (P. T. 192.4.)

*Neṭumālukku aruḷ ceytānai* (him who has shown grace to Viṣṇu). (T. 217.2.)

*Tēvarkaḷukku amulu intānai* (to him who supplied the devas with nectar). (T. 217.2.)

3.213311. EXAMINATION OF DR. CALDWELL'S VIEWS: Dr. Caldwell says that 'the masculine singular suffix of the Tamil is *an*, *ān* or *ōn*. An, the shorter formative is that which appears in the demonstrative pronoun *avan* (*a-(v)-an*)'.<sup>1</sup> He further says that 'indeed, *ān* and *ōn* have evidently been formed not from *an*, but from *a-v-an* by the softening of the euphonic *v* and the coalescence of the vowels'.<sup>2</sup>

The first statement that *an*, *ān* or *ōn* is the masculine singular suffix falls to the ground from the mention made by Tol-kāppiyanār that it is only *n*<sup>3</sup> that denotes it. It is shown in my article on *Cuṭṭeluttu*<sup>4</sup> that *a* of *an* is a demonstrative root.

1. C. D. G. 223.

2. C. D. G. 225.

3. *Nāḷṭā n-orrē y-āṭū v-aṇi-col*. (Tol. Col. 5.)

4. J. O. R. Vol. i, p. 4.

As regards the second point that  $\bar{a}\eta$  and  $\bar{o}\eta$  are the corrupted forms of  $avan\eta$ , it may be stated that 'a' and 'ā' never coalesce into  $\bar{a}$  in Tamil, nor can  $v$  be softened to  $u$  so that  $a$  and  $u$  may become  $\bar{o}$  as in Sanskrit. Besides we would have to explain the origin of  $a\eta$  in  $avan\eta$ . We should be moving in a circle if we say that the masculine singular suffix  $a\eta$  came from  $\bar{a}\eta$  which came from  $avan\eta$ , and  $avan\eta$  was formed from  $a$  and  $a\eta$ .  $\bar{A}\eta$  itself may be changed to  $\bar{o}\eta$  by making  $\bar{a}$  more a close vowel, in the same way as the final  $a$  in Sanskrit is pronounced like  $o$  by Bengalis.

Similarly it may be said with respect to the feminine singular suffix  $\bar{l}$ .

Dr. Caldwell says 'that every Dravidian noun is naturally neuter, or destitute of gender, and it becomes masculine or feminine solely in virtue of the addition of a masculine or feminine suffix'.<sup>1</sup>

In our present state of knowledge, it may not be possible to determine conclusively whether inflected forms in Tamil with gender and number suffixes arose from certain proethnic Dravidian vocables in accordance with what Jespersen<sup>2</sup> calls the theory of secretion through a process of disentanglement of final elements and their adaptation as suffixes; or whether, as Dr. Caldwell seems to be inclined to believe, such forms in Tamil arose from pro-ethnic Dravidian neuters through the composition of certain pronominal elements denoting gender and number. However, a careful examination of the oldest available Tamil grammar, *viz.*, Tolkāppiyam emboldens me to say that so far as Tamil, in its earliest period, is concerned, the gender in nouns must have been determined mainly by their *meanings* and not by their *suffixes*. It would be of advantage to bear in mind in this connection that Tolkāppiyaṇār plainly says that the suffixes  $\eta$ ,  $\bar{l}$ ,  $r$ , etc. need not necessarily be used after *nouns* to indicate gender and number, though they must be invariably used after *verbs*.<sup>3</sup>

1. C. D. G. 229.

2. J. L. P. 383.

3. *Irutiṇai maruṅki ṇa-im-pā l-aṇiyu*  
*Īrriṇiṇ r-icaikkum putiṇḍ r-eluttun*  
*Torṇan tāmē viṇai-y-oṭu varum-ē.* (Tol. Col. 10.)

Dr. Caldwell says that the epicene pluralising particles in Tamil are *ar*, *ār*, *ōr*; *ir*, *īr*<sup>1</sup>; *mar*, *mār*<sup>2</sup> and *var*<sup>3</sup>.

Since *ar*, *ār*, and *ōr* are used in connection with third person plurals and *ir* and *īr* in connection with second person plurals, it is evident that 'r' alone denotes the epicene plural as is mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār.

As regards 'var' he says that it is the abbreviated form of *avar*, on the basis of its presence in the word *nālvar*. But it seems to me that, since *v* is only an intervocalic element in *oruvar*, *iruvar*, *mūvar*, *aivar*, *aṟuvar*, it may be said that *v* in *nālvar* has crept in through analogy with the above forms; or it may have been the corrupted form of *mār*, since *m* can change to *v* very easily.

*What is the origin of mar?* It is worth investigating whether it is made up of the two pluralising particles *m* and *r* with a connecting vowel *a*. *M* is found to be the pluralising particle in the first personal pronoun *nām*, *yām* and in the oblique case base *em* and in the verbal terminations *em*, *ēm*, *kum*, *ṭum*, *tum* and *rum* of the first person plural. I am glad to see that M.J. Vinson already suggested this in 1911 in his article *La Pluriel Primitif em-M-(J.A. Dixieme Serie Tome 17)*.

Again, Dr. Caldwell says that the verbal terminations *mar*, *mār* and *maṇār* are not identical with the epicene pluralising articles *mar* and *mār*, since in verbs *m* denotes the future tense as *b* or *v* and hence it may have been the modification of *b* or *v*. But this cannot be taken as absolutely true since Tolkāppiyāṇār has not definitely stated the tense signs, and makes us infer that the tense was determined mostly by context. This will be dealt with in detail in the section on verbs.

3.21332. *DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS*:—Pronouns may be divided into (1) Personal Pronouns (2) Demonstrative Pronouns (2) Reflexive Pronouns (4) Interrogative Pronouns (5) Relative Pronouns (6) Pronouns derived from numerals and (7) Indefinite Pronouns.

3.213321. *PERSONAL PRONOUNS*:—Personal pronouns consist of pronouns of the first person and the second person. There is no personal pronoun in Tamil for the third person since

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1. C. D. G. 239.
  2. C. D. G. 240.
  3. C. D. G. 241.

the demonstrative pronoun itself serves its purpose. The declension of the first and second personal pronouns in the ancient, medieval and modern periods is as follows:—

### 3.2133211. FIRST PERSONAL PRONOUN (ANCIENT PERIOD).

Case:	Singular:	Plural:	
1st case	yāṇ	yām	nām
2nd case	eṇṇai	emmai	nammai
3rd case	eṇṇāṇ } eṇṇōṭṭi }	{ emmāṇ { emmōṭṭi	{ namṇṇāṇ { namṇṇōṭṭi
4th case	eṇakkū	emakkū	namakkū
5th case	eṇṇiṇ	emmiṇ	nammiṇ
6th case	eṇatū } eṇakkū }	{ ematū { emakkū	{ namatū { namakkū }
7th case	eṇkaṇ	eṇkaṇ	naṇkaṇ

### (MEDIEVAL AND MODERN PERIODS)

1st case	yāṇ	nāṇ	yām, yāṇkaḷ; nām, naṇkaḷ
2nd case	eṇṇai		emmai, eṇkaḷai; nammai
3rd case	eṇṇāl, eṇṇōṭṭi, eṇṇōṭṭi		emmāl, eṇkaḷāl; namṇṇāl emmōṭṭi, eṇkaḷōṭṭi; namṇṇōṭṭi emmoṭṭi, eṇkaḷōṭṭi; nammoṭṭi }
4th case	eṇakkū (nēkkū colloq.)		emakkū, eṇkaḷukkū; namakkū
5th case	eṇṇiṇ		emmiṇ, eṇkaḷiṇ; nammiṇ
6th case	eṇatū (if it is followed by a singular noun) eṇa (if it is followed by a plural noun)		ematū, eṇkaḷatū; namatū (if it is followed by a singular noun) ema eṇkaḷa; nama (if it is follow- ed by a plural noun)
7th case	eṇkaṇ, eṇṇil, etc.		eṇkaṇ, eṇkaḷiṇkaṇ, naṇkaṇ, etc.

(The *collurupū* like *poruṭṭi*, etc. mentioned by the author of Viracōḷiyam and the later grammarians are also added in all periods.)

**YĀṆ NĀṆ:** As regards the first person singular nominative Tolkāppiyaṇār has mentioned only yāṇ.<sup>1</sup> The authors of Vira-cōḷiyam and Nannūḷ and the later grammarians have mentioned nāṇ also. They have done so since nāṇ began to be used in literature before the time of the author of Viracōḷiyam. The following quotations may serve as examples for the same. nāṇ cenru nāṭi (I having approached) (P. T. 128.1.); nāṇ ōr tuṇai

1. Tāṇ-vā ṇ-eṇṇu m-āyi r-iṇṇutiyum

Mēṇ-mup peyarōṭum vērupā i-ilavē. (Tol. E. 193.)

*kāṇēṇ* (I do not find any help-mate) (T. V. 25.10.). The form *nāṇ* may have been formed through analogy with *nām*, the nominative case plural.

*Enṇōṭṭu*: As regards *enṇōṭṭu*, the third case singular, it is evident that it has been formed from *enṇoṭṭu* by the lengthening of *o* to *ō*.

*Eṇa*: As regards *a* in *eṇa* as a sixth case-suffix, vide 3.213232. *supra*.

*Yām, yāṅkaḷ; nām, nāṅkaḷ*: Tolkāppiyaṇār has mentioned only *yām* and *nām*.<sup>1</sup> The author of *Viṇacōḷiyam* has mentioned in V. V. 9<sup>2</sup> that *nām* is used as honorific singular and *nāṅkaḷ* as plural. Its commentator adds *yām* to the former and *yāṅkaḷ* to the latter. Evidently *yāṅkaḷ* and *nāṅkaḷ* are cases of double plurals. It is worth noting that *kaḷ* can be used only after *m* the pluralising particle, unlike some *uyartiṇai* nouns like *vacukkaḷ*, *nōṇṇikaḷ* where *kaḷ* is directly added to the singular form of the noun. Such forms are not sanctioned by Tolkāppiyaṇār. They are found, it seems, for the first time in *Cilappatikāram*. (e.g. *yāṅkaḷum*—*Cilap.* 298.161.) Though *Naṇṇūlār* mentions only *yām*, *nām* in Na. 287, yet the forms *yāṅkaḷ* and *nāṅkaḷ* are acceptable to him under the general *sūtra* No. 278. The later grammarians have followed the authors of *Viṇacōḷiyam* and *Naṇṇūl*. The reason why the author of *Viṇacōḷiyam* says so is that examples where *nām* is used as honorific singular, and *nāṅkaḷ* and *yāṅkaḷ* as plurals were found in plenty in the literature written before his time. The necessity for the forms *yāṅkaḷ*, *nāṅkaḷ* may have arisen from the desire of the speakers to distinguish the plural from the honorific singular. The following quotations may serve as examples:—

*Yām piṇitta neṭunal yāṇai* (Elephant caught by me yesterday) (P.N. 162.5.) Here *yām* is honorific singular.

*Nām toḷutum eḷu neṇcamē* (I worship; oh! mind rise) (P.T. 120.1.) Here *nām* is honorific singular.

*Nāṅkaḷ uyyēmē* (We will not live.) (P.T. 92.1.)

1. *Tā-nā m-ēṇṇu makara v-iṇṇutiyum*  
*Yām-e ṇ-iṇṇutiyu m-ataṇṇō r-aṇṇa*  
*Ā-ey y-āḷum yām-e ṇ-iṇṇuti*  
*Yā-vayin yakara-mey keṭutal vēṇṇum*  
*Ēṇai r-iraṇṇu neṭu-mutal kuṇukum.*
2. See f. n. 37 *infra*. (ibid. 189.)

*Yāṅkaḷum nīṇerippaṭarkutum* (We shall also go through the long path.) (Cilap. 469.4.)

*Eṅkaḷai, eṅkaḷāl*, etc. These are double plurals formed from the base *em*, but not from the other base *nam*.

*Ema, eṅkaḷa; nama*: The reason for the appearance of these forms is the same as that for *eṇa*.

The following quotations may serve for the forms of double plurals mentioned above.

*Naṅkaḷ perumāṇai* (our lord) (T.V. 7.67).

*Eṅkaḷ perumāṇ* (our lord) (T.V. 7.75).

*Eṅkaḷ māl iraiyaṇ* (our lord Viṣṇu) (P.T. 112.2).

*Eṅkaḷukku aruḷ ceykiṇṇa iṇai* (God who shows grace to us) (P.T. 151.3).

It may be noted that words having the sixth case-suffix omitted are much larger in number than those with them.

*N* in *yāṇ, eṇṇai, eṇṇōṭi*, etc. This may have been the particle denoting the masculine singular. Originally, these words may have been used by the male member of a family and they may have been used even by the female member. But Dr. Caldwell does not agree with this view.<sup>1</sup>

He says "I think it unsafe, however, to conclude from this or from any of the facts mentioned, that the initial *n* of *nāṇ* is of modern origin..... *Nāṇ* is represented as we have seen, as alternating with *yāṇ* in the most authoritative grammar of the classical Tamil."<sup>2</sup> He has made this statement only on the strength of *Naṇṇūl*. He would not have made this statement had he seen that *Tolkāppiaṇār* has not made mention of *nāṇ*.

Dr. Caldwell says "In all the Dravidian dialects with the exception of Canarese, there are two plurals of the pronoun of the first person, of which one denotes, not only the party of the speaker, but also the party addressed, and may be called the *plural inclusive*; the other excludes the party addressed and denotes only the party of the speaker and may be called *plural exclusive*. The colloquial Tamil forms the plural exclusive from *nām*, the ordinary regular plural by addition of *gaḷ*, which is properly a neuter sign of plurality."<sup>3</sup> This is not wholly true even so far as the modern colloquial Tamil is concerned, since

1. C. D. G. 370.

2. C. D. G. 367.

3. C. D. G. 414 and 415.

*nām* may also denote third persons standing by the side of the speaker. Since at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār, there were not two forms, but only one form, there was absolutely no room for the classification as the plural exclusive and the plural inclusive. The author of Vīracōliyam says that *nām* was used as honorific singular and *nāṅkaḷ* as plural.<sup>1</sup> But the author of Naṇṇūl mentions in connection with the personal terminations at the end of verbs that *am* and *ām* are used in the first person plural to include the person spoken to, and *em*, *ēm* and *ōm* to exclude the person spoken to.<sup>2</sup>

*Nēkkū*: The initial vowel *e* in *eṇakkū* is dropped and consequently 'a' following *ṇ* is changed to *e* and then lengthened to *ē* by compensation. Since *ṇ* cannot be initial, it is changed to *n*. The existence of two different bases *eṇ* and *nam* in the oblique cases, respectively of the singular and plural in Tamil is similar to that of the bases *mat* and *asmat* of the 1st person singular and plural in Sanskrit. Besides, the element *m* is found in the plural bases of both.

*Collective first personal pronoun*: There is a collective first personal pronoun *elām* mentioned by Naṇṇūlār (Na. 287). This remains the same in all cases, and is preceded by the oblique forms of *yām* and *nām* as *emmai-y-elām*, *nammai-y-elām*, *eṅkaḷai-y-elām*, etc. Another collective personal pronoun is *ellām* which is said to be used for all personal pronouns. (Tol. E. 190 & 191, and Na. 285.) This *ellām* was declined at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār as *ellānammaiyum*, *ellānammāṇum*, etc., if it referred to first or second personal pronoun or *uyartiṇai* demonstrative pronoun. It seems to me that, since the forms *ellīrum* and *ellārum* and their oblique forms were exclusively used in the second, and the third, person respectively, *ellānammaiyum* began to be used only to denote the first person at a later time. (Na. 245. K.) But at the present day it is not thus

1. *Uṇṇum-eṇṇum-taṇṇum yāvum-avvum-ivvu m-uvvum-evvum*  
*Eṇṇum-ivarṇiṇ-muṇ ṇī-nāṇ-ṇāṇ-cu-v-varil yā-mutala*  
*Vaṇṇum-vallūn-tuvvum vaṭiyauṇ-cirappi-ṇīr nāmoṭu-tām*  
*Piṇṇil-aintum-var palarir-kaḷḷōṭu-var kaḷ-l-eṇparē. (V. V. 9.)*
2. *Am-ām eṇpaṇa muṇṇilai y-āraiym*  
*Em-ēm ōm-ivai paṭarkkai y-āraiym*  
*Um-ūr ka-ṭa-ṭa iru-pā l-āraiym*  
*Taṇ-ṇ-ōṭu paṭukkun taṇmai-p paṇmai-p paṇmai. (Na. 333.)*



declined, the form *ellām* itself being after the case forms *nammai*, *nammāl*, etc. (e. g. *nammai-y-ellām*, *nammāl-ellām*, etc.) Sanskrit does not have a similar collective first personal pronoun.

3.2133212. *Second Personal Pronoun (Ancient Period).*

Case:	Singular:	Plural:
1st case	<i>nī</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>nīyir</i> <sup>2</sup>
2nd case	<i>ninṇai</i>	<i>nummai</i>
3rd case	<i>ninṇoṭṭi</i> , <i>ninṇān</i>	<i>nummoṭṭi</i> , <i>nummān</i>
4th case	<i>ninṇakkū</i>	<i>numakkū</i>
5th case	<i>ninṇin</i>	<i>nummin</i>
6th case	<i>ninṇatū</i> , <i>ninṇakkū</i>	<i>numatū</i> , <i>numakkū</i>
7th case	<i>ninṇaṇ</i>	<i>numṇaṇ</i>

(Medieval and Modern Periods).

Case:	Singular:	Plural:
1st case <i>nī</i>		<sup>3</sup> <i>nīyir</i> , <i>nīvir</i> , <i>nīr</i> ; <i>nīyirkaḷ</i> , <i>nīvirkaḷ</i> , <i>nīrkaḷ</i> , <i>nīm</i> , <i>nīṇkaḷ</i> .
2nd case <i>ninṇai</i> , <i>numṇai</i> , <i>uṇṇai</i>		<i>nummai</i> , <i>ummai</i> , <i>uṇkaḷai</i> .
3rd case <i>ninṇāl</i> , <i>numṇāl</i> , <i>uṇṇāl</i>		<i>nummāl</i> <i>ummāl</i> , <i>uṇkaḷāl</i> .
	<i>ninṇoṭṭi</i> , <i>numṇoṭṭi</i> , <i>uṇ-</i> <i>oṭṭi</i> .	<i>nummoṭṭi</i> , <i>ummoṭṭi</i> , <i>uṇkaḷoṭṭi</i> .
	<i>ninṇōṭṭi</i> , <i>numṇōṭṭi</i> , <i>uṇ-</i> <i>ōṭṭi</i>	<i>nummōṭṭi</i> , <i>ummōṭṭi</i> , <i>uṇkaḷōṭṭi</i> .
4th case <i>ninṇakkū</i> , <i>numṇakkū</i> , <i>uṇ-</i> <i>akkū</i>		<i>numakkū</i> <i>umakkū</i> , <i>uṇkaḷakkū</i> .
	( <i>nōkku-Colloq.</i> )	
5th case <i>ninṇin</i> , <i>numṇin</i> , <i>uṇṇin</i>		<i>nummin</i> , <i>ummin</i> , <i>uṇkaḷin</i> .
6th case <i>ninṇatū</i> , <i>numṇatū</i> , <i>uṇatū</i>		<i>numatū</i> , <i>umatū</i> , <i>uṇkaḷatū</i> .
	<i>ninṇa</i> , <i>numṇa</i> , <i>uṇa</i>	<i>numa</i> , <i>uma</i> .

1. *Nī-y-e ṇ-onu-peyar neṭumutal kuṟukum*  
*Ā-vayṇ ṇ-akara m-orṟā kummē*. (Tol. E. 180.)  
*Avaṟṟuḷ*  
*Nī-y-eṇ kiḷavi y-orumai-k k-urittē*. (Tol. Col. 189.)
2. *Nīyir nī-y-eṇa varūuṇ kiḷavi*  
*Pāṟeri pilavē y-uṭaṇ-moli-p poruḷa*. (ibid. 188.)  
*Ēṇai-k kiḷavi paṇmai-k k-urittē*. (ibid. 190.)
3. *Taṇmai pāṇ-nāṇ yām-nām munṇilai*  
*Ellir nīyir nīvir nīr nī*  
*Allaṇa paṭarkkai ellā m-eṇal potu*. (Na. 285.)

Paṇmaiyl *nīrkaḷ*, *nīṇkaḷ*...eṇavum varum; *nīrkaḷ* *eṇpatū*  
*nīyirkaḷ* *nīvirkaḷ* *eṇa ātēcam ātalum uṇṇū*. (V. V. 9. Comm.)

7th case *nin̄kaṇ*, *nun̄kaṇ*, *un̄kaṇ*, *nun̄kaṇ*, *un̄kaṇ*, *un̄kaḷin̄kaṇ*,  
etc. etc.

*Nīyir*: The nominative form *nīyir* is said to have been derived from the oblique case form *num* by Tolkāppiyāṇār<sup>1</sup> and hence it may be said that it was later than the oblique case form *num*. It also seems to me that it may have been derived from *nī* by the addition of 'ir' the pluralising particle of the second person.

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1. *Num-m-iṇ ṛiri-peyar viṇṇāviṇ peyar-enṛū*  
*A-m-muṛai y-irantū m-avarriyal piyalum.* (Tol. Col. 143.)  
*Num-m-e v-iṛuti yi-yaṅkai yākum.* (Tol. E. 188.)

# PAINTING AND ALLIED ARTS AS REVEALED IN BĀṆA'S WORKS.

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## INTRODUCTORY.

A careful study of the Kādambarī and the Harṣacarita reveals, apart from the poetic talent of Bāṇa, his cultivated taste as an aesthete and his versatile genius, which accounts for his observations on so many useful and fine arts in his works. It was not in vain that as a youth he moved in the company of friends and companions of varied professions including an artist and a sculptor.<sup>1</sup> His thoughts, descriptions, accuracy of colour and observation of minor details together with his association with masters of the brush and chisel encourage us to conjecture that he was also an artist.

The references to painting in Bāṇa's works lead the reader to the supposition that the time of the poet was characterised by an almost universal enthusiasm for art; and the mention of Citraśālās or art galleries in palaces and mansions speaks highly of the refined taste of the princes and noblemen. Aestheticism is not the exclusive boast of the high-born. People as a whole are generally of a very high cultural average. The city is full of art galleries filled with the pictures of Devas, Dānavas, Siddhas, Gandharvas, Vidyādhara, Nāgas, etc.<sup>2</sup> These Citraśālās appear like Vimānas came down to the earth to witness the beautiful women come there to see works of art, every day being one of festivity with them. Imagine the state of a kingdom with

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1. अभवंश्चास्य वयसा समानाः सुहृदः सहायाश्च.....चित्रकूटदीर्घवर्मा,  
पुस्तककुमारदत्तः H. C. p. 42.

2. सुरासुरसिद्धगन्धर्वविद्याधरोरगाध्यासिताभिश्चित्रशालाभिरविरतोत्सवप्रम-  
दावलोकनकुतूहलादम्बरतलादवतीर्णाभिर्दिव्यविमानपङ्क्तिभिरिषालंकृता Kā, p. 9,9.

its cities enjoying joyous festivities eternally as a rule, with its women taking a pleasure in witnessing pictures in art galleries not with a dilettantish ostentation but with a real capacity to understand and appreciate art ! Imagine the glory of a big art-house built in the style of a Vimāna<sup>1</sup> (for a Vimāna it ought have been as the text gives us); and that, not one, but rows of buildings of inexhaustible store ! Imagine next the brain and inventive capacity of an artist who could fill all the buildings with pictures every one of them the acme of perfection !

Local patriotism and narrow sympathies never mar the king's appreciation of beauty from whichever quarter it came and from whatever distance. Great Śilpins are invited from various countries to take part in the decoration of the palace before the marriage of Rājyaśrī.<sup>2</sup> The usual honours done to them as also to the architects by offering flowers, sandal paste and new clothes<sup>3</sup> are as a matter of course or duty as we gather from the Śilparatna where Sthapatis, Citrajñas, Takṣakas and Vardhakas are stated as people to be respected by the excellence of their character and profession.<sup>4</sup>

There are four points to be considered before the production of any picture, and they are : what to paint, on what to paint, with what to paint and how to paint. In other words, the types of pictures, the grounds, the materials and the process demand our attention. Under the last head come sketch, colour, anatomy and pose. Apart from these aforestated it is proposed to deal with the allied art of sculpture and a few minor arts also in this article.

#### TYPES OF PICTURES.

The subjects for pictures given by Bāṇa are quite in accordance with the rules laid down in Śilpa texts. 'The town giving a picture of the Universe on its walls'<sup>5</sup> and 'the Royal

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1. Regarding the Citraśālā we have ample information in the Nārada Śilpa wherein the building is described as ornamented by a small Gopura in the front and having Sikharakalaśas, etc. thus satisfying the lakṣaṇa 'Vimāna' given by Bāṇa. It should possess various pictures including those of Devas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, etc.

2. सकलदेहादिश्यमानशिल्पिसार्थागमनम् H. C. p. 142.

3. सितकुसुमविलेपनवसनसत्कृतैः सूत्रधारैरादीयमानविवाहवेदीसूत्रपातम्  
H. C. p. 142.

4. तस्मादेष सदा पूज्यः स्थपत्यादिचतुष्टयः ॥ Śilparatna, p. 5.

5. दर्शितविश्वरूपवैचित्र्यमितिभिः Kā, p. 103.

household displaying the manifold and wonderful features of the inmates of the three worlds through pictorial lines (pictures in art galleries)<sup>1</sup> can well be compared with Śrīkumāra's remarks in the Citra chapter of the Śilparatna where he asserts the capability of representing the three worlds in picture as the first requisite of a good artist.<sup>2</sup> It would thus appear curious that art galleries should possess representations of only demi-gods like Siddhas and Nāgas when the field for the choice of subjects for pictures is so very wide. To remove any misapprehension arising out of a previous statement of his about the demi-gods in art galleries Bāṇa specially gives out elsewhere that 'picture houses are adorned with paintings of leaves (foliage decoration) and birds of various hues.'<sup>3</sup> We are not to restrict ourselves to leaves and birds alone on this account. It serves merely to show that the demi-gods do not monopolise the scope of painting.

Every object in the universe cannot find a place everywhere. Occasion and propriety go a good way to settle this affair. Only certain pictures can be kept in houses, certain others in temples and yet others in public galleries. On auspicious occasions pictures of an auspicious character are generally painted on the house-walls. It does not mean that at other times inauspicious pictures found a way into people's houses. Two auspicious occasions are mentioned by Bāṇa when painters were called on to work on the walls. The pregnant queen of Tārāpīḍa spends her time of delivery in 'a palace newly plastered with white and captivating the heart by the wealth of auspicious pictures painted fresh on the walls.'<sup>4</sup> The marriage of Rājyaśrī is another occasion when the brush of the artist runs over the wall to decorate it. Ordinary workmen won't do. The king is a man of taste and has sent for expert painters from various countries and these, not one or two but many (since a large number is required to paint big palaces), are engaged in drawing auspicious pictures.<sup>5</sup> The Viṣṇudharmottara and other Śilpa works lay

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1. चित्रलेखादर्शितविचित्रसकलत्रिभुवनाकाराम् Kā, p. 176.
  2. जङ्गमा वा स्थावरा वा ये सन्ति भुवनत्रये ।  
तत्तत्स्वभावतस्तेषां करणं चित्रमुच्यते ॥ Śilparatna, p. 244.
  3. आलेख्यगृहेषु बहुवर्णचित्रपत्रशकुनिशतसंशोभतैः Kā, p. 241.
  4. प्रत्यग्रलिखितमङ्गल्यालेख्योज्ज्वलितमितिभागमनोहारिण Kā, p. 136.
  5. चतुरचित्रकरचक्रवालिलेख्यमानमङ्गल्यालेख्यम् H. C. p. 142.

emphasis on this aspect of the auspicious nature of pictures in a house. The *Śilparatna* has it that auspicious stories from the Vedas, the Purāṇas and the Āgamas and pictures from Dhyāna-ślokas painted in appropriate colours, proportions and emotions (rasas) yield good results to both the master of the house and the artist.<sup>1</sup> The Viṣṇudharmottara lays down

शृङ्गारहास्यशान्त्याख्या लेखनीया गृहेषु ते ॥  
 परशेषा न कर्तव्या कदाचिदपि कस्यचित् ।  
 देववेश्मनि कर्तव्या रसाः सर्वे नृपालये ॥  
 राजवेश्मनि नो कार्या राज्ञां वासगृहेषु ते ।  
 सभावेश्मसु कर्तव्या राज्ञां सर्वरसा गृहे ॥  
 वर्जयित्वा सभां राज्ञो देववेश्म तथैव च ।  
 युद्धश्मशानकरुणामृतदुःखार्तकुत्सितान् ॥  
 अमङ्गल्यांश्च न लिखेत् कदाचिदपि वेश्मसु । Citrasūtra.

Another and a less auspicious type of picture adorning houses is the portrait. The departed soul is painted on a suitable surface and every such addition enhances the number of the family portraits. Thus when we read of Prabhākaravardhana as only existent in a picture<sup>2</sup> we know that one more has been added to the family portraits of Harṣa's household.

1. स्वागमाखिलवेदादिपुराणोक्तकथान्वितम् ।  
 नानावर्णान्वितं रम्यं न न्यूनं नाधिकं क्वचित् ॥  
 तत्र तत्रोचिताकाररसभावक्रियान्वितम् ।  
 चित्रं विचित्ररुलदं भर्तुः कर्तुं सर्वदा ॥  
 अतोऽन्यदशुभं चित्रं विपरीतफलप्रदम् ।  
 न लेखयेत् तत्र लिखेल्लोकद्वयसुखेच्छया ॥ *Śilparatna*, p. 245.
2. चितावशेषाकृतौ काव्यशेषनाम्नि नरनाथे H. C. p. 175.

The word चितावशेषाकृतौ can better be चित्रावशेषाकृतौ in the light of what follows and the better meaning it gives. The custom of painting a king after his death is stated by Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvamśa*.

बाष्पायमानो बलिमन्त्रिकेतमालेख्यशेषस्य पितुर्विवेश Canto XIV,  
 Śl. 15.

It is Indumati's picture that consoles Aja to some extent after her death.

The Yamapaṭa is a horrible ominous picture generally shunned by all though quite useful in bringing home to the minds of people the ephemeral nature of the world and the retribution awaiting sinners in Hell voiced tremendously in those apparently silent horrid lines depicting the horrors of Hades. The picture was familiar in Ancient India and the suffering of sinners was an important picture theme till very recently. Any curious visitor of the Madras Museum might observe this theme painted on a big cloth by the Kālahasti workmen some generations back. References to Yamapaṭa are numerous in Sanskrit literature. The familiar sight of the Yamapaṭṭika<sup>1</sup> going through crowded bazaar streets followed by bands of urchins eager to see the picture of the Nether world and its monarch suspended from a big pole is one of the various omens that perturb the mind of Prince Harṣa hurrying to meet his father.<sup>2</sup> That this picture was painted exclusively on cloth is stated elsewhere in the Harṣa Carita.<sup>3</sup>

A popular picture of the bedroom is that of cupid. Determined to die on the funeral pyre with Candrāpīḍa's body, Kādambarī gives her last injunctions to her dear friend Madalekhā one of which is the destroying of the picture of cupid above her head in her residence.<sup>4</sup> Bāṇa deliberately uses the word Vāsabhavana here with the obvious purpose perhaps of emphasising the almost exclusive privilege of Śṛṅgāra pictures in residential mansions where most other types of paintings were forbidden.

तेनाद्यौ परिगणिताः समाः कथंचिद्वाल्वादवितथसूतेन सूनोः ।

सादृश्यप्रतिकृतिदर्शनैः प्रियायाः स्वप्नेषु क्षणिकसमागमोत्सवैश्च ॥

Canto VIII, Sl. 92.

The Prātimānāṭaka talks of statues of dead kings.

1. One who makes a living by a show of the picture Yamapaṭa.

2. प्रविशन्नेव च विपणिवर्त्मनि कुतूहलाकुलबहलकपरिवृतमूर्ध्वयष्टि-  
विष्कम्भवितते वामहस्तवर्तिनि भीषणमहिषाधिरुद्धप्रेतनाथसनाथे चित्रवति पटे  
परलोकव्यतिकरमितरकरकलितेन शरकाण्डेन कथयन्तं यमपट्टिकं ददर्श ।

H. C., p. 153.

3. यमपट्टिका इवाम्बरे चित्रमालिखन्त्युद्गीतकाः H. C. p. 138.

4. वासभवने मे शिरोभागनिहितः कामदेवपटः पाटनीयः Kā, p. 536.



The Viṣṇudharmottara is emphatic on the proper choice of pictures for the household. The poet finds another opportunity to emphasise this aspect of decorating a 'dwelling house' with cupid's figures in the Harṣacarita. The newly wedded bride, Rājyaśrī, and her husband enter the Vāsagrha whose doorway is adorned with the picture of cupid.<sup>1</sup> In one corner of the chamber is painted another figure of cupid busy straightening his arrow with his eyes half-closed under the shade of a Raktāśoka tree.<sup>2</sup>

Just as cupid's pictures were common to all dwellings there appear to have been certain special pictures for royal households. Painted Cāmaragrāhiṇīs fan Yaśovatī while asleep in the days of her pregnancy.<sup>3</sup> Rājyavardhana and Harṣa are so powerful that they expect homage even from the painted vassal Kings on the walls of the palace.<sup>4</sup> Chowries being an important insignia of royalty Cāmaragrāhiṇīs were common in royal households; and this easily accounts for their picture on the palace walls. Defeated princes were also painted in royal mansions to glorify the particular king who conquered them. The custom of painting kings was not restricted to defeated rulers; and the members of the victorious royal family had a prominent place in such representations.<sup>5</sup> A pathetic verse from the Kāvya prakāśa gives out how kings, princesses, chamberlains etc., were pictured on the wall—so true to life was the representation that the parrot mistakes them for the originals.<sup>6</sup> This formed perhaps the house-

1. प्रविवेश च द्वारपक्षलिखितरतिप्रीतिदेवतम् H. C., p. 148.

2. एकदेशलिखितस्त्रकितरक्ताशोकतस्तलभाजाधिज्यचापेन तिर्यक्कृणित-  
नेत्रत्रिभागेन शरमृजू कुर्वता कामदेवेनाधिष्ठितम् H. C., p. 148.

3. सुतया वासभवने चित्रभित्तिचामरग्राहिण्योऽपि चामराणि चालयांचक्रुः

H. C., p. 127.

4. आलेख्यक्षितिपतिभिरप्यप्रणमद्भिः संतप्यमानचरणौ H. C., p. 136.

5. Big life-size paintings of the Maharatta Kings of Tanjore may be seen even to this day on the walls of the big Court-hall in the Palace at Tanjore.

6. राजन् राजसुता न पाठयति मां देव्योऽपि तूष्णीं स्थिताः

कुब्जे भोजय मां कुमारसचिवैर्नाद्यापि संभुज्यते ।

इत्थं नाथ शुकस्तवारिभवने मुक्तोऽध्वगैः पञ्चरा-

चित्रस्थानवलोक्य शून्यवलभावेकैकमाभाषते ॥ Kāvya prakāśa,

X Ullāsa.



hold picture gallery. A type of this is found in the *Mālavikāgni-mitra* where Agnimitra's queen gets a picture painted of herself and her companions. The *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes pictured on the walls of the art gallery in the *Uttararāmacarita*<sup>1</sup> come only under this head. Another picture of the aristocratic household is the *cakravāka* painted usually to amuse women in the harem.<sup>2</sup>

#### GROUND.

*Bāṇa* is aware of many grounds on which to draw or paint. Very commonly known and of a rather permanent nature are the wooden board, the canvas and the walls of buildings. It was not an uncommon practice in India to draw and paint creepers, dragons and such things on the body to heighten the beauty of particular spots which on that account formed the ground. This practice was not restricted to the human body alone. Majestic elephants of royal courts were profusely decorated with designs of creepers. Drawing and painting on vessels is an age long custom in our land. Another and a more natural ground is the floor or the bare ground giving ample scope for clever women to draw fine free-hand drawings in colour powders. All these are too well known to *Bāṇa*, and what is more, he is very well aware that any ground is alright for a good drawing provided one has eleventhness of execution; and the stone slab that served the purpose of a canvas or board when neither was procurable to gladden the heart of a lover by a picture of the beloved one is not overlooked.<sup>3</sup> The simple artist in a sylvan surrounding resorts to a slab to draw his flowery curves and the shepherd boy Giotto was found by the great master Cimabue in the very act of drawing pictures of his sheep on a piece of stone and discovered in those rude lines the genius and makings of a great artist.

1. *Bhavabhūti's* reference to an art gallery in the *Uttararāmacarita* is based on the śloka of *Kālidāsa*.

तयोर्यथाप्रार्थितमिन्द्रियाथानासेदुषोः सद्यसु चित्रवत्सु ।

प्राप्तानि दुःखान्यपि दण्डकेषु संचिन्त्यमानानि सुखान्यभूवन् ॥ *Raghuvamśa*  
XIV, 25.

2. दिवसावसानेषु विश्लेषणीता मृणालसूत्रैश्चित्रभित्तिविलिखितानि चक्र-  
वाकमिथुनानि संघटयति । *Kā.*, p. 446.

3. अत्र च स्नानार्थमागतया भगवत्या पार्वत्या तटशिलातलेषु विलिखितानि  
सभृङ्गिरिटीनि पाञ्चनिमग्नकृशपदमण्डलानुमितमुनिजनप्रणामप्रदक्षिणानि त्र्यम्बक-  
प्रतिविम्बकानि वन्दमाना *Kā.*, p. 262.

It would not be out of place here to note the different possible grounds for the execution of pictures given by Mr. G. B. Brown of Edinburgh University in his article on Painting in the Encyclopaedia Britannica where under the head 'Surfaces covered by the Painter' he writes 'many important questions connected with the technique of painting depend on the nature of surfaces; for the covering coat—though from the present point of view only of interest aesthetically—may, as we have seen, originally serve a utilitarian purpose. The surface in question may be classed as follows: the human body; implements, vessels, weapons, articles of dress; objects of furniture, including books; boats and ships; walls and other parts of buildings; panels and other surfaces prepared especially or entirely to be painted on.'<sup>1</sup>

#### MATERIALS.

Pencils, colours and brushes are the most important of artists' materials. The pencil of the poet's day was the Vartikā, a kind of stump, with which figure-outlines were generally drawn. Colours, though important as materials, are more the products of mixing and blending which involve skill and work. Hence their separate treatment under the general heading 'Process'. The brushes are therefore the only things to be considered under this head. Bāṇa is aware of the necessity of separate brushes for separate colours. The Kālāñjanavartikā is an exclusive brush for applying black.<sup>2</sup> Varṇasudhākūrcaka is for the use of white.<sup>3</sup> The Śilparatna recommends three brushes—large, small and medium for every colour. The technical term 'colour wash' so well known in the parlance of water-colour artists is specifically stated by Bāṇa and the word-coincidence of English and Sanskrit is surprising.<sup>4</sup> 'Kūrcakākṣāḷana' is exactly the word for 'brush wash'. 'Ācchuraṇa' is 'stippling' with Varṇasudhācchaṭas—colour particles or dots.<sup>5</sup> Blending and mixing of colours, Bāṇa styles 'Varṇasamkara'.<sup>6</sup> Varṇasamkara is according to the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi of two kinds;

1. Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 20, eleventh edition.
2. रूपालेख्योन्मीलनकालाञ्जनवर्तिका Kā., p. 465.
3. वर्णसुधाकूर्चकैरिव करैर्धवलितदशशामुखे चन्द्रमसि Kā., p. 527.
4. इन्दुकरकूर्चकैरिवाक्षालिताम् Kā., p. 246,
5. वर्णसुधाच्छटाभिरिवाच्छुरिताम् Kā., p. 246.
6. चित्रकर्मसु वर्णसंकरः Kā., p. 10.

gradation of the same colour from light to shade or *vice versa*—in which blending plays the major part, and mixing of different colours to produce the desired effect or variety of tints.<sup>1</sup> Though very often the poets talk of Varnatūlikā as the brush for delicate use such as soft colouring, touching and giving final strokes etc., it is only the Lekhinī of the Śilpa texts that they mean. After all the Lekhinī is only the Tūlikā with some fine animal hair added on to it. This is evident from Bāṇa's use of the word Tūlikā in a particular place where it can mean nothing else but Lekhinī.<sup>2</sup> Painted boards with tūtikās and gourds hanging to them are offered to the emperor Harṣa. The boards are fully painted and the work being complete there can be no more need for the cruder materials like the Vartikā or the ordinary Tūlikā as understood in the Śilpa texts. The pictures may at the most require a bit of touching if artistic circles at court so desire it. If so nothing more than a delicate brush would be required. Thus what Bāṇa means is plain enough. Good work requires more than one brush. Hence many are tagged on to every picture for ready use. The alābū or gourd might have been used in those days for stocking colours and such other essential artists' requisites. Being a light thing and capable of holding colours, pans etc.,—the alābū, as being used for this purpose cannot be considered too impossible a conjecture, especially when colours kept in cocoanut shells and holy ashes preserved in gourds are not uncommon sights even to-day.

#### PROCESS.

The process of painting is an interesting study. Though for the most part the process of doing pictures on various surfaces is the same, it is not without differences of technique and method peculiar to each surface. We shall first take up wall-paintings. The Harṣacarita gives us some account of how walls are to be made fit for decoration. Plaster and sand is

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1. उज्ज्वलं प्रोन्नते स्थाने श्यामलं निम्नदेशतः ।  
 एकवर्णेऽपि तं कुर्यात्तारतम्यविशेषतः ॥  
 मिश्रान् वर्णानधो वक्ष्ये वर्णसंयोगसम्भवान् । Abhilaṣitārthacintā-  
 maṇi.
  2. अवलम्बमानतूलिकालावुकाश्च लिखितानालेख्यफलकसंपुटान् H. C.  
 p. 217,

applied to walls newly raised;<sup>1</sup> and men are engaged to white-wash the mansions of the king. With buckets of chunam hanging from their shoulders and long brushes in their hands, they ascend tall ladders to execute the work.<sup>2</sup> Plastering walls and painting them white is one of the preliminaries of wall-painting. Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi gives a fine surface as essential for a good picture and requires a smooth wall to be carefully white-washed without a scratch or a blot.<sup>3</sup> Three coatings of white mud and Vajralepa account for this smoothness of surface.<sup>4</sup> The process of the Roman Vitruvius has 'three coats of plaster made of lime and sand, each one laid on when the one below is beginning to dry, and then three of plaster in which the place of sand is taken by marble dust, at first coarse, then finer, and in the uppermost coat of all in finest powder'.<sup>5</sup> In the case of even the Roman method the wall shines like a mirror. But too shining and too smooth a surface is not always quite convenient for drawing or painting. Māgha voices forth this opinion in his Śiśupālavadha where he humourously refers to the forms of youths reflected on the highly polished household walls of Dvāraka as serving the purpose of pictures that could not be executed on so smooth a surface.<sup>6</sup> It is this reason, perhaps, that made sand-plastering necessary. But we should not on this account think that Bāṇa was in favour of grainy walls. He more often than not talks of

1. उत्थापिताभिनवभित्तिपात्यमानबहलवालुकाकण्ठकालेपाकुललेपकलोकम्  
H. C., p. 142.

2. उत्कूर्चककैश्च सुधाकर्पस्कन्धैरधिरहिणीसमारूढैर्धवैर्धवलीक्रियमाण-  
प्रासादप्रतौलीप्राकारशिखरम् H. C., p. 142.

3. सुधया निर्मितां भित्तिं श्लक्ष्णां क्षतविवर्जिताम् ।  
लेपयेच्चित्रकर्मार्थं..... ॥ Abhilaṣitārthacintā-  
maṇi.

4. आदाय मृत्तिकां श्वेतां वज्रलेपेन मिश्रयेत् ।  
तथा लेपं प्रकुर्वीत परिशुष्के त्रिवारतः ॥  
शङ्खचूर्णं सितापिष्टं वज्रलेपसमन्वितम् ।  
आदाय मृत्तिकां लिम्पेद्यावच्च श्लक्ष्णतां व्रजेत् ॥ Abhilaṣitārthacintā-  
maṇi.

5. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 20, eleventh edition.

6. यस्यामतिश्लक्ष्णतया गृहेषु विधातुमालेख्यमशक्नुवन्तः ।

चक्रुर्युवानः प्रतिबिम्बिताङ्गाः सजीवचित्रा इव रत्नभित्तिः ॥

only highly polished walls mirror-like in their splendour. The walls of the palace of Vilāsavatī are perfectly white and are resplendent with fresh pictures painted on them.<sup>1</sup> In such places they are not spoken of as very glossy.

The surface prepared, the artist should first picture in his mind the thing he is going to put on wall, canvas or board. This Bāṇa calls Samkalpalekhā. It is this type of memory or mental picture of Kādambarī actually put on canvas that consoles Candrāpiṇī in her absence.<sup>2</sup> This is the same as the Bhāvagamya-citra of Kālidāsa.<sup>3</sup> Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi is very careful on this point and requires the artist to picture not only the form but also the exact proportion as would fill up the wall.<sup>4</sup> 'To think of the picture as if on the wall' is one of the injunctions laid down. The first task of an artist before drawing an outline—that of fixing general proportions by certain lines drawn preliminary—the Sūtrapātārekḥā—is styled by Bāṇa Ārambhasūtrapātārekḥā.<sup>5</sup> The very word Sūtra indicates that these are mere short guides for bigger and more elaborate lines to follow. Sūtras like Brahmasūtra, Pakṣasūtra and Bahissūtra vary and fall at particular points on the canvas cutting particular parts of the form according as the Sthāna or pose is front, profile or three-

1. प्रत्यग्रलिखितमङ्गल्यालेख्योज्ज्वलितभित्तिभागमनोहारिणि Kā., p. 136.

2. अपि च सहस्रैर्मकरध्वजशरासारैर्वपुषैव च सह क्षीयमाणमिव स्वल्पावशेषं संकल्पलिखितेन निर्विशेषवृत्तिना कादम्बरीशरीरैव सह कण्ठलभं कथं कथमपि जीवितं धारयन् Kā., p. 521.

जनकतनया च भर्त्रा विरहविनोदनार्थमुटजाभ्यन्तरलिखिता यत्र रामनिवास-दर्शनोत्सुका पुनरिव धरणीतलादुल्लसन्ती वनचररैद्याप्यालोक्यते Kā., p. 44

This also is of the same type.

3. आलोके ते निपतति पुरा सा बलिव्याकुला वा  
मत्सादृश्यं विरहतनु वा भावगम्यं लिखन्ती | Meghadūta II. Sl. 22.

His picture combines a bit of imagination also since the Yakṣa has to imagine her lord's wasted form in a separated state.

4. प्राणी वा यदि वाऽप्राणी यत्प्रमाणमिति स्मृतम् |  
भित्तौ निवेशितस्यास्य दृश्यमानस्य चेतसा ||  
तन्मानेन लिखेद्देवां सर्वाङ्गेषु विचक्षणः | Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

5. वत्सस्य यौवनारम्भसूत्रपातरेखा Kā., p. 466.

quarters view and so forth. The commentator states clearly that all are agreed on the point of artists marking Sūtra lines;<sup>1</sup> and there is no meaning in certain translators and annotators of the Kādambarī giving the meaning of the phrase as 'a line marked by carpenters on wood to cut it with a saw.' Bāṇa actually refers to a sūtra—a line—that marks off the head from the chest falling about the middle of the neck.<sup>2</sup> Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi is elaborate on this question of Sūtra and Sthāna; and a much earlier work on painting, the Viṣṇudharmottara, which gives ample information on this topic, has been translated by Dr. Stella Kramrisch who has taken great pains to explain this particular difficult portion of it by means of tables etc.

Perfectly conversant with the technical language of the artists, Bāṇa uses precisely those words that admit of usage in particular places. He voices the opinion of text-books on painting, which are agreed in recommending the Vartikā for drawing outlines,<sup>3</sup> when he talks of the outline in black to be executed with the aid of a Vartikā.<sup>4</sup> The general drawing of a picture is usually transferred to the panel or board or wall as the case may be, by a process of pricking and pouncing and allowing

1. नवीनप्रारम्भे शिल्पिभिः सूत्रपातरेखा क्रियते इति सर्वसंमतम्

Commentary on Kā., p. 466.

2. श्रीसरस्वत्योरुवदनोपभोगविभागसूत्रेणैव पातितेन शेषेणैव च तद्भुज-  
स्तम्भविन्यस्तसमस्तभूभारलब्धविश्रान्तिसुखप्रसुतेन हारदण्डेन परिवलितकन्धरम्

H. C., p. 73

3. रूपालेख्योन्मीलनकालाञ्जनवर्तिका Kā., p. 455.

4. पूर्वं तिन्दुकलेख्यं स्याद्यद्वा वर्तिकया बुधैः ।

आकारजनिकां रेखां तिन्दुवर्तिविनिर्मिताम् । Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

5. This Tinduvarti is given as Kiṭṭavarti in the Śivatatvaratnā-  
kara. The Śilparatna calls it Kiṭṭalekhini but says it is of the shape of  
a vartikā.

.....शोषयेत् किट्टलेखिनीम् ।

वर्त्याकारास्तथायामे द्वयन्यम्भोध्यङ्गुलात्मिकाः ।

..... ।

आलिखेत् किट्टलेखिन्या ..... । Śilparatna.

6. The Kiṭṭalekhinīs are shaped like Vartis and are two or three  
or four inches in length. The process of their make is almost the same  
as that of making the ordinary Vartikā.



sufficient charcoal powder to settle on the surface to form an impression of the picture. The lines in black drawn with the Vartikā over this impression are final so far as the outline of the picture is concerned. It is this line in charcoal powder that Bāṇa brings in as a comparison to the romarāji (a thin delicate line of hairs) of Puṇḍarīka.<sup>1</sup>

His use of the word Citra-unmilana is noteworthy<sup>2</sup> and is sufficiently significant when its true import is brought home to the reader's mind. We are sometimes struck with the likeness that a picture bears to its original and in such moments we do not too uncommonly utter the exclamation of surprise 'How life-like it is ! methinks the picture speaks !';<sup>3</sup> in our calmer moods we say that the artist is a man of real mettle and that he has well succeeded in infusing life into the picture. It is this infusion of life in the picture that Bāṇa means when he uses the word 'Unmilana.' Literally it means revivification; and it is surely that practically since the picture was dead to all appearances while the general work at it was going on. How long the term has been in the artists' vocabulary is not so easy to state. Kālidāsa knows and uses it in his Kumārasambhava.<sup>4</sup> Unmilana is done according to him with the help of the fine brush Tūlikā. This done the picture looks finished.

Painting on cloth (canvas) or the board is simpler than working on the wall which involves an elaborate process and an additional advantage is the ease of carriage. These pictures could be hung or detached from the wall. Except for the lack of Sudhālepa or application of chunam,<sup>5</sup> the process of working on both is not essentially different from painting the wall.<sup>6</sup> The

1. अञ्जनरजोलेखाश्यामलां रोमराजिमुदरेण तनीयसीं विभ्राणम् । Kā., p. 264

2. प्रातश्च तदुन्मीलितं चित्रमिव चन्द्रापीडशरीरमवलोक्य Kā., p. 548.

3. Compare

हसतीव च माधुर्यं सजीव इव दृश्यते ॥

सश्वास इव यिच्चित्रं तच्चित्रं शुभलक्षणम् । Viṣṇudharmottara.

4. उन्मीलितं तूलिकयेव चित्रं सूर्योशुभिर्भिन्नमिवारविन्दम् ।

बभूव तस्याश्चतुरश्रशोभि वपुर्विभक्तं नवयौवनेन ॥ Kumārasambhava  
I, 32.

5. सुधालेपो न कर्तव्यश्चित्रार्थे फलकादिषु । Śilparatna, p. 246.

6. एवं धवलिते भित्तौ दर्पणोदरसन्निभे ।

reference to princes sorrounding Tārāpiḍa drawing the portraits of their royal suzerain goes to show that Citrāphalakas were generally used to draw portraits.<sup>1</sup> Citrapaṭas were chiefly used, perhaps, for painting general pictures, types of which are the Yamapaṭa<sup>2</sup> and the Kāmadevapaṭa.<sup>3</sup>

The elaborate drawings of the floor<sup>4</sup>—the pride of housewives—involve a dexterity of the hand and a highly developed power of free-hand drawing in which our grand-mothers of generations gone by prided when they were but mere lassies. Bāṇa refers to this pleasing activity of women—that of bestirring themselves on auspicious occasions to decorate houses, especially the porches and door-ways. The Sūtikāgrha of Vilāsavati is auspiciously decorated by the womenfolk. On either side of the doorway and thereabouts are arranged shells over the ground smeared with cowdung—a fine set off of white specks over a darkgreen background—and interspersed between the shells (cowries) are colour powders, bits of charming multicoloured cotton, and over the colour streaks and lines flower petals, the beautiful ones of the lotus included. But that is not all. It is not mere design and colour that they know. Their knowledge of human form is manifested in the charming drawing of Bhagavati Śaṣṭhī with her garment coloured orange with the juice of haridrā, in the magnificent form of Kārtikeya seated on his majestic peacock with wide-spread wings holding the weapous Śakti (spear) and Daṇḍa

फलकादौ पटादौ वा चित्रलेखनमारभेत् ॥

पटादौ फलकाद्युक्तमार्गमाश्रित्य लेखयेत् । Śilparatna, p. 247.

1. आलिखता चित्रफलके भूमिपालप्रतिबिम्बम्....Kā., p. 172.
2. प्रेतनाथसनाथे चित्रवति पटे....H. C., p. 153.
3. ....कामदेवपटः पाटनीयः Kā., p. 536.

4. These Kṣaṇikacitras (momentary pictures) are of two kinds, Rasa Citras and Dhūlī Citras. Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi gives some account of them. The former are drawn with colour paste—rice powder or Kāvī mixed with water—in various floral forms and zigzags as in South India. The Dhūlīcitra is done with colour powders—rice powder chiefly, colours also being employed to heighten the charm. Nārada Śilpa gives some account of this type of pictures under the head Bhaumika citra in the Chapter Citrālāṅkṛtiracanāvidhikathana.



(club) and with flowing banners of crimson, and in the figures of Sūrya and Candra tinged orange crimson.<sup>1</sup>

Talking of this particular hobby which persists to this day as an essential characteristic of Hindu women all over India Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, whose observation and knowledge, as he himself confesses, is restricted to the Prabhu girl of the Bombay parts who is an expert in drawing the Rāngoli or sand-picture (Rangoli is the Skr. Raṅgavallī met with often in Skr. literature), says that 'this decoration in vivid colours consists of a running symbol of "Svastika" at its<sup>2</sup> four corners. The design is drawn upon the floor without any kind of guiding lines except dots put in without measurements to mark the points, and without pencil or brush. The charming artist takes some white marble dust in her hand and by holding it between finger and thumb in a certain way executes a fine outline and sometimes a *double* line, which she then fills in with different colours, often in most elaborate patterns.'<sup>3</sup> In another place he says that the "Rāngoli" drawings 'are filled in with beautiful tints mixed and graduated according to the fancy of the artist, and surrounded by highly original decorative details of flowers, fruits, birds, animals or figures, treated conventionally or realistically.'<sup>4</sup> His estimate of this type of pictures is noteworthy. 'It should be borne in mind', he says, 'that these pictures are *painted*. The prepared surface of cowdung is moistened, and the colours are mixed and rubbed in as a pigment with the fingers. The process is nearer to painting than to pastel. The art of the "Rāngoli" in

1. उभयतश्च द्वारपक्षकयोर्मर्यादानिपुणेन गोमयीभिस्तानविनिहितवराटक-  
दन्तुराभिरन्तरान्तराबद्धविविधवर्णरागरुचिरकूर्पासकुसुमलेशलाञ्छिताभिः  
कुसुम्भकेसरलवाश्लेषलोहिताभिलैखाभिरालिखितस्वस्तिकभक्तजालमुप-  
रचयता हारिद्रवावविच्छुरणपिञ्जरिताम्बरधारिणीं भगवतीं षष्ठीं देवीं  
कुर्वता विकचपक्षपुटविकटशिखण्डिपृष्ठमण्डलाधिरूढमालोलोलोहितपट-  
घटितपताकमुल्लसितशक्तिदण्डप्रचण्डं कार्तिकेयं संघटयता विन्यस्तालक्त-  
कपटलपाटलमध्यभागौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसावाभ्रता.....पुरांभिवर्गेण सम-  
धिष्ठितम् Kā., p. 142—143.

2. The pedestal of the sacred Tulasi plant (or basil).
3. The Charm of Indian Art by W. E. Gladstone Solomon p. 59.
4. do. p. 142.

one form or other is more or less general among the Hindus, and according to my information' he adds 'there are parts of Guzerat where the "Rāngoli" pictures are still to be found in a state of excellence'<sup>1</sup> What a pity he has not visited the South !

The activity of feminine fingers is not restricted to mere floor-decoration. There are other surfaces to be coloured and painted by this set of artists. Adepts in drawing designs of creepers and flowers they run their fingers bathed in colour dexterously over whitened pots and plates to beautify that essential insignia of marital auspiciousness; with colour on their finger-tips they tinge pieces of cotton into garlands of white and crimson; experienced in the preparations of unguents they make a light and sweet-smelling colour paste to lighten the loveliness of the face—but this is quite by the way merely showing their artistic taste; the beautiful damsels are also engaged in making garlands of Lavaṅgas (cloves) with crystalline bits of camphor interspersed between them.<sup>2</sup> In the preparation of the cotton garlands of crimson and white, of the Lavaṅga garlands intermixed with camphor bits, of the garlands of small earthen balls with tiny golden ones interposed between them<sup>3</sup> there is exhibited a perfect knowledge of the great Law of contrast which is so excellently given out by Ruskin. 'Of course the character of everything is best manifested by contrast. Rest can only be enjoyed after labour; sound to be heard clearly, must rise out of silence; light is exhibited by darkness, darkness by light; and so on in all things. Now in art every colour has an opponent colour, which, if brought near it, will relieve more completely than any other; so, also, every form and line may be made more strik-

1. The Charm of Indian Art, p. 142.

2. बहुविधवर्णकादिग्धाङ्गुलीभिर्ग्रीवासूत्राणि च चित्रयन्तीभिश्चित्रपत्रलालेख्यकुशलाभिः कलशांश्च धवलितान्शीतलशाराशिरश्रेणीश्च मण्डयन्तीभिरभिन्नपुटक-  
र्पासतूलपल्लवांश्च वैवाहिककङ्कणोर्णासूत्रसंनाहांश्च रञ्जयन्तीभिर्बलाशनाघृतघनीकृतकुङ्कुम-  
कल्कमिश्रितांश्चाङ्गरागौल्लावण्यविशेषकृन्ति च मुखालेपनानि कल्पयन्तीभिः कक्कोल-  
मिश्राः सजातीफलाः स्फुरत्स्फीतस्फटिककर्पूरशकलखचितान्तराला लवङ्गमाला रचय-  
न्तीभिः समन्तात्सामन्तसीमन्तिनीभिर्व्याप्तम् H. C., p. 143.

3. कुङ्कुमपङ्क्तिपिञ्जरीकृतामूर्ध्वप्रोतकनकमययवनिकरकण्टकितामविरललग्नगौर-  
सिद्धार्थकप्रकारतया काञ्चनरसखचितामिव मृन्मयगुटिकाकदम्बमालां विन्यस्यता-  
Kā., p. 143.

ing to the eye by an opponent from or line near them; a curved line is set off by a straight one, a massy from by a slight one, and so on; and in all good work nearly double the value, which any given colour or form would have uncombined, is given to each by contrast.<sup>1</sup>

Regarding the clever artistic work on pots and plates on marital occasions which has been in vogue in India for a very long time its importance as a separate phase of art is best manifested by the reference 'In Greek vase decoration the conventional floral forms, or the mannered animal figures that follow each other monotonously round vases of the "Oriental" style, belong to the domain of ornament, while the human forms, say, on the earliest red-figured vases, while displaying in pleasing patterns and in studied relation to the shape and structure of the vessel, exhibit so much variety and so great an effort on the part of the artist to achieve similitude to nature, that they claim a place for themselves in the annals of the painter's art.'<sup>2</sup> Tastes differ. What might be monotonous to Mr. G. B. Brown might be 'delicate and refined' to another. 'Among the model's says Ruskin addressing a gathering of artists and art students 'set before you in this institution, and in the others established throughout the Kingdom for the teaching of design, there are, I suppose, none in their kind more admirable than the decorated works of India. They are indeed, in all materials capable of colour, wool, marble or metal, almost inimitable in their delicate application of divided hue, and fine arrangement of fantastic line. Nor is this power of theirs exerted by the people rarely, or without enjoyment; the love of subtle design seems universal in the race'—note the word universal, no wonder women of India are adepts in the game—'and is developed in every implement that they shape, and every building that they raise; it attaches itself with the same intensity, and with the same success, to the service of superstition, of pleasure or of cruelty; and enriches alike, with one profusion of enchanted iridescence, the dome of the pagoda, the fringe of the girdle, and the edge of the sword.'<sup>3</sup> That Ruskin, the great believer in the moral law of the universe and the one who controls it, with all his religious fervour and deep philosophic thought, should have used the word 'superstition' in the case of the Indian pagoda, is

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1. Elements of Drawing, p. 173.

2. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 20, eleventh edition.

3. The Two Paths—Conventional Art.

alas! due to, and a monumental proof of, the fact that knowledge of India or her thought and ideals in England and elsewhere about the middle of the nineteenth century was very meagre and distorted and the British were prone to believe every fantastic tale that could possibly be invented by the human brain about the acts of the Indian mutineer, and hasty judgments regarding a whole nation were formed in the heat of the moment of which later thought needs must repent, and Ruskin is no exception.

Muslins and silks brought spotlessly white by the royal vashermen are dyed and dried in the shade by being waved to and fro by servants holding them at both ends; then over this soft subdued colour back ground creepers of various types are painted by the women. The कुटिलक्रमरूपक्रियमाणपल्लवपरभाग might mean both 'beautiful creepers done in fantastic curved lines' or beautiful creepers done in the wrong way the one side so that they might be seen aright in a subdued colour the other side of the thin fragile fabric.<sup>1</sup> Again we have the flowery drawings of human figures on the canopy and curtains reflected on the glossy cheeks of queen Yaśovati asleep on her Royal couch.<sup>2</sup> This is one other of the very many great arts of India that are fast dying out.<sup>3</sup> Even to-day we have lingering signs of cloth-painting and fabric-decoration in some parts of our country. A few years more, and they may die out for lack of support. Anyway one would do well to see some of the beautiful painted cloths

1. बहुविधभक्तिनिर्माणनिपुणपुराणपौरपुरीध्रुवध्वमानैर्धदैश्चाचारचतुरान्तःपुर-  
जरतीजनितपूजाराजमानरजकरज्यमानै रक्तैश्चोभयपटान्तलग्नपीरजनेप्रह्लोलितैश्चायासु  
शोष्यमाणैः शुक्लैश्च कुटिलक्रमरूपक्रियमाणपल्लवपरभागैरपरैरारब्धकुङ्कुमपङ्कस्यासकृ-  
च्छुरणैरपरैरुद्भुजमुजिष्यमानभङ्गरोत्तरीयैः क्षौमैश्च बादरैश्च दुकूलैश्च लालतान्तुजैश्चां-  
शुकैश्च नेत्रैश्च निर्मोकिनैर्भैरकठोररम्यागर्मकोलमैर्नैःश्वासहायैः स्पर्शानुमेयैर्वासोभिः  
सर्वतः स्फुरद्भिस्त्रिन्द्रायुधसहस्रैरिव संछादितम् Harṣ, p 143.

2. दिवसमधिशयानायाः शयनीयमपाश्रयपत्रमङ्गपुत्रिकाप्रतिमा विमलकपोलो-  
दरगता प्रसवसमयं प्रतिपालयन्ती लक्ष्मीरिवालक्ष्यत Harṣ., p. 127

3. Textile-Printing. "Textile" is a general name for all woven fabrics (Lat. texere, to weave), and the art of ornamenting such fabrics by printing on designs or patterns in colour is very ancient, probably originating in the East. It has been practised in some form, with considerable success, in China and India from time immemorial, and the Chinese, at least, are known to have made use of engraved wood-blocks many centuries before any kind of printing was known in Europe.

from Northern India in the possession of Mr. Jinarajadasa to know what the last dying remnants of a once noble art can prove the worthiness of it.

Of Hogarth, it is said, being disgusted with his master's method of tuition consisting principally of copying pictures and being a youth enamoured of life, he had a habit of making notes on his thumbnails of faces and expressions to be enlarged afterwards on paper.<sup>1</sup> That was because he could find no other material on which he could materialise his idea of form and expression in his master's studio under his very nose. Miniature drawings on the human frame itself was a favourite pastime in India. Women used to adorn their faces and breasts with lovely drawings of undulating creepers and quaint dragons in which the curvature of the line and the colour of the form were marvelously exquisite.

In his sports King Tārāpīḍa's white upper garment gets a print of the dark foliage painted on the breasts of the ladies of his harem with Kṛṣṇāguru paste.<sup>2</sup> The King questions his queen, on another occasion, why she did not adorn her breasts with drawings of creepers.<sup>3</sup> The wondrous person that comes from the moon to take away the lifeless body of Puṇḍarika has his shoulders marked with the crimson of the creepers painted on his beloved's breasts<sup>4</sup>. Thus there are two materials for painting on the body—Kuṅkuma and Kṛṣṇāguru to which a third,

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Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 26. It is not printing in our case but cloth painting done purely by the hand.

Tapestry. The Gr. Tapes and Lat. Tapesium, from which our word "Tapestry" is descended, implied a covering to both furniture and floors, as well as curtains or, wall hangings, and neither of them really defines the particular way in which such articles were made. The decorations on these Greek and Roman coverings were effected by painting, printing, embroidery, or a method of weaving with coloured threads; and specimens and other conclusive evidence show that early Egyptians, Babylonians, Chinese, Indians, Greeks and Romans employed some at least of the means above named. Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. 26.

1. Outline of art by Sir W. Orpen p. 286.

2. उलसितकुचकृष्णागुरुपङ्कपत्रलताङ्कितप्रच्छदपटम् Kā., 116.

3. किमिति च हरिण इव हरिणलाञ्छने न लिखितः कृष्णागुरुपत्रभङ्गः  
पयोधरभरि Kā., p. 122.

4. कामिनीकुचकुङ्कुमपत्रलतालाञ्छितांशदेशः Kā., p. 313

Kastūri, which is to be mentioned presently, is to be added. Generally sandal paste served as the ground-paint in such cases. Not content with painting themselves the women went to the extent of even decorating dolls with such drawings. Thus we have one of the maidens in the palace of Kādambarī exhorting one of her companions to paint the breasts of a doll.<sup>1</sup> That even youths delighted in this, of decorating the body with paintings, is proved by the reference in Harṣacarita of young Dadhica smelling sweet with creepers marked on his body with Kastūri.<sup>2</sup> The artistic figures of swans painted with Kastūri on the border of the fine fabric covering the shoulders of King Śūdraka<sup>3</sup> show the highly developed æsthetic taste of the time.

We have so far discussed the methods of painting on various surfaces. Now to the colours. Bāṇa is aware of five primary colours<sup>4</sup> and a host of other tints. Apart from the variety of colour-tints that he mentions in almost every page of his works, he actually gives us some mixed tints—secondary colours—got by mixing primary colours. He points out that blue and white give the grey colour of smoke.<sup>5</sup> Yellow and blue make up green.<sup>6</sup> Red and blue produce purple.<sup>7</sup> A separate variegated hue is mentioned wherein various colours play a part.<sup>8</sup> India recognises a separate variegated hue just as she accepts white as a distinct colour quite in opposition to the theory of the western artists.

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1. निपुणिके, लिख मणिशालभञ्जिकास्तनेषु कुङ्कुमरसपत्रभङ्गान् Kā., p. 335
  2. आमोदितमृगमदपङ्कलिखितपत्रभङ्गभास्वरम् H. C., p. 22.
  3. अमृतफेनधवले गोरोचनालिखतहंसमिथुनसनाथपर्यन्ते चारुचामरवायुप्रनर्तितान्तर्देशे दुकूले वसानम् Kā., p. 17.
  4. पञ्चरागविचित्रचेल Kā., p. 143.
  5. स्कन्धदेशावलम्बिना कृष्णाजिनेन नीलपाण्डुभासा तपस्तृष्णानिपीतेनान्तर्निपतता धूमपटलेनेव परीतमूर्तिः Kā., p. 72  
सरस्वत्यपि शप्ता किञ्चिदधोमुखी धवलकृष्णशारां कृष्णाजिनलेखामिव दृष्टिमुरसि पातयन्ती H. C., 13.
  6. आकुलकुलकाकपक्षधारिणा कनकशलाकानिर्मितमप्यन्तर्गतशुकप्रभाश्यामायमानं मरकतमयमिव पञ्जरमुद्रहता चाण्डालदारकेणानुगम्यमानम् Kā., p. 21.
  7. आमत्तकोकिललोचनच्छविनीलिपाटलः कषायमधुरः प्रकाममापीतो जम्बूफलरसः Kā., p. 36.
  8. अचिराच्च सिद्धकन्यकाविक्षिप्तसन्ध्यार्चनकुसुमशबलमिव तारकितं वियदराजत Kā., p. 95.



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE KATHOPANISHAD AND THE GITA. BY D. S. SARMA, M.A.—  
Professor, Presidency College, Madras. (M. R. Seshan,  
Publisher; Triplicane, Madras, 1932, Re. one.)

Professor D. S. Sarma, has earned a well deserved reputation as an interpreter, of Hinduism in general and "The Bhagavad-gītā" in particular, to the youth of this land. His new book with the caption given above is another piece of service in the same field. The Kāthopaniṣad which, according to Max Muller, is "probably more widely known than any other upaniṣad", is a specially suitable subject for study by the young men and women of India, among the 108 and more upaniṣads. It deals with the yearning and the choice of a very young man; and who knows that there are not, in modern Young India, many "mute inglorious" Naciketasas who, if well directed, would choose as he did, even in the face of the glittering prizes of the present day materialism. And no other upaniṣad puts the supremacy of spirituality, as it does, so simply, so straightly and so succinctly, untrammelled by extraneous discussions. Mr. Sarma's edition, intended as a "companion volume to" "his edition of the Gītā" consists of an Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes. As in the case of "Prefaces" to Bernard Shaw's plays the introduction is as important as the rest of the work. In it Mr. Sarma discusses many points of great interest; and though all may not agree with all that is said in it, it is a useful piece of work, as it states briefly and clearly the main *motif* of the upaniṣads. The reader will find in it the result of much study and careful and reverent thought. Section V of the Introduction which gives the parallel passages from the Gītā and the Kāthopaniṣad will interest those with a penchant for comparative study. We hope, however, that such a study will not lead to a disbelief, as it has done in the case of a well read Pandit like T. Sitanath Tattvabhushan, in the truths and reality of Bhagavān Śrī Kṛṣṇa having given any teaching to Arjuna on the battlefield at Kurukṣetra. Pandit Sitanath used the similarity of the language to disprove the historicity of that immortal scene.

There have been many previous translations of the Kāthopaniṣad. Max Muller; Muir; Weber; Windischmann; Gough;

Poley; Regnand, among the Westerns. Rajah Ram Mohun Roy; J. C. Chatterjee; Arbindo Ghose; Swami Sharvananda; H. R. Bhagwat among the easterns have rendered it into English. Professor Sarma had thus much to help him in his endeavour, and in many places his translation is very readable and particularly clear. (e.g., Ch. II, Śl. 7; Ch. II, Śl. 18; Ch. V, Śl. 2; Ch. VI, Śl. 17.) Translating an upaniṣad into English is, however, no easy work; and it is not therefore surprising that in more than one place the English word or phrase used by Mr. Sarma does not interpret the original adequately. A few examples will perhaps be useful in preparing a second edition. "Fall out" for विद्रिषावहै in the Śānti verse is not in consonance with the dignity of the theme. "Dispute" would seem to be better. श्रद्धा in Ch. I, Śl. 2 is rendered as "faith". The difference between the two is immense. Like धर्म it is untranslatable and it is very difficult to put all that it means into a single English word or phrase. If such a phrase must be used "earnest belief" may perhaps serve, though even that would be a poor substitute. In Ch. II, Śl. 1 and 2 श्रेयस् is translated as "Good". That is quite inadequate and there seems to be no single appropriate word for it. In such cases a translator would do well to use the Sanskrit word itself and an explanatory note may be added when it occurs first. In Ch. II, Śl. 5, "pass" is unhappy. It suggests consciousness of imposture and there is no justification for it in the text; "are deemed to be" will perhaps be better. In Ch. I, Śl. 20 "is" and "is not" are inexpressive. "Survives" and "does not survive" will bring out the intention more clearly. "Grasp" for लब्धा in Ch. II, Śl. 7, "reasoning" for तर्केण in Ch. II, Śl. 9, "creatures" for जन्तोः in Ch. II, Śl. 20, "Intellect" for बुद्ध्या in Ch. III, Śl. 12, "doomed" in Ch. IV, Śl. 1 require revision. There are other similar inadequate expressions, but there is no room in this review save to one among them. Svāmi Vivekānanda has made the first line of Ch. III, Śl. 14, famous, by this "Awake Arise *And stop not till the goal is reached.*" Professor Sarma's "Awake Arise, *Approach great teachers and learn*" sound rather flat by comparison. But it must be added that the professor has, on this point, many another translator on his side.

The format of the book is attractive, but to reach the poor student for whom this new translation is evidently intended the price should be less.



<sup>1</sup>कियन्मात्रविपर्ययावस्थितसत्त्वानां परिग्रहणाय चक्षुरिन्द्रियमिति प्रज्ञपितम् ।  
न तु परमार्थतः । शून्यं हीन्द्रियं स्वभावेन शून्यं चेन्द्रियत्वेन ।  
तत्र चक्षुर्न चक्षुस्त्वेन विद्यते । इन्द्रियं नेन्द्रियत्वेन । तत्कस्य हेतोः । <sup>2</sup>शून्यं हि  
चक्षुश्चक्षुस्स्वभावेन । यस्य धर्मस्य स्वभावो न विद्यते सोऽवस्तुकः । योऽवस्तुकः  
सोऽपरिनिष्पन्नः । स नोत्पद्यते न निरुध्यते । सोऽतीतोऽनागत इति  
न प्रज्ञातिरः । इत्यादि । तद्यथा हि भगवन् स्वप्ने मनुष्यस्य हासरतिक्रीडाः ।  
सुप्तशयितविबुद्धः तदनुस्मरणे तत्स्मरणमपि न लभते । तत्कस्य हेतोः । स्वप्नेऽपि तेन  
तासु अलब्धासु शयितविबोधे दर्शनं...<sup>3</sup> नास्य वर्तते । तथेन्द्रियाणि स्वप्नतुल्यानि ।  
एवं सर्वोऽपि धर्मो न स्वभावेनोपलभ्यते । तस्य हेतोस्तेऽनमिलाप्या इति । <sup>4</sup>.... ।  
एवं स्कन्धधात्वायतनप्रतीत्यसमुत्पादादय इन्द्रियवद्भाख्याताः । तेन तेषां स्वभावः  
कुत्रास्ति । तस्मादविचारितशून्यताप्रवचनाभिप्रायैः प्रज्ञाव्याप्यां विना योजि-  
तोऽयं विज्ञानवादः प्रत्याख्येय एव ॥

(163,8) अत्राह । यद्यपि विषयं विना ज्ञानं नास्ति । तथापि  
गुरुपदेशाद्योगिनां कङ्कालपरिपूर्णभूमिर्दृष्टा तत्कथम् । उच्यते ।

गुरुपदेशात्किल योगिनां हि

कङ्कालपूर्णावनिदर्शनं यत् ।

तत्राप्यजातं त्रिकमेव दृष्टं

विषय इन्द्रियं विज्ञानम् । कस्मात् । स समाधिः

मिथ्यामनस्कारतयोच्यते हि ॥ ६९ ॥

(163,16) अयं ह्यतत्त्वमनस्कार इति प्रवर्तनात् । अयमवश्यमभ्युपेयः ।

अन्यथा

1. Tib, ci. tsam. du = कियन्मात्र ?

2. Cf. शिखास० p. 261,4.

3. Tib., ci. htshal. te.

4. Tib., bgyi. ste. shes. hbyun. ño.

तवाक्षुबुद्धेर्विषया यथैव  
सन्त्येवमेवाशुभचेतसोऽपि ।

तथात्र देशेऽर्पितबुद्धिरन्यो  
जानाति नामैष मृषापि न स्यात् ॥ ७० ॥

(164,5) यथा ते नाटकरङ्गादि पश्यतः तद्देशसमर्पितचक्षुषु एकस्य  
यथा तदाकारकं चक्षुर्विज्ञानमुत्पद्यते । एवमन्येषामपि । तथा कङ्कालादिविषयं  
पश्यतां योग्ययोगिनामपि तदाकारकं ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते नीलादिविज्ञानवत् । समाधि-  
रनिदंतत्त्वमनस्कारोऽपि न भवेत् । तथा

समस्य वै तैमिरिकेन्द्रियेण  
प्रेतस्य नद्यामपि पूयबुद्धिः ।

ज्ञेया । <sup>1</sup>केशेक्षणं यत्तिमिरप्रभावात् इति यदुक्तं तत्समानतयोपपत्ति-  
मदन्यदपि वेदितव्यमित्यलं प्रपञ्चेन ॥

संक्षेपतो ज्ञेयमसद्यथैवं  
न धीरपीत्यर्थमिमं ह्यवेहि ॥ ७१ ॥

(165,1) ज्ञेयस्वभावो यथा नास्ति तथा ज्ञेयाकारकधीरपि स्वात्मतो-  
ऽनुत्पन्ना वेदितव्या । यथोक्तम् ।

अज्ञाने न हि विज्ञेयं विज्ञानं नास्ति तद्विना ।  
ज्ञानज्ञेये पुनस्तस्मात्त्वयोक्ते निस्स्वभावके ॥ इति । तथा

मायोपमं च विज्ञानमुक्तमादित्यबन्धुना<sup>2</sup> ।  
तथा तदुपलम्भोऽपि मायावस्तुसमं ध्रुवम् ॥ इति च ।

1. See VI. 29. above

2. Cited in मध्य. वृत्ति. p. 549,4 (L. V. P.).

(165,13) तस्माद्विज्ञानवस्तुवादापस्मारगृहीतो बाह्यविषयापवादी अयं कस्मादात्मप्रपाते न पतिष्यतीति परमकारुणिकैर्युक्त्यागमसुमन्त्रजपेनात्यन्त-माक्रम्य गृह्यते ॥

अत एवं बाह्यं विना विज्ञानं न संभवतीति प्रदर्श्य वस्तुमात्रसत्तां प्रतिषेधितुमाह ।

ग्राह्यं विना ग्राहकताविहीनं  
यदि दिशून्यं परतन्त्रमस्ति ।

ज्ञायेत केनाऽस्य पुनश्च सत्त्व-  
मग्राह्यमस्तीति न युज्यते हि ॥ ७२ ॥

(166,5) यदि ग्राह्यग्राहकोभयशून्यं परतन्त्रमस्ति । तत्सत्त्वं च तस्य त्वया केन ज्ञातमुपलभ्यते । न तेनैव तद्ग्रह उपपद्यते । स्वात्मनि क्रियाविरोधात् । तद्यथा न <sup>2</sup>तथैवासिधारया सैव च्छिद्यते । न तेनैवाङ्गुल्यग्रेण तदेव स्पृश्यते । न सुशिक्षितेनापि पटुना <sup>3</sup>नटेन स्वस्कन्धमारोढुं शक्यते । नाग्निना स्वात्मा दह्यते । न चक्षुषा स्वात्मा दृश्यते ॥

(166,13) तद्वि ज्ञानान्तरेण गृह्यत इत्यपि न । <sup>4</sup>स्वसिद्धान्तविरोधात् । विज्ञाप्यन्तरं यदि विज्ञप्तिविषयः । विज्ञप्तिमात्रता प्रहीयते इति प्रवर्तनात् । अत एवमस्य ग्रहणं सर्वथा नास्ति । अग्राह्यस्य तु न सत्तास्ति ॥

(166,19) अत्राह । यद्यप्यन्यगृहीतमन्यन्नास्ति । तथापि स्वसंवेदनमस्ति । अतः स्वसंवेदनादेव तद्ग्रहणात् सत्त्वमस्ति इति चेत् । तदपि नास्तीत्याह ।

1. Tib., tshal. cher = अत्यन्त ?

2. Cf. शिक्षासं० p. 235,7 and बो० प० p. 393, 3.

3. Tib. gze. can नट. न हि सुशिक्षितोऽपि नटवटुः स्वस्कन्धमधिरोढुं पटुः । See Col. Jacob ; लौकिकन्यायाञ्जलि part II. p. 44.

4. The Siddhānta of Vijñānavādin is *Vijñaptimātratva i. e. Citta-dharmatā* without *grāhyagrāhākabhāva*. Compare विशककारिका, 28 of Vasubandhu and भाष्य of Sthiramati thereon (p. 43, ed. Levi).

## तैनैव तस्यानुभवो न सिद्धः ।

(167,4) तेनैव तद्ग्रहणमितीदमसिद्धम् । अत्र कश्चित् सौत्रान्तिकपक्ष-  
मुपगम्य स्वसंवित्तिप्रसाधनायाह । यथाऽनलो जात एव स्वात्मानं घटादींश्च  
युगपत् द्योतयति उभयमप्रविश्य । शब्दश्च स्वात्मानमर्थं च प्रकाशयति । तथा  
विज्ञानमपि उत्पन्नमेवोभयमप्रविश्य स्वात्मानं विषयं च प्रतिसंवेदयति ।  
अतः स्वसंवित्त्याख्यमस्येव । यश्च नेच्छति, तेनाप्यवश्यं स्वसंवित्तिरुपेतव्या ।  
अन्यथा दृष्टमित्युत्तरकालसंभूतस्मरणात् विषयस्मरणं मया दृष्टमिति विषयानु-  
भवस्मरणं च न स्यात् । कस्मात् । स्मरणं हि अनुभूतविषयकम् । ज्ञानस्य चानु-  
भवात् स्मरणं न भविष्यति । स्वसंवित्तेरभावात् न तावत्तेनैव तदनुभवोऽस्ति ।  
नापि ज्ञानान्तरेण तदनुभवो युक्तः । कस्मात् । ज्ञानान्तरेण तदनुभवेऽनवस्था-  
प्रसङ्गः । तथा हि नीलादिपरिच्छेदकस्यैकज्ञानस्य तत्प्र<sup>1</sup>वृत्तिधारोद्भूतविज्ञानेन  
परिच्छेदाभ्युपगमे पूर्वज्ञानेन तस्यापि ज्ञानस्य नीलज्ञानादन्येनानुभोक्त्रा भवितव्यम् ।  
तस्याप्यन्येन भवितव्यमित्यनवस्थादोषप्रसङ्गः । <sup>2</sup>ज्ञानं च <sup>3</sup>विषयान्तरमपि  
परिच्छिन्धात् । सकलविज्ञानसन्ततेः<sup>4</sup> ज्ञानान्तरविषयत्वात् सत्त्वस्यैकविज्ञान-  
सन्ततित्वाच्च । <sup>2</sup>उत्पलशतपत्रवेधवत् क्रमेणोत्पन्नानि विज्ञानानि शीघ्रं प्रवृत्तानि  
युगपत् प्रवृत्तानीव प्रज्ञायन्ते । तस्मादनवस्थादोषपरिहाराय अवश्यं स्वसंवित्ति-  
रुपगन्तव्या । एवं सति मया दृष्टमित्युत्तरकालोत्पन्नमुभयविषयकस्मरणमपि  
सिध्यति । ज्ञानस्वभावस्वसंवित्तिनिर्मुक्ते न तद्विषयकस्मरणमेतद्युक्तम् । अतो  
मया दृष्टमित्युत्तरकालस्मृतिजननात् अनुभवज्ञानं स्वात्मानं विषयात्मानं चानु-  
भवजातमनुमीयते । यत उत्तरकालमुभयविषयकस्मरणं जायते । तस्मात् उत्तर-  
कालस्मरणात् स्वानुभवः सिद्धः । सति च स्वानुभवे परतन्त्रं विद्यते ।  
अतस्तत्र योऽवादीत् 'ज्ञायेत केनास्य पुनश्च सत्त्वम्' इति स्यादिति । [तस्य]  
एष उपदेश इति । तदपि न युज्यते इति प्रदर्शनायाह ।

1. Tib., hjug. thogs. su. hbyun bai

2. किञ्च इत्यादिः ।

3. सन्तानान्तरीयविज्ञानम् ।

4. Tib., rgyun. lugs.

तेनैव तस्यानुभवो न युक्तः

यद्यूर्ध्वकालस्मरणाच्च सिध्यत् ।

उदीरितं साधयितुं ह्यसिद्ध-

मसिद्धमेतन्न च साधयेतु ॥ ७३ ॥

(169,7) तत्र यदि तावत् वस्तुसाधनमधिकृत्य तथा वचनम् । तदा स्वतः परतो जन्माभावात् सर्वथास्मरणासंभवेन कथमसिद्धं स्मरणमसिद्धं स्वसंवेदनं साधयति । अथ लोकव्यवहारवशादस्ति । एवमपि स्वसंवित्तिहेतुकं स्मरणं नैव संभवति । कस्मात् । यद्यत्र केनचित् ज्ञानेन स्वसंवेदनमग्नित्वं सिद्धं भवेत् । तदस्तीति च सत्ता धूमेन वह्निवदूर्ध्वकालोत्पन्नस्मरणेन निश्चीयेत । सा तु स्वसंवित्तिर्योग्यतयाप्यसिद्धेति स्वसंवित्तिहेतुकं स्वसंवित्तिं विनानुत्पन्नं स्मरणं कुतो भवेत् । न हि जलमात्रदर्शनात् चन्द्रकान्तमणेः अग्निमात्रदर्शनाद्वा सूर्यकान्तमणेः सद्भावोऽस्ति । तौ विनापि वर्षादिना अरणिमथनादिना च सलिलानलयोरुद्भवात् । एवमत्रापि स्वसंवित्तिं विना यथा स्मरणं भवति तथा वक्ष्यते<sup>1</sup> । तस्मात् स्वसंवित्तिहेतुकं स्मरणं तां विना नास्तीत्यसिद्धं साधयितुं स्वसंवित्तेः साधनायोक्तस्मरणवाक्यमसिद्धमेतत्सिद्धिप्रयोजनवन्न सिध्यति । अनित्यस्य शब्दस्य चक्षुर्ग्राह्यतावदिति भावः ॥

(170,6) अथैवं विचारं त्यक्त्वापि

स्ववेदनं सिध्यतु नाम कामं

स्मृतस्मृतिर्नैव तथापि युक्ता ।

अज्ञानिसन्तानजवत् परत्वात्

विशेषणं हन्ति च लिङ्गमेतत् ॥ ७४ ॥

यद्यपि ज्ञानं स्वात्मानं विषयं च वेदयति । तथापि स्मृतिज्ञानात् न तयोः स्मरणं युक्तम् । स्मृतिज्ञानस्य हि विषयानुभवज्ञानादन्यत्वेनौपगमात् । न हि मैत्रज्ञानस्य स्वसंवित्तिः विषयानुभवश्च पूर्वमनुभवादुपगुप्तज्ञानेन स्मर्यते । तथा अज्ञानिसन्तानजवत् परत्वात् स्वसन्तानगतज्ञानस्य ऊर्ध्वकालमुत्पत्तावपि ज्ञानार्थयोरननुभूतत्वात् स्मरणं<sup>2</sup> भवति ।

1. See VI. 75. below.

2. स्वसन्तानगतविज्ञानेन इति शेषः ।

(170,20) अथ मन्यसे । एकसन्तानगतानां हेतुफलभाववर्तित्वात् स्मरणं भविष्यतीति । तदपि नास्ति । यस्मात्

विशेषणं हन्ति च लिङ्गमेतत् ।

परत्वादिति यल्लिङ्गम् । इदमेकसन्तानगतत्वहेतुफलभावादिविशेषणं सर्वमुपहन्ति । स्मृतिज्ञानक्षणं ह्यनुभवोत्तरकालोत्पन्नं सन्तानान्तरज्ञानवत्परत्वा-  
न्नानुभवज्ञानेनैकसन्तानगतम् । नापि हेतुफलभाववर्ति । इत्यादिकं परत्वादिति हेतुनानेनैव विस्तरेण प्रतिषेधयितव्यम् ॥

(171,12) तव दर्शने कथम्<sup>1</sup> । उच्यते ।

यस्मात् पुनर्यत् विषयानुभोक्तृ

स्मृतिः परा नास्ति ततो ममेयम् ।

तस्मान्मया दृष्टमिति स्मृतिः स्या-

देषापि लोकव्यवहारनीतिः ॥ ७५ ॥

यत् विषयानुभोक्तृ विषयानुभवज्ञानं ततः स्मृतिज्ञानमन्यदेव यथा नास्ति । तथा पूर्वमुक्तमेव । यस्मात् स्मृतिरन्यैव नास्ति । तस्मात् यदनु-  
भवेनानुभूतं न तत् स्मृतिज्ञानेनानुभूतमिति स्मरणं विषययुक्तमुत्पद्यते । यदनुभवज्ञानेन परिच्छिन्नं न तत् स्मृत्या अपरिच्छिन्नमिति मया दृष्टमित्यप्यस्ति । एषापि लोकस्थितिः । न तु अत्यन्तं विचारणीया । मृषार्थत्वेन लोकव्यवहारात् ॥

(172,8) यस्मादेवम् ।

तस्मादसत्यां पुनरात्मवित्तौ

गृह्णाति कस्ते परतन्त्र[रूपम्] ।

कर्तुश्च कर्मक्रिययोरनैक्यात्

तेनैव तस्य ग्रहणं न युक्तम् ॥ ७६ ॥

आत्मानं वेदयतीति वेद्य आत्मा कर्मभावं याति । वेद्यः सोऽपि कर्ता । तात्क्रियाप्यभिन्नैवेति कर्ता कर्म क्रिया च एकं प्रसज्यते । न ह्येतान्ये-



कत्वेन दृष्टानि । तथा हि छेत्ता वृक्षः छेदनक्रिया च नैकम् । अस्माच्च  
स्वसंविस्तेरभावात् न तेनैव तद्ग्रहः ॥ <sup>1</sup>आर्यलङ्कावतारसूत्रेऽप्युक्तम् ।

स्वधारं हि यथा खड्गं स्वाग्रं वै अङ्गुलिर्यथा ।

न च्छिन्दते न स्पृशते तथा चित्तं स्वदर्शने ॥ इति ।

(173,3) अतश्चैवं स्वसंविस्तेरभावात्

उत्पत्तिहीनं यदि नाम वस्त्व-

ज्ञानात्मकं स्यात् परतन्त्ररूपम् ।

वन्ध्यासुतेनापकृतिः कृता का

परस्य युक्तास्य न येन सत्ता ॥ ७७ ॥

परतोऽनुत्पन्नं परतन्त्रं सामान्यतः पूर्वमुक्तम्<sup>2</sup> । अधुना त्वज्ञानात्मक-  
मप्युच्यते । अत एव यद्युत्पत्तिहीनमज्ञानात्मकं परतन्त्ररूपमस्तीत्यङ्गीकरोषि ।  
वन्ध्यासुतेन तव कोऽपराधः कृतः । यस्मात् परतन्त्रसमानधर्मकमप्येनमस्तित्वेन  
नेच्छसि । अस्ति हि वन्ध्यासुताख्यं सर्वप्रपञ्चातीतमार्यज्ञानगोचरभूतमनभिलाष्य-  
स्वभावकमितीदमप्यस्तितयेष्यताम् । यच्च प्रज्ञप्तिसद्वस्तुनिबन्धनमित्युक्तं<sup>3</sup> तदपि  
परतन्त्रे सत्येव युज्यताम् ।

यदान्यतन्त्रं न हि किञ्चिदस्ति

भवेच्च हेतुः खलु संवृतेः कः ।

(174,1) सांवृतानां हेतुर्न कश्चिदपीति भावः । तस्मादत्र लोकव्यव-  
हारस्य यो हेतुः तस्य स्वयमेवाभावात् । अहो वत

परस्य वस्तुप्रणयेन दृष्टौ

नष्टाखिला लोकगता व्यवस्था ॥ ७४ ॥

1. p. 335 verse 568 (Kyoto ed.). Tib., reads स्ववेदन for स्वदर्शन ।

2. See p. 150 Tibetan Text.

3. VI. 47. above.

प्रज्ञाविहीनः वस्त्वंशमात्रामिलाषेण परतन्त्रघटं सोमं त्यक्त्वा सलिलेनेव  
 पूरयन् स्वमतिदुर्नयात् लोकव्यवस्था लोकादेव सिद्धाः याः भव, गच्छ, कुरु,  
 पच, इत्येवमादिकाः तथा रूपं वेदना इत्यादिकाश्च तः सर्वा विनष्टा  
 अवैति । अतोऽस्य केवलं संततिरेव संभवेत् । न त्वम् ॥

(174,13) तस्मादेवमाचार्याणां विपर्ययात् स्वविकल्पेन<sup>1</sup> प्रयोगसमयमार्ग  
 एव वर्तमानानाम्

आचार्यनागार्जुनपादमार्गा-

द्वहिर्गतानां न शिवेऽस्त्युपायः ।

कस्मात् । यस्मात्

अष्टा हि ते संवृतितत्त्वसत्यात्

तद्भ्रंशतश्चास्ति न मोक्षसिद्धिः<sup>2</sup> ॥ ७९ ॥

कस्मात् पुनः सत्यद्वयात् परिभ्रंशतो न मोक्षसिद्धिः । आह

उपायभूतं व्यवहारसत्यं

उपेयभूतं परमार्थसत्यम् ।

तयोर्विभागं न परैति यो वै

मिथ्याविकल्पैः स कुमार्यातः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ८० ॥

(175,7) यथोक्तमार्थतत्त्वनिर्देशसमाधौ

सत्य इमि दुवि लोकविदूनां

दिष्ट स्वयं अश्रुणित्व परेषाम् ।

संवृति या च परमार्थो

सत्य न सिध्यति किं च तृतीयु<sup>4</sup> ॥



1. The same phrase is used in p. 135, 15. Tibetan Text.

2. Cited in सुभाषितसंग्रह fol. 22 (L. V. P.)

3. Cited Ibid and बो०प० p. 372 (L. V. P.).

4. This verse is cited (with variants) in बो० प० 361, 16 as an extract from पितापुत्रसमागम (L. V. P.) Tib reads लोकविदुषा instead of लोकविदूनां and विद्यति in place of सिध्यति ।